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# HISTORY

OF

# THE OLD COVENANT,

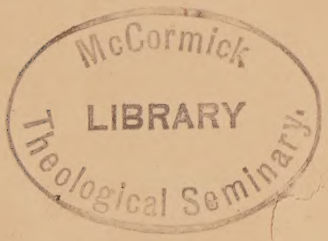
FROM THE GERMAN OF

J. H. KURTZ, D. D.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT DORPAT.

VOL. III.

TRANSLATED

BY JAMES MARTIN, B.A.,
NOTTINGHAM.

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# SECOND STEP

TOWARDS THE

# DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION.

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## SOJOURN OF ISRAEL IN ARABIA PETRÆA,

AND THE

## FIELD OF MOAB;

OR,

## THE GIVING OF THE LAW.

A PERIOD OF 40 YEARS.

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## PART I.

HISTORICAL GROUNDWORK, AND CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE GIVING OF THE LAW.

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# THE OLD COVENANT.

## GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 1. From the time of the Exodus from Egypt, the Israelites had borne the character of a *redeemed* people, a people delivered by the strong hand of their God from the house of bondage, where the chosen seed, through which all nations of the earth were to be blessed, had been treated with contempt as a worthless mob, and oppressed as a horde entirely destitute of rights. But now, not only had Jehovah liberated the captive maid from the house of bondage, but He had also selected her as His bride; and was leading her to the marriage-altar at Sinai, where the covenant was to be concluded, the result of which would be the birth of children like the morning dew. From Sinai, again, He led her as His bride into *His own* house, to *His own* hearth, into the land flowing with milk and honey. Thus the sojourn in the desert may be regarded under the aspect of the *marriage state*, as setting before us a picture of wedded love. And in the prophecies of Jeremiah (ii. 2, 3) Jehovah is represented as saying, "I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after Me in the desert, in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness to the Lord, the first-fruits of his increase. All that devoured him, offended; evil came upon them, saith the Lord."

According to another figure, Israel was *Jehovah's first-born son* (vol. ii. § 21), brought forth, under the anguish of the

Egyptian bondage, by the aid of a heavenly midwife. He was brought out of Egypt, the womb in which the embryo had attained maturity; and at Sinai he was set apart and consecrated as a priestly kingdom, a holy nation, a peculiar people.

But the *son* needs a tutor during the years of his youth; he requires to be educated for his vocation, that the follies of his youth may be overcome, that firmness may take the place of fickleness, and his weakness may give place to strength. Hence Jehovah was not only a loving Father, a faithful Protector to His first-born, delivering him from every trouble and shielding him in every danger, but a faithful Teacher, exercising strict discipline, punishing every fault without reserve, and following the wanderer with unwearied diligence and fidelity, that He might reclaim him from all his errors.

And even to the newly-married bride Jehovah was not only a tender Lover, spreading the wings of love over the chosen one, but also a strict and jealous Husband, demanding fidelity and love, punishing unfaithfulness and apostasy, requiring a royal heart in the royal bride, seeking by love and discipline to train her well, and trying and proving her, to see whether her love would remain stedfast in the midst of calamity and trouble.

Thus the period spent in the wilderness was at the same time one of *education and discipline*, of *trial and temptation*, of *punishment and purification*. "Remember," says Jehovah (Deut. viii. 2 sqq.), "all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandments, or no. And He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah doth man live. Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years. Consider then in thy

heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee," etc. (1).

In order that the Israelites might be entirely set free from the ungodliness of Egypt, to which they were naturally so addicted and inclined; in order that they might be proved, purified, and bound more and more closely to God by the bands of love, of confidence, and of gratitude; and in order that they might be delivered from the broken, cowardly spirit which had been engendered by a long-continued slavery, and strengthened till they grew into a free, spirited, and courageous race,—Jehovah led His chosen people through the desert. While there, they were to hold intercourse with their God alone, as in a secret place, and to become familiarised with the new relation into which they had entered with Him. There, too, amidst the troubles and calamities, the dangers and privations of a desert life (3), they were to receive continual proofs of the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah on the one hand, and of their own unworthiness and natural obduracy on the other. But what was to have been only a brief period of trial, according to the original design and intention of God, became, on account of the guilt of the people and the judgment of Jehovah, a long period of detention and purification. Instead of the two years' sojourn in the desert, which would have sufficed for the original purposes, forty years were required to answer the new ends which had to be accomplished now (2).

The pilgrimage of Israel through the desert to the promised land presents three points, around which all the rest is grouped, as around so many generative centres: *first*, the rest at Sinai, where they were set apart as the people of God, and where the covenant with Jehovah was concluded; *secondly*, the sojourn at Kadesh, in the desert of Paran, where the unbelief of the Israelites came to a head, and the Divine sentence was pronounced, that they should be detained in the wilderness for forty years; and *thirdly*, their stay in the plains of Moab, where the period of the curse came to an end, and the new generation

arrived at the goal of its pilgrimage and the borders of the promised land. Taking these, then, as the central points, the history of this period may be divided into three epochs: (1) Israel in the desert of Sinai; (2) Israel in the desert of Paran; (3) Israel in the plain of Moab.

(1.) On the desert itself, and the sojourn of the Israelites there, as a place and period of *temptation* and *purification*, see *Hengstenberg's* excellent remarks in his Christology, vol. i., p. 247 sqq. (translation).

(2.) The trial and discipline of the forty years' sojourn in the desert were not without fruit. Even whilst they were encamped in the plain of Moab, there were evident signs that a new generation had grown up, in which the hard, rebellious, and unbelieving heart had been overcome. This was still more apparent in the period immediately following—viz., the age of Joshua—when the people displayed a liveliness and strength of faith, and a pure, deep, full consciousness of God, such as never prevailed to so great an extent in any subsequent period.

(3.) On the *possibility of finding supplies* in the desert, sufficient to sustain so great a number, see *Hengstenberg* on Balaam and his Prophecies (p. 561, translation). There are, at the present time, in the entire desert not more than 5000 inhabitants, who obtain but scanty supplies, and that with the greatest difficulty. In fact, they are not maintained from their own resources; for, were it not for what they earn as guides and servants to travellers, even they would be unable to exist. How then, it is asked, is it conceivable that two or three millions of people, with a proportionate quantity of cattle, should have lived in the desert for forty years? It is evident at once, that at the present day, and under existing circumstances, this would be an absolute impossibility. But it may also be shown, that in many respects the circumstances were formerly very different. (1.) The desert must have contained a much greater number of *oases*, abounding in grass and springs of water. Even apart from Biblical testimony, we have evidence that the desert was inhabited by numerous hordes, both before the Christian era (though subsequent to the days of Moses) and in the Byzantine, Christian age. On this subject *K. Ritter* writes (in the Evang. Kalender 1852,

p. 48) : "The number of inscriptions left by a native population of shepherds, which at some period or other settled there (see § 5, 2), is so great in many of the valleys, where they cover the face of the rocks even to the very summit, that at the time when they were first made, there must have been a very numerous population in this part of the wilderness; though they have remained entirely unknown, and no contemporaneous account of them is to be found in any records as far back as the age in which the Mosaic pilgrimage occurred. But, in any case, they furnish a striking proof of the fact, that in the centuries immediately before and after our reckoning, the barrenness of this district was by no means so great, as to render it impossible for a considerable body of people to remain in it for a very lengthened period. The objections, therefore, which have been offered to the statement, that so large a number of Israelites sojourned for half a century in the peninsula of Sinai, and which have all been founded upon the scanty population of Bedouins at present inhabiting that district, necessarily fall entirely to the ground."—(2.) The Israelites brought a great quantity of cattle with them from Egypt (Ex. xxxiv. 3; Num. xx. 19, xxxii. 1); and whilst, on the one hand, the cattle required a plentiful supply of grass, on the other, it furnished a by no means insignificant provision of milk and flesh for the sustenance of the people, and of leather, wool, and hair for their clothing.—(3.) When the Israelites were assured, after their rejection at Kadesh, that they would have to remain in the wilderness for thirty-seven or thirty-eight years, they may, in fact *must*, have set up domestic establishments there (*vid.* § 41). If, then, even at the present time, there are particular spots to be found in the desert in which the Bedouins sow and reap, we may certainly assume that the Israelites, who had learnt the arts of agriculture and horticulture in Egypt, and had acquired a taste for such pursuits, carried the same thing out to a far greater extent, since the state of the country was apparently much more favourable at that time than it is now.—(4.) We learn from Deut. ii. 6, 7, that the Israelites, at least on the eastern side of the land of Idumæa, purchased provisions of the inhabitants for money. We may suppose the same to have taken place on the western side. The desert was at that time intersected by several caravan roads. With the active trade which was carried on between Egypt and Asia, the

desert must have been traversed frequently enough by caravans, from which the Israelites may have obtained, by barter or for money, such provisions as would otherwise have been beyond their reach. We must bear in mind that they came out of Egypt "with great substance."—(5.) But, notwithstanding all this, the Scriptures describe the wilderness as "great and terrible," and contain accounts of many instances in which want and privation caused the people to murmur and complain. Hence, in addition to the natural supplies, which were far from sufficing for so great a number, and were not always at hand, a special provision was required on the part of God; and such a provision was amply made, not only in a natural way—namely, through the ordinary blessings of His providence—but in a supernatural manner also, by extraordinary manifestations of His miraculous power.

# SECTION I.

## ISRAEL IN THE DESERT OF SINAI.

COMPARE the works cited at vol. ii. § 10; also *K. Ritter*, "die sinaitische Halbinsel und die Wege der Kinder Israel zum Sinai," in *F. Piper's* "Evang. Kalender," vol. iii., Berlin 1852, p. 31 sqq.—*R. Lepsius*, "Reise von Theben nach der Halbinsel des Sinai," Berlin 1846; and his "Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai," Berlin 1852.—*J. Val. Kutscheit*, "Herr Prof. Lepsius und der Sinai," Berlin 1846.—*Fr. Dieterici*, "Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande," Berlin 1853, vol. ii. 13 sqq.—*K. Graul*, "Reise nach Ostindien über Palästina und Aegypten," Leipzig 1854, vol. ii.

### HALT AT MARAH AND ELIM.

§ 2. (Ex. xv. 22–xvi. 1, and Num. xxxiii. 8–11.)—The first place of encampment on the eastern side of the gulf, was undoubtedly in the neighbourhood of the modern *Ayun Musa* (5) (*i.e.*, the fountains of Moses). The people proceeded thence in a south-easterly direction, along the eastern shore of the gulf, and travelled three days through the *desert of Shur* (5) without finding water. At length they reached a well, in which there was an abundance of water, that promised to relieve their pressing wants. But the water proved to be so bitter, that it was impossible to partake of it; and hence the place received the name of *Marah* (*i.e.*, bitterness). It is probably identical with the modern well called *Ain Howarah* (5). This grievous dis-

appointment of their hopes stirred up the fainting people to murmur against their leader. In his distress of mind, Moses turned to Jehovah and implored assistance. It was granted him. Jehovah pointed out to him a tree, which he cast into the well, and the water was immediately sweetened (1). This was the first test to which the Israelites were subjected during their probationary sojourn in the wilderness (§ 1); and the first proof that had been given of the mercy and faithfulness of God, in contrast with the obduracy of the people, since the time when they first became a redeemed nation (2).—The next station was *Elim*, where *twelve* wells of water and *seventy* palm-trees, from the very significance of the numbers, invited the people to rest (3). There is hardly any doubt that this resting-place was identical with the modern *Wady Gharandel* (5). On leaving Elim they entered a *plain by the Red Sea* (Num. xxxiii. 10), probably at the point where the modern Wady Tayibeh (Taibeh) opens into the plain by the promontory of Râs *Abu-Zelimeh*. On the 15th day of the second month (4) they encamped in *the desert of Sin* (5).

(1.) Even *Josephus* (Antiquities iii. 1, 2) attempts to give a natural explanation of the *miracle at Marah;* but his attempt is at all events so far a failure, that there appears to have been no reason whatever for casting the tree into the well. He says that, after Moses had thrown the tree into the water, he caused the well to be more than half-emptied, and then the water (which flowed fresh into the well) was drinkable.—*Burckhardt* endeavoured to find a clue to the miracle of Moses. He thought he could sweeten the bitter water at Howarah by the berries of the Ghurkud shrub (*Peganum retusum*), which is very abundant in that district. But, apart from the fact that the scriptural record speaks of wood and not of berries, and that the berries cannot have been ripe at that period of the year (*vid.* Robinson, 98), the result, at which Moses aimed, was not in any way connected with such means as these. Both *Burckhardt* and *Robinson* inquired in vain of the native Arabs, whether they were acquainted with any method by which the bitter water could be made

drinkable. For this reason *Lepsius* determined to institute an inquiry, that he might get to the root of the matter; but unfortunately he found no opportunity of gratifying his curiosity. He says in his "Reise" (p. 25): "The means employed by Moses for making the water drinkable—*viz.*, with the wood, the bark, or the fruit of a tree or shrub, which must have abounded in those valleys—have undoubtedly been lost; but a lengthened search upon the spot would possibly lead to their recovery. I have brought home a number of the most common trees,—gathered, it is true, in the higher valleys; but as yet I have had no opportunity of making experiments with them." *Kutscheit* (p. 12) ridicules this idea of "the very learned German professor,"—in our opinion somewhat unjustly. For the scriptural record does not necessarily shut us up to the conclusion that a miracle was performed: Moses prayed to Jehovah, and Jehovah showed him a tree, etc. The words leave it open to us to infer that the means employed were perfectly natural, and such as would have sufficed to produce a similar effect at any time, even under different circumstances. Nor is it in itself incredible that there may have been some kind of tree in existence, which acted chemically upon the water so as to deprive it of its bitterness. *Probable*, however, we do not think it; and the *näive* assurance with which *Lepsius* assumes that the process was perfectly natural, and therefore may be imitated still, reminds us of the respectable German Rationalism of a bygone age. For our part, we agree with Luther, who says: "The water was naturally bitter; but as they were to drink it on this occasion, the Lord ordered a tree, or piece of wood, to be thrown in, and it became sweet. Not that the wood possessed this property; but it was a miracle which God determined to perform by His word, without any co-operation on the part of Moses, and the water soon lost the bitterness which it had before." *Laborde* correctly says (Comment., p. 84): "S'il existait un moyen naturel de rendre douces des eaux saumâtres, moyen aussi simple et aussi rapide, que celui dont Moyse fit usage à Marah, soyons persuadés, qu'il ne se serait jamais perdu, et que les Arabes du Sinaï l'auraient conservé comme le don le plus précieux, qu'on pourrait leur faire; si même ce moyen avait existé ou existait quelque part, il aurait étendu son pouvoir sur toutes ces contrées, qui plus ou moins en pouvaient profiter avec les mêmes

avantages." Such a view as this undoubtedly imposes upon us the obligation to inquire, what end was answered by *the tree*, if the change in the water belonged to the department of pure miracle? We reply: The sweetening of the bitter water of Marah stands in evident and intentional contrast to the change in the Nile, by which the sweet and pleasant water was rendered unfit for use. The latter was the commencement of the *penal* discipline inflicted by Jehovah upon the Egyptians; in the former, we see the commencement of the *educational* discipline to which Jehovah was about to subject the Israelites. In the one case, the *staff* of Moses touched the sweet Nile, and its water became corrupt and stinking; in the other, the opposite effect was produced by wood. There, the (dead) stick made the healthy water unwholesome; here, a (living) tree made the unhealthy water whole. This first miracle in the desert ushered in and guaranteed a whole series of miracles in the desert for the recovery (chap. xv. 26: "For I am Jehovah, thy Physician") and well-being of Israel; just as the first miraculous plague in Egypt ushered in an entire series of punishments inflicted upon Mizraim.—Typologists have not failed to make the attempt to find in this σημεῖον a certain connection with the plan of salvation. *Tertullian* observes (de bapt. 9): "*Lignum illud erat Christus venenatæ et amaræ retro naturæ venas in saluberrimas aquas baptismi remedians.*" Theodoret says: τὸ γὰρ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον τὴν πικρὰν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐγλύκανε θάλατταν. But Luther's explanation is the finest. He says: "Two things are manifested here: first, that the water, *i.e.*, the law, is not sweetened without the interposition of Moses, who causes man to murmur by the terrors of the law, and thus pains him with bitterness, so that he longs for help; and then, when the Holy Spirit comes, at once it is made sweet. Now, this tree of life is the Gospel, the word of the grace, the mercy, and the goodness of God. When the Gospel is plunged into the law and the knowledge of sin which the law produces, and when it touches a heart in which the law has caused sadness, anxiety, terror, and confusion, it is at once delightful to the taste." Compare *Sal. Deyling*, de aquis amaris ligni injectione a Mose mitigatis, in his Observv. ss. iii., p. 62 sqq.

(2.) The scriptural record expressly describes the event at Marah under the aspect of a *trial* (ver. 25, "there He tried

them"). Thus their journey through the wilderness was opened with a trial; just as Abraham was put to the proof when he first entered the land of his pilgrimage (vol. i. § 52, on Gen. xii. 10 sqq.). Jehovah chose and redeemed the Israelites; He led them out of Egypt into the desert; and thus took upon Himself the obligation to protect and maintain them there. The Israelites, on the other hand, who had already experienced how miraculously Jehovah rescues and aids, were required to trust in God and give proof of their faith, even where the eye of man could detect no way by which help or deliverance could come. This was the position in which the people were now placed. They had left Egypt, with its abundance of sweet and wholesome water, for the purpose of escaping from slavery; but the desert, the place of freedom, the asylum of safety, threatened them with death from exhaustion. Then they murmured against Moses; and to murmur against Moses was, in fact, to murmur against Jehovah. How ungrateful and unbelieving, and yet how natural! But this was just the intention of the trial. The unholy, natural root of the heart was to be laid bare, that it might be healed and sanctified by the discipline and mercy of God; it was necessary that the murmuring should be heard, in order that it might be brought to shame, and counteracted by the mercy and faithfulness of God. This really occurred: the bond by which Israel was united to his God was thus drawn closer and knit more firmly; and, as a seal thereof, God gave the people on this occasion "a statute and an ordinance," and said: "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of Jehovah thy God, and do that which is right in His sight, etc., I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians, for *I am Jehovah, thy Physician.*" Thus the difference, which Jehovah had already made in Egypt between Israel and the Egyptians, was to be still perpetuated, so long as Israel would maintain its own distinction from the heathen, as the people of God, by obedience to Jehovah's will.

(3.) *Elim* presents the same contrast to *Marah*, as the temptation on the part of God to the fruit of that temptation, or as the state of heart evinced by the murmuring people to the loving-kindness and mercy of Jehovah. *Marah* was the representative of the desert, so far as it was the scene of trial and discipline; *Elim*, so far as it was the place in which a covenant

was made with God, and His gracious guidance was enjoyed. Elim was a place expressly prepared for Israel; for it bore the characteristic mark of the nation, in the number of its wells and palm-trees: there was a well for every tribe ready to refresh both man and beast, and the shade of a palm-tree for the tent of every one of the elders of the people (chap. xxiv. 9).

(4.) The people encamped in the desert of *Sin* on the fifteenth day of the second month. On the fifteenth day of the first month they prepared to depart from Egypt. There were only seven stations between Rameses and Sin, and a full month had been occupied in the journey. In this we find another confirmation of the explanation we have given at vol. ii. § 36, 7. Moreover, this chronological *datum* serves evidently and completely to explain the account, which immediately follows, of the general want of bread. The supply which they brought from Egypt had all been consumed during their thirty days' journey.

(5.) We bring this paragraph to a close with a GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY of the district traversed. After the Israelites had crossed the gulf, they marched for three days through the desert of SHUR (or ETHAM, as it is called in Num. xxxiii.) without finding water. There can be no doubt as to the direction which they took. They marched towards Sinai in a south-easterly direction from the point at which they crossed the sea, in a line parallel with the eastern shore of the gulf. Hence the desert of Shur or Etham must have extended at least a three days' journey from the northern extremity of the gulf, before Marah was reached. But we have good ground for placing its boundaries beyond these limits towards both north and south. For it is nowhere stated that Marah and Elim were not in the desert; and it is not till the next station but one after Elim that a fresh desert is spoken of, *viz.*, the *desert of Sin*. We should therefore place the *southern* boundary of the desert of Shur at the point where the steep promontory of Hammam Faraun intersects the northern shore of the sea. It is not so easy to determine the *northern* limits of the desert of Shur or Etham. We must first of all examine the names themselves. It has already been shown, at vol. ii. § 42, 1, that Etham was an Egyptian border fortress at the northern extremity of the gulf; and from this fortress the desert, which touched it on the west, received the name of Etham. *Shur* was also a city on the Egyptian frontier,

as we may gather from Gen. xvi. 7, xx. 1, xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8. When Hagar fled from Palestine to Egypt, the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain in the desert on the way to Shur. Abram lived for some time at Gerar, between Kadesh and Shur. According to the other passages, Shur stood "in front of Egypt (עַל פְּנֵי־מִצְרַיִם)." The whole of these passages lead to the conclusion, that Shur is to be regarded as an eastern frontier town of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the northern end of the Heroopolitan Gulf, and hence that the desert of Shur was the entire tract of desert by which Egypt was bounded on the east. *Josephus* substitutes Pelusium for Shur in 1 Sam. xv. 7, and hence J. D. Michaelis identified the two cities. *Roediger*, on the other hand (in Gesenius' Thesaurus, s. v.), conjectures that Shur was at the northern end of the gulf, in the neighbourhood of the modern Suez,—an assumption to which we cannot possibly subscribe, as we have already seen (vol. ii. § 39, 1) that formerly the gulf must have extended much farther towards the north. But if Etham was situated at this conjectural northern extremity, we must certainly seek for Shur much farther towards the north. Saadias renders Shur *el Jifar*. But by the desert of el Jifar the modern Arabians understand the tract of desert which lies between Egypt and the more elevated desert of et-Tih, and stretches from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez. And the Biblical notices of the desert of Shur harmonise very well with these boundaries, with the single exception that the desert, as we have just seen from Ex. xv., must have extended still farther in a southerly direction, along the eastern shore of the gulf. (Consult especially *Fr. Tuch*, in the Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 173 sqq.

The first resting-place, after the successful passage through the Red Sea, may undoubtedly be still seen in the group of *Moses-Springs*, Ayun Musa. It is situated opposite to Suez towards the south-west. Even if we have to seek the spot where the Israelites first trod the soil of Arabia somewhat farther towards the north, this is by no means at variance with such an assumption; for Moses would be sure to select as his place of encampment the nearest spot in which water and vegetation could be found, and no other choice remained than this place of springs. "It is certainly not without reason," says

*Dieterici*, ii. 16, "that the springs have been called by this name: this is the only green spot in the northern part of the barren wilderness in which water can be obtained, and which is close upon the sea-shore." For some years past this lovely and fertile oasis of the desert has been ornamented by some of the richer inhabitants of Suez with a summer-house and pleasure-grounds (*Tischendorf*, i. 172). In the year 1810 *Seetzen* found only seventeen wells open, whereas formerly there had been twenty; and counted only twenty-five young palm-trees, where a hundred thousand might be grown with care (Monatl. Corresp. xxvii. 72). *Robinson*, again, counted only seven wells, some of which appeared to have been but lately recovered by digging in the sand. The water of these wells is rendered brackish and bitter by their proximity to the sea, as is the case all along the eastern coast; at the same time it is drinkable, and better than any other in the neighbourhood, especially that which is found at Suez. (See *Ritter*, *Erdkunde* xiv. 824, 825.)

The place of encampment at MARAH has been almost universally recognised, since the time of Burckhardt, as identical with the well (Ain) *Howarah*, which had never been mentioned before. It is situated at a distance of fifteen or sixteen hours' journey from the wells of Moses,—a distance which answers admirably to the three days' journey of the Israelites. The country between is a sandy desert, entirely destitute of water. The water of the Howarah well is impregnated with alum and salt, and more bitter than any other water that is met with in the ordinary routes of the peninsula. The basin, whose white rocky substance has evidently been formed in the course of time by a precipitate from the water, is said by *Robinson* (i. 96) to be six or eight feet across, whilst the water is about two feet deep. "Round the well there are some stunted palm-trees, and a large number of bushes of the Ghurkud shrub, which bears juicy and slightly acidulous berries, resembling the barberry." *Dieterici* says (ii. 20): "The small bitter well in the barren sand, and the scanty vegetation, make it difficult to form any conception of the manner in which the people, who so soon forgot the mercy of God, can have encamped on this spot, and how so many thirsty lips can have been refreshed from a basin which is so diminutive now. But the well, which is now choked with sand, may formerly have flowed more copiously; and even the gifts of

the desert may be increased by perseverance. Since, then, all the signs evidently tend to show, that at the time of the Israelitish wanderings the peninsula was cultivated to a much greater extent than it is now, we are forced to the conclusion, that even this well was maintained with greater care. Its present neglected state is the cause of its scanty supply."

"It was not till after my return from Sinai," says *Graul* (ii. 254), "that I learned at Cairo that the well-known sheikh, Tuweileb, was acquainted with a well on the hills to the right of Ain-Hawarah, the water of which is so bitter that neither man nor beast can drink it. From this spot the road leads direct to the site of the W. Gharandel, where water may be obtained."

The next place of encampment, ELIM, is said by *Kosmas* Indikopleustes (about A. D. 540), in his Topography, to have been called *Ραϊθοῦ* in his day. From the context, however, it is evident that this Raïthu cannot be identical with the modern Raïthu, near the southern harbour Tor or Tur, which was fixed upon by later tradition as the site of Elim, but must have been situated much farther to the north (cf. *K. Ritter*, xiv. 14). *Breydenbach*, who visited the peninsula in the year 1483, was of opinion that the *Wady Gharandel*, which is some hours' journey to the south of Howarah, corresponded to the Biblical Elim. ("In torrentem incidimus, dictum *Orondem*, ubi figentes tentoria propter aquas, quæ illic reperiebantur, nocte mansimus illa. Sunt enim in loco isto plures fontes vivi, aquas claras scaturientes. Sunt et palmæ multæ ibi, unde suspicabamur illic esse desertum *Helym*." See *Raumer*, p. 24.) Nearly every modern traveller coincides in this opinion. "Three hours after," says *Burckhardt* (reckoning from Howarah), we reached Wady Gharandel, which runs towards the north-east. It was nearly a mile broad, and full of trees. About half an hour from the spot where we halted, in a southern direction, there is a copious spring and a small brook, which render this valley the principal halting-place in the entire route." *Robinson* speaks to the same effect (i. 110): This Wady "is deeper and better supplied with bushes and shrubs than any we had yet seen; and, like Sudr and Wardau, it bore marks of having had water running in it the present year. Straggling trees of various kinds are found in it. A few small palm-trees are scattered through the valley."

*Tischendorf* says (i. 189): "This is a glorious oasis: at the

place where we rested, it lies enclosed like a jewel between the chalky cliffs. We reposed for a long time in the grass, which was as tall as ourselves; tamarisks and dwarf palms stretched like a garland from east to west." Every traveller pronounces the water of this valley disagreeable, as it has a brackish taste, but it is by no means so bitter as that at Howarah. Water is also found on digging to a little depth in the sand.—*Graul* is fully convinced that the Wady Gharandel is identical with the Biblical Elim. He describes the valley as a combination of fertility and loveliness, to which the Wady Feiran alone presents any parallel in the whole of the peninsula.—As the Wady Gharandel extends as far as the sea, *Dieterici* (ii. 22) is of opinion that the encampment of the Israelites may have stretched to the sea-shore; and to this he refers the expression Ex. xv. 27, "And they encamped there by the waters." But there can be no doubt that it is much more appropriate to refer this expression to the twelve wells of water in the valley.—*Laborde* protests against this identification of Elim and Gharandel, on the ground that the distance from Howarah to Gharandel is too short (three hours), and that it is too far from Gharandel to the next station on the Red Sea (eight hours) for the Israelites to have reached it in a single day's march. He places Elim, therefore, at the Wady Useit (Osseita), which is situated at a distance of three hours farther to the south, and thus divides the whole distance into two day's journeys of five or six hours each. With reference to Wady Useit, *Robinson* says (i. 102): "This valley resembles Ghurundel, though not so large; and has a few small palm-trees, and a little brackish water standing in holes."

*Laborde*, on the other hand, speaks of a "source assez bonne et de palmiers nombreux." Robinson appears to us to have offered a complete reply to his objections. He says (i. 105): "As Ghurundel is one of the most noted Arab watering-places, and the Israelites probably would have rested there several days, it would not be difficult for them for once to make a longer march, and thus reach the plain near the sea. Besides, in a host like that of the Israelites, consisting of more than two millions of people, with many flocks, it can hardly be supposed that they all marched in one body. More probably the stations, as enumerated, refer rather to the head-quarters of Moses and the elders, with a portion of the people, who kept near them; while other portions

preceded or followed them at various distances, as the convenience of water and pasturage might dictate."

The next station, "BY THE RED SEA" (Num. xxxiii.), notwithstanding this indefinite announcement, may be fixed upon with greater certainty and precision than any of the foregoing, on account of our intimate acquaintance with the ground. If the caravan proceeded south from the Wady Gharandel or the Wady Useit, it cannot have reached the Red Sea by any other route than through the *Wady Tayibeh* (or Taïbe); for there is a range of mountains at the south of the Wady Useit, which terminates in the steep promontory of *Hammam Bluff*, or *Faraun* (which is pointed out in Arabian legends as the scene of Pharaoh's destruction), and approaches so nearly to the sea as to render it impossible to pass along the shore. The Israelites must therefore have gone round these mountains. The next valley, the Wady *Thâl*, which passes through the mountains to the sea merely as a narrow gorge, must also have been crossed. They then arrived at *Wady Shebekeh* (Shubeikeh), from which the Wady Tayibeh branches off towards the east, and leads to the sea-shore. "We reached," says *Strauss* (p. 142), "the broad and beautiful valley of Tayibeh, which is covered with tamarisks and fresh herbage, and where we found the rain of the previous autumn still remaining in many a deep pool. The valley winds about between steep rocks, and frequently it appears to lead into an enclosure from which there is no outlet, until suddenly an opening is discovered at the side. After travelling about eight hours from Ghurundel, we arrived once more at the Red Sea (near Ras Zelimeh). To the north the mountains and rocks came close upon the sea, but towards the south a *plain* opened before us, which was bounded on the east by wild and rugged rocky formations." This was undoubtedly the station of the children of Israel by the Red Sea. The sandy plain, on which there is a great quantity of vegetation, runs along by the sea-shore for three or four miles, and is about three quarters of a mile in breadth; but after this the rocky wall approaches so nearly to the sea, that it is only at the ebb that there is any road at all. The road then leads into a much more extensive desert plain, which is of considerable breadth, and runs by the side of the sea as far as Ras Mohammed, at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The present name of the plain is

*El-Kaa*, and it is probable that the DESERT OF SIN had the same boundaries. The halting-place of the children of Israel in the desert of Sin must be sought for in the northern part of this desert plain, probably near to the spot where the *fountain of Murkah* (Marcha) still offers to the traveller a resting-place abundantly supplied with drinkable water.—The foregoing description of the desert of Sin is adopted by *Robinson*, *Ritter*, and others. *Raumer*, *Laborde*, and *Kutscheit*, on the other hand, place the encampment "by the Red Sea" at the spot which we suppose to have been the next station (namely, at Ain Murkah in the plain of El-Kaa), and seek for the commencement of the desert of Sin to the east of the plain of El-Kaa, in one of the wadys by which you reach the mountains of Sinai, namely, in the Wady Nasb or the Wady Mokatteb (cf. § 5, 1, 2).—The opinion which *Lepsius* has attempted to establish is widely different from both of these. This celebrated Egyptologist, who landed at Tor, and, after making an excursion into the mountains of Sinai, embarked again at the harbour of Zelimeh, has pronounced the ordinary notions respecting the Israelitish stations for the most part decidedly erroneous, appealing to his own observations in proof of his assertion. He rejects at once the idea of transferring the station at Marah to the Howarah spring (*Reise*, p. 24), for "it is not even situated in a wady, and therefore the flocks could have found no pasture; moreover, the only thing by which it is distinguished is bad water, and hence there was no reason why the name of a station should have been given to it even in ancient times (?!!)." It is quite as erroneous, he says, to place Elim in the Wady Gharandel. On the contrary, Marah ought to be placed at Gharandel, and Elim at the point where the Wady Tayibeh opens into the plain of Zelimeh. The next station, "by the Red Sea," must therefore be sought at the harbour of Zelimeh. The proximity and close connection of these two stations sufficiently explain the fact, that in the leading account (Ex. xv.) the station by the Red Sea is omitted. The reason evidently was, that "there was nothing particular to distinguish it from Elim, the watering-place of the harbour, which bore most probably the same name" (Briefe, p. 343). But if the Israelites encamped at the opening of the Wady Tayibeh, it may be assumed as certain, that their camp must have extended as far as the

sea-shore, which was scarcely half an hour's journey distant. The two stations would then coincide; and the writer of Num. xxxiii. must have trifled in a most incomprehensible manner, when he wrote, "And they departed from Elim, and encamped by the Red Sea."—*Lepsius* has also started a new theory respecting the boundary of the *desert of Sin*. The expression employed in Ex. xvi. 1, "which lies between Elim and Sinai," he interprets as meaning that the whole tract of desert from Zelimeh to Mount Sinai (*i.e.*, Serbal, in his opinion) was called the Desert of Sin. "For," he says (Briefe, p. 344), "there would be no sense in the statement that the desert of Sin was situated between Elim and Sinai, unless we were to understand that it extended to Sinai, or even farther. Hence, when we read that the next time they removed, they went from the desert of Sin to Rephidim, we are not to suppose that they left the desert; on the contrary, they remained there till they reached Sinai, whose name *Sini* (i.e., *the mountain of Sin*) was evidently first derived from the district, and which must, therefore, not be looked for outside the limits of the desert. The same inference may be drawn from the account of the manna, which the Israelites received in the desert of Sin; for the first place in which we meet with manna is in the valleys in the neighbourhood of Firan, and it is no more to be found in the sandy plains by the sea-shore, than in the more elevated district of Jebel Musa." The objection drawn from the manna is founded upon the assumption, that the manna which still trickles from the tarfah shrub is exactly the same as the manna of the Bible. But, to say the least, such an assumption lacks that undoubted certainty which alone could justify us in making it the foundation of further arguments. And even if it possessed this certainty, it would not sustain what it is meant to prove. For how does *Lepsius* know that the plain of El-Kaa was just as destitute of tarfah shrubs three thousand years ago as it is now? The growth of the tarfah, and therefore the existence of manna, is confined at present to the wadys which surround or intersect the two mountain-groups of the peninsula; farther north no traces of either are anywhere to be found. Yet if we reduce the Biblical account of the distribution of manna among the people to the smallest possible scale (cf. *Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 561 sqq., translation), it will be impossible for any one to deny that the Israelites must have partaken of manna in

many parts of the peninsula, where there are no signs of the tarfah bushes to be met with now (see Exodus xvi. 35, and below, § 3, 2).—Again, the argument of the learned Egyptologist falls to the ground, if it can be proved, as we shall presently see that it can (§ 8, 3), that his assertion as to the identity of the Serbal and the mountain on which the law was given is without foundation. And, on the other hand, the assertion that Serbal is equivalent to Sinai cannot possibly be correct, if the alleged boundary of the desert of Sin is erroneous.—We shall now proceed to the proofs of the latter. We observe at the outset, that the derivation of the name of Mount Sinai from the desert of Sin, which is supposed to have touched it, appears to us a very strange one. It is quite as unnatural in itself, as it is opposed to all analogy. For in every other case, without exception, the deserts and wadys are named after the mountains, and not the mountains after the adjoining plains; and it is *a priori* most unnatural to suppose "that the most prominent object in a country derived its name from some insignificant object which happened to be near it" (*Kutscheit*, p. 17). But we cannot possibly conceive what it was that led the learned professor to maintain that all the subsequent stations up to Sinai must have been situated within the desert of Sin. Read, for example, Num. xxxiii. 12 sqq. (cf. Ex. xvii. 1): "And they took their journey *out of the desert of Sin, and encamped* in Dophkah. And they departed from Dophkah, and encamped in Alush. And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim. . . . And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the *wilderness of Sinai*." Who, on reading this, could possibly imagine that they were all the while in the desert of Sin, and that even the wilderness of Sinai itself was part of the same desert? It seems to us as clear as it possibly can be, that the station of Dophkah was outside the desert of Sin. Moreover, the first look at a *map* convinces us at once of the impossibility of *Lepsius'* explanation. It is very conceivable that the whole of the plain along the coast, which stretches almost without interruption to the southern extremity of the peninsula, may have been called by the common name of desert of Sin. The similarity in the character of the whole of the district would sufficiently account for this. But it is utterly inconceivable and impossible that the whole of the tract between Ras Zelimeh and Serbal should have been classed as one district,

and distinguished from the rest by a common name. The broad, level, sandy plain on the one hand, and on the other the intricate labyrinth of valleys, gorges, cliffs, and mountains, by which the plain is bounded on the east (and in which *Lepsius* placed the whole of the stations between Sin and Sinai), present so complete and striking a contrast to each other, that it would never have entered into any one's mind to class them both under the common name of "Desert of Sin." There is something plausible, no doubt, in the argument based upon the expression in Ex. xvi. 1, "which is between Elim and Sinai," but only so long as we interpret this passage without reference to Ex. xvii. 1 and Num. xxxiii. 12; for it is evident from these passages that not the desert of Sin alone, but the resting-places at Dophkah, Alush, Rephidim, and also the desert of Sinai, lay between Elim and Sinai. On closer inspection, in fact, we must maintain that both the words, "they encamped in the desert of Sin," and the clause, "which is between Elim and Sinai," are irrelevant and incomprehensible if the supposition of *Lepsius* be correct. For nothing but the fact that the context limited the more comprehensive term "desert of Sin," to such an extent as to compel us to think only of a certain point in this wide-spread desert (viz., the northern extremity), would explain the omission of any special designation of this particular station. If Dophkah, Alush, Rephidim, and others, were also in the desert of Sin, we should naturally expect the name of the first station to be given as well as the names of the rest. The clause, "which is between Elim and Sinai," is neither required, nor intelligible, unless we regard it as a more precise form of the indefinite phrase, "they encamped in the desert of Sin." If the desert of Sin extended along the sea-coast for some distance towards the south (possibly as far as Ras Mohammed), there is no difficulty at all. The meaning of the clause would then be, that the point or portion referred to was that part of the desert of Sin which was situated between Elim and Sinai; in other words, that Israel encamped just where the road to Sinai intersected the desert of Sin. Elim would then stand out as the principal halting-place on the road from Egypt to Sinai. And to the present day the Wady Gharandel answers this description.

## HALT IN THE DESERT OF SIN.

§ 3. (Ex. xvi.)—The supply of bread, which the Israelites took with them from the land of Egypt, was all consumed by the time they arrived at the *Desert of Sin*, and there was no prospect of their obtaining a fresh supply. The flocks they had with them were no doubt sufficient to secure them from actual starvation for some time to come; but a thoughtful glance at the future must have shown at once, that it would be impossible to continue to slaughter the cattle, as they had been accustomed to do. Israel, it is true, had already had sufficient experience of the providential care of God, to be able to trust it still further. But there was too much of the original heathen root left in the people, for them to avoid asking the question, in such circumstances as those in which they were placed, What shall we eat, and what shall we drink? It was necessary that this root should be brought to the light, to be punished by the light. For this reason Jehovah did not *anticipate* the pressing and evident need, but employed it as a means of *temptation*, before He removed it. And now first could it rightly be seen how widespread and strong was the heathenish disposition of the chosen and redeemed people. All the people murmured against Moses and Aaron. "Would to God we had died in Egypt," they exclaimed, "when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full. For ye have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger." They put all the blame upon their human leaders, and therefore seemed to themselves to be very pious still, because they did not murmur against God. But Moses stripped them of this self-deception: "What are we, that ye murmur against us? Your murmuring is not against us, but against Jehovah;" and Aaron announced to the assembled congregation, that Jehovah, whom they despised, would give them in the evening flesh to eat, and in the morning would cause it to rain bread from heaven. While he was speaking the attention of the people was attracted towards the desert,

where the glory of Jehovah flashed out from the cloud with majestic brilliancy, to attest the truth of the words of reproof and promise which were spoken by His servants.

As soon as the evening came on, a flock of *quails* came up and covered the camp (1); and in the morning the dew lay round about the host: and when the dew was gone up, behold it lay upon the face of the wilderness, small and scaly, like the hoar-frost on the ground. The Israelites called it *Man* (manna), for they discovered therein the gift (מַן) and bounty of God; and Moses said: "This is the bread which Jehovah hath given you to eat" (2).—By this gift of God they were to be weaned from all heathenish anxiety. It served to point them to the grace of God alone, and taught them to trust that He, who had fed them this day, both could and would in all time to come amply provide for their wants with this miraculous food. Hence Moses gave them two commands: they were only to gather sufficient for the wants of a single day, namely, one gomer each; and they were not to leave any from one day to another. Some of the congregation disobeyed both of these orders; but in both respects God disappointed them. Those who had taken the trouble, by dint of extra exertions, to gather a larger quantity than was actually required for the day's supply, found to their shame, on measuring what they had collected, that they had no more than the quantity allowed; and those who were led by an unbelieving parsimoniousness to keep a portion till the next day, found it on the following morning in a state of corruption and decomposition. But when they had gathered it on the sixth day, they found they had double the usual quantity. Moses explained the enigma. The primeval consecration of the *seventh day* as a *day of rest*, which had probably fallen into disuse in Egypt, was now to be restored, and to become one of the fundamental characteristics of the life of the community (3). The double quantity collected on the sixth day was intended to provide for the wants of the seventh also, that the rest of that day, which was holy to God, might not be disturbed by the collection and preparation of earthly

food. And behold, on the following morning, that which had been left from the previous day had *not* become corrupt and decomposed, as on other occasions, but had remained perfectly sweet and uninjured. In spite of the prohibition, however, some of the people went out into the field to collect a fresh supply, but they found nothing. As a memorial for future generations, Moses (afterwards) caused a gomer full of the miraculous food of the desert to be placed in the sanctuary (4). For forty years from this time the children of Israel continued to eat the manna, till they reached the border of the land of Canaan. Their unusually long-continued sojourn in the desert of Sin (viz., for seven days) answered the double purpose of allowing the people to rest after enduring so much fatigue, and of furnishing a historical basis for the renewal of the law of the Sabbath.

(1.) The birds which covered the camp of Israel in such immense numbers, and furnished the Israelites with food, are called in the original שְׂלָו. The rendering *quails* is confirmed by the Arabic سَلْوَى. In the Septuagint it is translated ὀρτυγομήτρα (probably the so-called quail-king, which is described by Pliny as leading the flock of quails, h. n. 10, 33). In the Vulgate it is called *coturnix;* and *Josephus* calls the bird in question ὄρτυξ. According to many accounts, both ancient and modern, quails (tetrao coturnix) are found in immense numbers in Arabia Petræa and the adjoining countries. They generally fly very low (a yard or two above the ground), and in such dense masses, that the inhabitants catch great numbers in their hands, or knock them down with sticks (cf. *Winer*, Real-lex. ii. 666, 667). Still, expositors differ in opinion as to the bird actually referred to; and some suppose that another bird is meant, which abounds in the whole of Arabia, in Palestine, and in Syria, namely, the *Kata* of the Arabs. This bird is about the size of a turtle-dove; its flesh is rather dry and tough, but it is eaten with relish and in great quantities by the inhabitants, who catch the birds with the greatest ease. It belongs to the partridge tribe (though *Hasselquist* still calls it *Tetrao Alchata*), and is not a bird of passage. But the description in Ex. xvi., and that in Num. xi.

31 sqq., can hardly apply to any but a bird of passage. Moreover, the occurrence took place in the spring, when the birds of passage return from their winter quarters in the south to their northern home; and therefore we abide by the interpretation, in which the oldest authorities agree. The fact, that the flocks of migratory birds frequently direct their course across the peninsula, is fully established by many authorities. *Tuch* (Deutsch-morgenl. Zeitschr., vol. i. 2, p. 174) cites a passage from *Kazwini*, in which he says: "In the desert of Jifar (Shur) there is a species of bird called el-Morgh, which comes from Rumana. It resembles the quail, and arrives at a particular period of the year. The people catch as many of them as possible, and salt them." When *Schubert* (ii. 358) was near the scene of the occurrence described in Num. xi. 31 sqq., whole flocks of migratory birds passed by at some distance from the traveller, of such a size and such density as he had never seen before. They had come from their winter quarters, and were hastening to their home on the sea-shore. The most natural interpretation of the expression, "they came up and covered the camp," is certainly this, that they came from the neighbourhood of the Nile, and fell down, weary with their flight, in the midst of the camp. It would then be an easy thing to catch or kill the birds, which were too exhausted to fly any farther.—After what we have already said, it will be unnecessary to say anything further in opposition to other explanations of שְׂלָו,—such, for example, as *locusts* (see *Ludolf*, hist. Aeth. i. 13, No 96; and, in reply to him, *Laborde*, Comment. 90 sqq.), or *flying fishes* (of the Trigla species; as *Ehrenberg* supposed, because he saw many of these fishes lying dead upon the shore).

(2.) From the numerous works which have been written on the *Manna*, we select for reference *J. Buxtorf's* Exercitationes ad Historiam (Basil 1659, 4 Diss. iv., hist. Mannæ, p. 336–390); and still more particularly, the exhaustive summary of the results of modern researches in *K. Ritter's* Erdkunde xiv. 665–695. Three things lie before us for examination: the manna of the Bible; the manna of the present day; and their relation to each other.

*a.* The Manna of the Bible.—The derivation of the name is doubtful. In ver. 15 we read: "When the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another: מָן הוּא, for לֹא יָדְעוּ מַה־הוּא." By the Septuagint and Vulgate translators, and by Josephus, מָן is regarded as an interrogative particle, equivalent to מָה.

By the first it is rendered *τί ἐστι τοῦτο*; by the second, *dixerunt ad invicem: Manhu? quod significat: Quid est hoc?* From this question of surprise, the thing itself, which had been hitherto unknown, is supposed to have received the name מן (cf. ver. 31, "And the house of Israel called it *Man*"). This derivation continued to be the usual one as late as our own days. But very little can really be said in its favour; for מן, as an equivalent for מה, is not Hebrew, but Aramæan. Moreover, we can hardly imagine the interrogative particle, what? being adopted, without any further reason, as the name of an object which was previously unknown. Hence we agree with most modern authorities in giving the preference to the derivation from מנן or מנה (*partitus est, mensus est, admensus est*), and render the word: allotment, present, gift. In the Arabic, مَنّ is equivalent to *donum*, and is used with the predicate *cæleste* to designate the manna.

With regard to the *origin*, the *appearance*, and the *nature of the manna*, the Bible contains the following particulars: Jehovah rained it from heaven (Ex. xvi. 4); when the dew fell by night upon the camp, the manna fell upon it (Num. xi. 9); when the dew had ascended, it lay upon the surface of the desert, fine (דַּק), and like scales (מְחֻסְפָּס), as fine as the hoar-frost upon the earth (Ex. xvi. 14); it was like white coriander seed, and tasted like cake and honey (Ex. xvi. 31). When the heat of the sun became great, it melted (Ex. xvi. 21), and therefore had to be gathered early in the morning. It is repeatedly stated most emphatically, that it supplied the place of bread. In Num. xi. 7 sqq. it is compared to coriander seed, and its appearance to that of the (bright, transparent) bdellium; the people ground it in mills or crushed it in mortars, and then boiled it in pots and made cakes of it, the flavour of which resembled the (mild) flavour of oil-cakes. If it was kept till the morning, it stank and bred worms (Ex. xvi. 20). We may form some idea of the quantity of manna collected, if we consider that, according to Ex. xvi. 16 sqq., a gomer full (not less than a pound) was gathered daily (at least in the early part of the sojourn in the desert) for every member of the congregation, and that it is stated in ver. 35 that the children of Israel ate manna for forty years, until they arrived at the border of Canaan, the land in which they were to dwell.

The statements just referred to have been chosen by *Hengstenberg* as the subject of a special article, which is headed, "Mistakes in reference to the Manna" (Balaam, p. 561 sqq., translation). He first of all attacks the assertion of *K. v. Raumer* (Zug d. Isr., p. 27), that "the Israelites ate manna till they reached Edrei, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and then on their journey back to the plains of Jericho." In opposition to this, *Hengstenberg* endeavours to prove that the Israelites received no manna outside the Sinaitic peninsula,—that is, during their journey through the country of the Edomites and the land to the east of the Jordan. He says, "The country beyond Jordan presented at that time such abundant supplies of food, that the necessity for the manna altogether ceased. A continuance of the manna in a cultivated country would have been just as if the Israelites, when on the banks of the Jordan, had been supplied with water from the rock (§ 4, 1). The Israelites would never have eaten it. They were tired of it in the desert. For what purpose bestow a gift which the receivers could not make use of, and their disgust at which might be foreseen?" (p. 562). But in Ex. xvi. 35, it is expressly stated that they ate the manna forty years, until they came to the land in which they were to dwell, to the borders of the land of Canaan. And even *Hengstenberg* cannot deny that the land referred to here was the country to the west, and not on the east of the Jordan. Consequently it is most certainly implied in this passage, that the children of Israel did eat the manna, when they were in the country to the east of the Jordan. Still we admit that, from the summary character of this passage, which renders it somewhat indefinite, it must not be too strongly pressed. But, on the other hand, the words of Joshua v. 10–12 are so definite and distinct, so exact and free from ambiguity, that *Hengstenberg's* critical trifling cannot possibly be sustained. We read there: "The children of Israel encamped at Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho. And they did eat of the old corn on the morrow after the passover, unleavened cakes, and parched corn in the self-same day. And *the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land;* neither had the children of Israel manna any more." What force is there in the following remark, when the words of the passage itself are so

clear: "There is an indication here that now the period of manna made way *definitively* for the period of bread"? Definitively, no doubt; but the period of the manna had continued up to this very *moment*. *Hengstenberg* refers, however, to Josh. i. 11: "Prepare you victuals, for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan;"—which passage, he says, "is unintelligible, if it be assumed that the manna followed the Israelites over the Jordan; and it is perfectly absurd to suppose that they began to eat bread on the very first day after the passover." This is a flourish in the air; for no one maintains that the Israelites had not previously eaten bread whenever they could procure it. The preparation of a supply for the passage over the Jordan may easily be accounted for, even on the supposition that the manna still continued to fall. For *Raumer* himself has not asserted that the Israelites ate manna and nothing else, during the whole period of forty years. On the contrary, we believe that the Israelites were constantly in the habit of eating flesh, and any other kinds of meat within their reach, at the same time as they were receiving the manna. The manna was to be a *substitute* for the bread, which *had failed;* and whenever bread could be obtained, but not in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of so large a number, the *deficiency was made up* by the manna. For this reason it followed them till they reached the productive fields of the land in which they were to dwell, and where they were to sow and reap. The manna, which fell with the dew from heaven, was a harvest which Jehovah gave them without their having sown; but as soon as they reached the land where tillage was possible, and where they were to sow, Jehovah ceased to give them a harvest without a seed-time. See also *Keil* on Joshua v. 12.

From what we have already said, it will be apparent that our opinion coincides to a much greater extent with that of *Hengstenberg*, when he proceeds to refute the mistaken notion that the manna constituted the sole nourishment of the Israelites during the whole of the forty years which they spent in the desert, and when he adduces proofs that many other sources of supply must have been within their reach: cf. §1, 3. But even here he gives way too much to his well-known inclination to contract to the greatest possible extent the scope and force of the miracle, in order that he may bring it as far as possible within the natural

limits of the special providence of God. Hence he maintains, without the least foundation, that the account given in Ex. xvi. 16 of the quantity which fell (a gomer daily for each individual) *merely* applied to the earliest period; and even the *daily* fall of the manna during the entire period of forty years, which is clearly to be gathered from Ex. xvi. 35, compared with ver. 16 sqq., he would gladly set aside.

*b.* THE DAILY MANNA.—*Josephus* states (Antiquities, iii. 1, 6), that in his day the same food, which had been called manna by the Hebrews, continued to rain, by the goodness of God, in the same locality as in the time of Moses, viz., at Sinai. And the German traveller *Breydenbach* (in the year 1483) says, that in the month of August this bread of heaven is still found in the valleys round about Sinai, and is collected by the monks and sold to pilgrims. The subject of the Sinaitic manna was very rarely referred to by travellers until *Seetzen* (1807) confirmed the fact, which had been forgotten in Europe, or was regarded as a fiction, and thoroughly investigated it. He was the first to make the discovery that this manna owes its origin to a tamarisk shrub, which abounds in that district (called by the Arabs el-Tarfah), from the branches of which it trickles down. Since then every traveller has paid particular attention to this phenomenon. In 1823 *Dr Ehrenberg* first made the discovery that the manna produced on the tarfah shrub is caused by the prick of an insect.

From this we perceive that the production of the Sinaitic manna of the present day is dependent upon two conditions—the existence of the tarfah shrub, and the presence of the insect in question. The insect is a species of louse, very small, elliptical, and of a yellow, wax-like colour (Coccus maniparus, Ehrenb.). Hitherto it has only been found on the tamarisk in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains of Sinai. The tamarisk of this district (Tamarix mannifera, Ehrenb.) differs but little from the common tamarisk (Tamarix gallica). It merely grows to a greater height (sometimes as much as twenty feet high), is more bushy, and more thickly covered with foliage. The very same shrub is also frequently found in Nubia and Egypt, in every part of Arabia, in the country watered by the Euphrates, and in other places; but the mountainous district of Sinai is the only place in which it produces manna, for the simple reason, as *Ehren-*

*berg* supposes, that the insect is only to be met with there.—The appearance of the insect even here, and therefore the crop of manna, is dependent upon the humidity of the season. The sap is merely exuded from the outer branches, that is, from the very tender twigs of the manna-tree. In productive seasons a twig of two or three inches long yields from twenty to thirty drops, an entire tree of average dimensions eighty thousand. The twigs are completely covered by the perforations, and acquire a wart-like appearance in consequence. Out of the puncture, which is scarcely visible with the naked eye, a drop of transparent juice exudes, which gradually coagulates and at length falls to the ground. The colour is described as reddish, or of a dull yellow. Before sunset the drops acquire the consistency of wax, and then, if they have fallen upon clean wood or upon stone, they are said to look as white as snow. The manna melts in the heat of the sun. The flavour resembles that of honey; and when taken in considerable quantities it acts as a mild aperient. It first appears towards the end of May; the real harvest time is in June. The Arabs gather it, partly from the branches, and partly from the ground. They press it through a coarse woollen cloth for the purpose of removing impurities, and then keep it in leathern bags, either for sale or for private use. It is eaten upon bread. When kept in a cool place it continues firm, in a warm place it becomes soft, and heat melts it altogether. It cannot possibly serve as a substitute for meal or bread, since it can neither be grated nor pounded, and still less is it possible to bake it. *Mitscherlich's* chemical analysis showed that it yielded no crystals of mannin, but consisted of saccharine matter alone. In dry seasons the manna juice does not flow; and it often happens that for several consecutive years the manna cannot be gathered at all. But at such times the branches are so full of saccharine matter that they have the real smell and taste of manna, and the Bedouins eat them both raw and boiled.—Of late years, however, it has been disputed whether the origin of the manna can really be traced to the puncture of an insect. *Lepsius* especially has opposed this explanation (see *K. Ritter's* Erdkunde, xiv. 675, 676). On entering the tarfah grove in the Wady Feiran, on the 28th March, a fragrant smell of manna met him, which he found, on closer examination, to proceed, not from the leaves or flowers, but solely from the tender sprouts.

The twigs, on which a large quantity of manna was already visible, seemed to him to emit less odour than those which were just about to exude it. This appeared to him at variance with the notion that the manna was caused by the puncture of an insect, and not connected with the natural development of the tree itself. Moreover, the large quantity exuded from a single tree in the manna season (from fifty to a hundred thousand drops) does not harmonise, in his opinion, with such a supposition, any more than the fact that the manna is not exuded on any day on which there has been no moisture to facilitate it. *Tischendorf*, again, who entered the wood in the Wady Sheikh about the end of May, was surprised at the strong fragrant odour, which generally surrounded the entire shrub. He saw the manna drop from the trees in thick glutinous masses, but could never find the *coccus* itself.

In the present day the tamarisk-manna is only to be met with in the Sinaitic peninsula, and even there the locality in which it occurs is *very* circumscribed. The tarfah shrub grows only in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains Sinai and Serbal, and, in fact, merely in the fertile, well-watered wadys of the district. Higher up the mountains it never grows at all. But even where the tamarisk still grows, manna is not always produced by it. The principal supply is obtained from the Wady Feiran and the Wady es-Sheikh. The entire quantity of manna collected in a single year over the whole of the peninsula does not exceed five or six hundred pounds, according to *Burckhardt*, even in the most productive seasons.

*c.* Connection between the Manna of the present day and the Manna of the Israelites.—Very different opinions have been entertained as to the identity between these two. Many travellers and scholars (among others, *K. Ritter*) regard them as essentially one and the same. But if this view be adopted, the incongruity between the Biblical narrative and the descriptions given by modern travellers is so great, so apparent, and so irreconcileable, that, by the side of the well-established facts of modern times, one is forced, with *Winer* and others, to regard the Biblical accounts as a mythical and marvellous distortion of a simple, natural occurrence. Even the theory, which *Hengstenberg* advocates, of an increase and intensification of the existing powers and gifts of nature, could not

preserve the honest inquirer, who guards against every form of self-deception, from arriving at this conclusion. For if his theory be seriously adopted, we must assume that all the manna, which the Israelites gathered and ate during their forty years' sojourn in the desert, actually fell from the tarfah shrubs. Now a miraculous increase of this produce, even if we suppose it to have been carried to such an extent that every shrub yielded a thousand, ten thousand, or even a million times as much as the most abundant crop ever gathered now, would fall very far short of the Biblical accounts, and still leave them open to the charge of exaggeration. Let us confine our attention at present, for example, to the first station in which the Israelites partook of the manna, namely, the *Desert of Sin*. This station, as we have seen, is most probably to be found in the barren sandy plain of El-Kaa, on the sea-coast, where not a single tarfah shrub is to be met with now. But even if we transfer the place of encampment from the sandy desert to the most fruitful and best watered wady in the district, viz., the Wady Feiran, and assuming that the tarfah shrubs in this wady were incomparably more abundant at that time than they are now, it would still be inconceivable that the shrubs within the limits of this *single* encampment can have exuded 14,000,000 gomers, or (at least) as many pounds, of manna, the quantity actually required to feed two millions of people for the space of *six* days (Ex. xvi.), whereas, at the present day, the *entire* peninsula does not yield more than five or six hundred pounds in three hundred and sixty-five days in the most productive seasons. We must also bear in mind that the Israelites arrived at the desert of Sin on the fifteenth day of the second month, that is, about the beginning or middle of May; whereas now the season in which the manna flows most freely is in the months of June and July. Moreover, the production of manna is restricted at the present time to the summer months; but the Israelites required it just as much in spring, autumn, and winter, as they did in summer. Now, if the supposed miraculous enlargement of the natural basis must have been carried to such an extent, that the tarfah shrub yielded quite as much manna in the winter time, when its vitality was naturally suspended, as it did in summer, we must be honest enough to confess that the natural basis cannot be sustained, and that *Hengstenberg's* theory has no foundation whatever.—But we must go still further. The

Israelites spent but *one* year in the midst of the mountains of Sinai, the *only* place in which manna is to be met with now. The other thirty-nine years were passed in the eastern and northern parts of the peninsula, where not a single tarfah shrub is to be found at the present day, and where, to judge from the character of the soil, no such shrub ever can have grown (to say nothing of whole forests of tarfah, with tens of thousands of shrubs). Lastly, the Biblical narrative states expressly, that Jehovah rained the manna from heaven, that it fell with the dew from heaven. Now, how can Moses have thought for a moment of persuading the people that Jehovah rained the manna *from heaven*, that it came down with the dew, if they could see for themselves every day that the manna juice came out of the tarfah twigs, that it hung in drops upon the branches, and eventually fell in solid grains upon the ground? Or are we to suppose that the Israelites had not such good eyes to see all this as modern travellers have? But, it will be replied, the modern Bedouins and monks also call the manna "heaven's gift," and say that it rains from heaven. To this we answer, When Moses said to the people, in the name of Jehovah, "I will rain bread from heaven," and when he himself affirmed that the manna fell with the dew from heaven, he intended, undoubtedly, to persuade the people and his readers that the manna was an *immediate* gift of God (and not one produced by the instrumentality of tarfah shrubs and lice); but when modern Bedouins and monks speak of Heaven's gifts and rain from heaven, this is a mode of speech taken from the Biblical narrative or from the lips of pilgrims, which either vanity or interest leads them to perpetuate.

With the facts before us to which we have just referred, and which are thoroughly undeniable, we are shut up to the following alternative: either we must admit that by far the largest portion of the manna eaten by the Israelites for forty years was supplied to them without the intervention of tarfah shrubs;[1] or, if our

[1] *Tischendorf* (i. 205) endeavours, in a very peculiar way, to preserve the natural basis of the miraculous gift of manna. He says: "Does not the miracle still retain its true character, if we suppose that the qualities of the manna of the present day were intensified in all respects by the grace of God, and thus the manna of the Israelites was produced? If it were not too great a stretch of ingenuity, I would say, that the vapour ascending from the tamarisk forests may not improbably have fallen again to the earth in the

theory of a natural basis to the miracle be too dear for us to relinquish it even in view of those facts, we must not shrink from the legitimate consequence, but must freely admit that the account in the Pentateuch is embellished and exaggerated with miraculous legends; in other words, its historical credibility must be given up. With such as prefer the latter we have at present nothing to do; but those who decide in favour of the former, we refer to the New Testament miracle of the changing of water into wine, which is perfectly analogous, at least in its leading features. If the almighty power of God on that occasion changed the water into wine without the intervention of the vine and vine-dresser, which the natural process would absolutely require, there is certainly no obstacle in the way of our believing that the same Omnipotence could create manna with the dew without the intervention of a tarfah shrub; or, if the Israelitish manna was more than this,—if, as the scriptural record says, it was heavenly bread,—that the same Omnipotence could produce a gift resembling meal or bread from the moisture of the dew which fructifies the earth, without the intervention of the field, the grain, and the husbandman.—We cannot conclude this discussion without quoting an excellent and appropriate remark of *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 504), with reference to the connection between the dew and the manna, on which so much stress is laid in the Scriptures (Ex. xvi. 13, 14; Num. xi. 9). He says: "The dew is the gift of Heaven, which fertilises the ground and causes it to bring forth bread. But in the desert the dew can produce no effect, because there is nothing sown. If, then, notwithstanding this, the dew still brought them bread, it was truly the bread of heaven."

The foregoing argument is based upon the assumption, that the manna of the Bible and the tamarisk-manna are precisely the same, both as to their essence and properties, and that there is merely a slight difference in the mode of their origin; and on

shape of dew. At any rate, this thought is just as admissible as the notion that the manna of the present day is a faint imitation of the scriptural bread from heaven." The problem in natural history involved in this explanation we leave untouched, and merely ask, from a Biblical point of view, What was the process in the eastern and northern part of the peninsula, where Israel lived and ate manna for thirty-eight years, and where there is not a single tarfah shrub, and therefore no manna vapour can possibly have ascended?

this assumption it seeks to explain the *data* of the Pentateuch. But we now proceed to inquire, Is this assumption well founded and true? We find men of the most diverse opinions answering the question without reserve in the negative (*e.g.*, *Wellstedt*, *Schubert*, *Robinson*, *Raumer*, *Lengerke*, *Laborde*, and many others). The weight of such authorities is sufficient to urge us to make a searching investigation.

The supporters of this assumption (the most thorough and circumspect among them is *K. Ritter*) bring forward with great care the real or supposed *points of agreement between these two products*, which they regard as thoroughly decided, and consider the apparent differences as of trifling importance, when compared with the great preponderance of these points of coincidence (cf. *Ritter*, xiv. 682). The first argument adduced is, that "the time of year in which the Israelites first partook of the manna coincides with *the* season in which the manna of Sinai is gathered still." It has already been noticed, in passing, that the two periods do not exactly correspond: the first plentiful harvest of manna collected by the Israelites occurred in the beginning or middle of May, whereas the manna harvest of the Bedouins does not take place before the months of June and July. Still we shall not lay any great stress upon this fact; but we shall lay all the greater emphasis upon the other fact, which has also been mentioned, that the Israelites gathered manna in sufficient quantities *at every season of the year*.—It is also said, that "the tamarisk-manna is not met with in any other spot, over the whole surface of the globe, than in the peninsula of Sinai, where the Israelites found it." That this argument is not without weight has been admitted by the most zealous opponents of the view in question (*e.g.*, *Raumer*, p. 28). But it ought to be as candidly admitted by its supporters, that this is more than counterbalanced by the fact, that the Israelites spent thirty-eight years in those parts of the peninsula in which there is not the least trace of tarfah shrubs, and yet ate manna till they were surfeited and disgusted with it (Num. xi. 6, xxi. 5).—Again we read, "The tamarisk-manna turns soft and melts in the heat of the sun; and this was also the case with the manna of the Israelites." But there are many other things on which the same effect is produced by heat, yet it does not follow that they are manna.—Again: "The Bedouins gather their manna in the

morning before sunrise; the Israelites did the same, and for the very same reason." We have here an argument which proves much less than the foregoing one.—Further: "They are both produced during the night." But *Tischendorf* and many others have seen the drops of manna suspended on the branches in broad daylight; and *Schubert* says (ii. 344): The Bedouins generally gather it in the cool of the morning, when it *hangs upon the branches* in the form of small, firm globules; but they also collect at the same time whatever may have *fallen in the sand* on the previous day.—"The manna of the Bedouins has a taste resembling honey, as the Biblical manna had." But the fact is overlooked, that the Biblical manna is said to have tasted "*like cake and honey*" (Luther: like wheaten bread with honey); and in another place it is described as tasting like "oil-cakes." Now what is there in the manna of the present day at all resembling cakes or wheaten bread? *Ritter* appeals to the fact that the modern Bedouins also eat the manna upon bread! But who would ever think of saying that butter, for example, tastes *like bread* with grease upon it?—"The form, the colour, and the general appearance" are said to "correspond." The wavering and discordant statements of travellers render it impossible to subject this argument to any searching test; for sometimes the manna is described as reddish, at other times as a dirty yellow, then again as white like snow, and so on.—"In the Biblical account the manna-insect is actually mentioned" (Ex. xvi. 20). *Sic!*—"*Josephus* regarded the two as identical; and a mistake could not possibly be made, for a vessel of manna was ordered by Moses to be deposited in the Ark of the Covenant as a perpetual memorial and witness of the food of the desert" (*Ritter*, xiv. 680). As if the pot of manna was still in existence in the Holy of Holies in the time of Josephus (the Holy of Holies is known to have been quite empty in the second Temple, and even in connection with the first Temple we never read anything about a pot of manna), and as if the Holy of Holies had been open to everybody (whereas no one but the high priest was permitted to enter it, and he only once a year with the cloud of incense).!!

So much with reference to the supposed points of agreement: let us now pass to the undeniable *differences in the nature of the two products*. *Schubert* (ii. 345) says: "If this insect-manna formed the entire nourishment of the hosts of Israel in the

desert, they were greatly to be pitied. It contains absolutely none of those substances which are indispensably necessary for the daily nourishment and support of the animal frame, and in which worms of decomposition could be generated. . . . I agree, therefore, with *K. v. Raumer*, with the intelligent, sober-minded, inquiring Englishman, the naval lieutenant *Wellstedt*, and with many other honourable travellers and Biblical students, in the opinion that the angels' food, the manna from heaven, was not the same as the manna produced by lice and chafers." This has always been our opinion, and *Ritter's* arguments have not been sufficient to induce us to give it up.—The manna of the Israelites was *ground in mills* or *pounded in mortars;* and travellers are all agreed that this would be impossible with the manna of the present day. *Ritter* (p. 682) makes a futile attempt to set aside this important fact. "It all depends," he says, "upon the manner in which mills and mortars were employed at that time for bruising solid bodies, whether they may not have been used for simply crushing things which were moderately hard, but not as hard as stone. If so, this would apply very well (?!) to the manna, for in cold situations it is constantly described as becoming hard like wax." But is it possible, under any circumstances, to grind wax in mills, or bruise it in mortars? The cohesion of the particles of the Israelitish manna cannot have resembled that of wax or of the tamarisk-manna, but must have been more like certain kinds of gum, which can be pounded and pulverised.—Again, the Israelites *boiled* it in pots, and *made cakes of it;* and the manna of the present day is confessedly unsuitable for this. *Ritter* remarks, on the other hand (p. 677): "It was not pounded into meal, but it was mixed with meal and made into balls, and it was in this shape that it was used. This was probably the baked manna-bread (Ex. xvi. 23)" (?!!). But the Israelites had no meal or bread left, and the manna was expressly intended to supply the place of the meal and bread. Hence the manna of the Bible must have contained some nutritious ingredients of the nature of meal as well as the saccharine matter, or it could not have been boiled and baked without being mixed with meal; but the manna of the present day consists entirely of saccharine matter without nutritious properties, and quite unsuitable for cooking.—Lastly, if the ancient manna was kept till the morning, *worms*

were generated in it and it *stank;* in other words, it fermented and passed into a state of decomposition, and, as is usually the case, maggots were formed in the corruption. The manna of the present day, on the contrary, is kept for years without showing the least sign of decomposition and maggots. It is to our mind inconceivable that so careful and conscientious an inquirer as *Ritter* should have adduced this circumstance (p. 682) as one of the evidences of the identity, after having tried in vain (p. 681) to destroy its force as an argument on the opposite side. "When we read," he says, "in Ex. xvi. 20, that if the manna was kept too long, worms (grew) in it and the supply was spoiled; this is not so incredible, if we bear in mind the insect which appears with the manna; and the Israelites may not have been acquainted with the plan adopted by the modern Arabs for removing the impurities that are mixed with it. The latter strain it through a coarse cloth, and boil it also, that they may be able to keep it for a long time." But what are the impurities which the Israelites must have gathered along with the manna? Sand, earth, and perhaps fragments of withered leaves—all of them materials which are as little likely to decompose and become offensive as amorphous saccharine matter. But modern travellers have made the discovery that many of the insects, whose puncture causes the sap to exude, are enveloped by the sap as it flows from the tree, and fall to the ground with the drops of manna. *Their* decomposition might have produced the offensive odour. Is this really the case, however? If so, does it occur within twenty-four hours? And are the Bedouins accustomed to practise their method of purification, with which the Israelites were unacquainted, on the very same day on which the manna is gathered? We very much doubt it. Still even this has nothing to do with the question. The point of greatest importance is, that there were *no worms* in the manna when the Israelites first collected it, but *they were bred* in it if it was kept till the morning. This is as clear as day; how, then, does it harmonise with Ritter's hypothesis?—We shall lay no stress upon the slightly aperient effect produced by the manna of the present day, which has been adduced as an additional argument by the opponents of the identity-theory, since the daily consumption of the manna on the part of the Israelites might have removed any susceptibility to this, which previously existed.

All the rest inevitably forces us to the conclusion, if we examine the question conscientiously and impartially, that "the manna of heaven must have been something different from the manna of lice and chafers;" that there were properties, powers, and component elements in the former, which are wanting in the manna of the present day.

From this indisputable result we must now retrace our steps, that we may do justice to those striking, though only partial points of agreement, which existed between the ancient and modern manna, both as to time and place, and also as to the material itself. *Raumer* concludes his argument against the identity-hypothesis with the words: "Notwithstanding this, it is still very remarkable that the tamarisk-manna should be found just (and only) in that district of the Sinaitic peninsula in which it is probable that the heavenly manna fell, for the first time, upon the camp of the Israelites." *Schubert* also feels constrained to close his objections to the identity-theory with the reservation "and yet - -," and to attempt some kind of reconciliation between the two phenomena. "And yet," says this shrewd and thoughtful traveller (ii. 345, 346), "the natural phenomenon observable in the peninsula of Sinai is well worthy of notice for the friend of the Bible. When once the mighty hand of the artificer has opened a channel through the rock, the water continues to flow through it in all subsequent ages. When once the forms of the various genera and species of visible things had been created by the almighty word of God, they were perpetuated by the ordinary process of reproduction. And in a similar manner has the exciting cause in which the manna originated, and which at one time pervaded the whole atmosphere and all the vital energies of the country, continued to act, if nowhere else, at least in the living bushes of the manna-tamarisk."

But whilst we adopt this acute interpretation for the simple reason that it does justice to the differences as well as the congruities in the two phenomena, we would expressly guard against being supposed to regard it as the only possible or admissible solution of the problem (a view which we are sure the author himself did not entertain). On the contrary, we merely look upon it as the most successful attempt to solve the enigma, by bringing the processes of nature and grace within the same point of view.—The following results of our inquiry

we regard as firmly established: 1. That the food which the Israelites ate for forty years was not produced by the tarfah shrubs in the desert, but was prepared in the atmosphere by the almighty power of God, and fell to the earth along with the dew; and 2. that there were nutritious ingredients and properties in this heavenly manna, which are not to be found in the Sinaitic manna of the present day. All the rest belongs to the region of conjecture and hypothesis.

The design of the provision of manna is described by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy as follows (chap. viii. 3): "Jehovah humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Moses clearly states in this passage, that he looked upon the production of manna as the creation of something *new*. The antitheses are, bread and the word of God: the former is the natural product created in the beginning, the latter is the creative power of God, which is always in operation (Ps. xxxiii. 9); the former indicates the process of nature, the latter that of grace. Where the processes of nature prove to be insufficient, on account of the perturbation to which they have been exposed (Gen. iii. 17), then, by virtue of the counsel of salvation, the processes of grace intervene to complete, relieve, and save. Now, such is the constitution of man, that he naturally relies upon the processes of nature; and where these cease to operate he falls into despair. This false confidence, however, requires to be condemned and destroyed, in order that true confidence, that is, faith, may be brought into exercise and strengthened. The foundation of nature must be broken up, that that of grace may be laid and preserved. This end is subserved objectively by the humiliation resulting from the failure of the supplies of nature, subjectively by mistrust in her powers.

(3.) *Liebetrut* (*Die Sonntagsfeier*, Hamburg 1851) proves from ver. 23, that a previous acquaintance with the SABBATH is taken for granted. *Hengstenberg*, on the other hand (The Lord's Day, p. 7, translation), adduces *three* proofs (from vers. 22, 26, 27) that the Sabbath was till then entirely unknown to the Israelites. We are persuaded that neither of them has *proved* anything (see vol. ii. § 8, 2), and that the question cannot be decided from

the chapter before us. Everything depends upon whether the history of the creation, in the first chapter of Genesis, was a pre-Mosaic conception or not. If it was a revelation made to Moses *subsequently* to the period at which we have arrived, there can be no doubt that *Hengstenberg* is right; but there is just as little doubt that *Hengstenberg* is wrong, if the account of the distribution of the work of creation over six days, and the rest which followed on the seventh day, is traceable to a primeval revelation and tradition. We do not hesitate for a moment to declare ourselves most decidedly in favour of the latter (see my Bibel und Astronomie, 3d ed., p. 54 sqq.).[1] Hence we regard the sabbatic festival as ante-legal,—in other words, as an institution of paradise; but we are very far from intending thereby to support that unspiritual, unevangelical bondage, which prevails both in exegesis and practice on the other side of the Channel. The institution of the Sabbath *received* its *legal* character for the first time in connection with the giving of the law at Sinai, and *lost* it again through that love which, in the New Testament, is the fulfilment of the law (Col. ii. 16, 17);—but the *institution* of the Sabbath continued to exist after the law was fulfilled, *as* it had already existed, or rather as it ought to have existed, before the law was given,—and it is destined to continue until it has attained to its fulfilment and completion in the eternal Sabbath of the creature.—The occurrence under review formed the historical preparation for the announcement of the *law* of the Sabbath, as an inviolable command, carefully defined, and requiring literal observance,—a law which became the sign of the covenant, and the breach of which involved the breach of the covenant also. But as God never requires without *first* giving, so do we find it here. Israel received a positive assurance and pledge, that the blessing of God would richly compensate him for the cessation from work, which the law of the Sabbath required.

(4.) In reading the injunction, that a GOMER *full of manna* should be laid up "before the testimony" as a memorial for future generations, the first thing which strikes us is the explanatory clause, that a gomer (עֹמֶר) is the tenth part of an ephah (Ex. xvi. 36). *Vater* and *Bohlen* adduced this clause as an argument against the early composition of the Pentateuch, on the ground that a gomer must by this time have become anti-

[1] Pages 9 sqq. of the translation with which vol. i. of this work is prefaced.

quated. The rashness of such an inference is quickly apparent; for the worst result to which we could be brought would be, to regard the clause as a gloss of later date. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 172 sqq., translation) follows *J. D. Michaelis* and *Kanne*, and gets rid of the difficulty by assuming that a gomer was not an actual measure, but a vessel in ordinary use, which was always about the same size, and could therefore serve as a measure in case of need. There are many places in which instances of this might still be found.—*Bertheau* (*Zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 73) infers, from the inquiries made by Böckh, that the superficial dimensions of the ephah were 1985·77 Parisian cubic feet, and that it held 739,800 Parisian grains of water. *Thenius*, on the other hand, sets down the dimensions at 1014·39 cubic inches (Stud. u. Krit. 1846, Pt. 1, 2).—The statement in ver. 34, that Aaron laid up a gomer full of manna לִפְנֵי הָעֵדוּת, as the Lord commanded Moses, has caused unnecessary difficulty. The historian here evidently anticipates, and mentions the execution of the command, which occurred at a later period, at the same time as he records the command itself. (See *Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 169, translation.)

## HALT AT REPHIDIM.

§ 4. (Ex. xvii. 1–xix. 2.)—The next stations after the desert of *Sin* were *Dophkah*, *Alush* (Num. xxxiii. 12–14), and *Rephidim*, from which place the procession at length passed into the desert of *Sinai* on the *first day* of the third month (5).—At *Rephidim* there was no water. The people tempted Jehovah in consequence, and said: "Is Jehovah among us, or not?" They also murmured against Moses for having brought them out of Egypt to let them perish with thirst in the wilderness. The anger of the people assumed, in fact, so threatening an aspect, that Moses complained to his God: "They are almost ready to stone me." The intention and effect of temptation are to *prove*. Now *Jehovah* was perfectly justified in tempting the people, for they had not as yet been by any means sufficiently proved; but *the people* were by no means justified in tempting their God, who had delivered them out of Egypt, and led them miraculously through sea and desert, and

had thus given sufficient and superabundant proofs of His fidelity. But the unconfiding, unbelieving nature of the people, displayed itself more and more; and Jehovah proceeded to meet it with discipline and mercy. Moses was ordered to go into the mountain, with some of the elders, to be witnesses of the great miracle which was about to be performed. Jehovah manifested Himself to them there, standing upon a rock. Moses struck the rock with his staff, and a stream flowed out, which furnished an ample supply to the whole congregation. The place in which the miracle occurred received the name of *Massah* and *Meribah* (temptation and murmuring), that the lesson and warning, involved in the event, might be the more deeply impressed upon the minds of the people (1).—The encampment at Rephidim also acquired memorable importance from another event. The Israelites had been rescued from the enmity of the mighty Egyptians by the strong hand of their God. But the principle of hostility to the people of God was not Egyptian merely, it was common to all the heathen. The Israelites stood in the same position towards every Gentile nation as towards the Egyptians; for their election and separation were a direct opposition and protest against heathenism of every kind. When the hostility of Egypt was sentenced, all the nations that heard of it trembled (vol. ii. § 36, 2); for they felt that the judgment on Egypt affected them, and the enmity, which had hitherto perhaps been merely an unconscious one on their part, ceased henceforth to be dormant or concealed. Thus the Israelites had hardly escaped the dangers of Egypt, when new dangers of the same description appeared in their way. The *first* nation which ventured to give expression to its natural enmity towards Israel was *Amalek*. As the Amalekites belonged to a kindred race, namely, the family of Edom (2), they ought to have been the last to feel themselves called upon to rise against Israel in defence of the general interests of heathenism; but so completely had the heathen nature entered into the heart of this people, and so thoroughly had it transformed them, that the tie of blood-relationship only

widened the breach, and heightened the heathen hatred of the Israelites. Without provocation, the Amalekites rose against the chosen people as the first champions of heathenism; and thus forfeited their claim to be exempted from destruction, in common with all the other tribes that were related to the Israelites (*vid.* § 46). They treacherously attacked the exhausted rear of the Israelitish army (Deut. xxv. 18). Moses then directed *Joshua*, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, to lead a band of picked men against the foe, and went himself, along with his brother *Aaron* and his brother-in-law (?) *Hur*, to the summit of a hill, within sight of the field of battle, that he might superintend the conflict through the aid of the powers of a higher world. The *staff of God*, which he held in his hand, was the banner of victory to the army of Israel, that was fighting in the plain below. As long as the hand of Moses was held up Israel prevailed; but whenever he let it down from weariness, the Amalekites triumphed. Thus the issue of the conflict was for a long time undecided. At length Aaron and Hur placed a stone under Moses' arm, and helped to hold it up, grasping the banner of victory, till the setting of the sun. At length Joshua discomfited Amalek with the edge of the sword. Moses then received directions to commit this important and instructive event to writing. He also built an altar, which he called "*Jehovah my banner*" (יְהוָה נִסִּי). By their heathenish malice towards their kindred, the Amalekites had forfeited for ever the right to protection, to which it might have laid claim on the ground of relationship, as well as the other branches of the Terahite tribe (including the tribe of Edom, cf. Deut. ii. 4–6; xxiii. 8, 9). "The war of Jehovah against Amalek from generation to generation," was henceforth to be the watchword whenever they came into contact with this tribe, which was to be exterminated, like the Hamite tribes of Canaan (Deut. xxv. 19), whose iniquity was now full (Gen. xv. 16) (3).—The report of the glorious issue of the conflict with Amalek must undoubtedly have filled the minds of surrounding nations with terror, as the fate of the Egyptians had done before. It reached

even to *Jethro*, Moses' father-in-law (vol. ii. § 19, 7), with whom he had left his wife and children (vol. ii. § 21, 3, 4); and he at once determined to bring them to him. When *Jethro* joined the procession, it had probably already arrived at the *desert of Sinai*. The wonderful works of Jehovah, which were fully narrated to him by Moses, excited him also to praise the God above all gods; and the elders of Israel joined in a covenant-meal, by which they extended the bond between the two chiefs to an alliance between the two nations. On the following day Moses was occupied from morning till evening in judging the people. This led Jethro to advise him to select out of every tribe able men, who feared God and hated covetousness, and to appoint them as inferior judges over every ten, every fifty, every hundred, and every thousand of the people. All questions of minor importance were to be settled by them; and thus Moses himself, by reserving only the more serious disputes for his own decision, would gain time for the uninterrupted discharge of the duties of his office as mediator before God. Moses adopted this advice, and Jethro returned to his own land (4).

(1.) The miraculous gift of WATER FROM THE ROCK is frequently referred to in the Scriptures (Ps. lxxviii. 16, cv. 41, cxiv. 8; Is. xlviii. 21), and was repeated in Kadesh at the termination of their pilgrimage through the desert (Num. xx.). As the rock is described as a rock in Horeb, we must suppose the outer hills of the Sinaitic group to have been already reached. But there is not the least ground for identifying the rock in Horeb with the mountain of God in Horeb (the mountain of the law). Whether the brook which Moses' staff called forth from the rock continued to flow, though less copiously than at first, and may still be discovered, must remain undecided. Yet (taking as an analogy the gift of manna) an answer in the affirmative appears to us more plausible than one in the negative.—*Lepsius* (Reise, p. 41) eliminates every miraculous feature connected with the event. "Hitherto," he says, "the Israelites had tasted no water from the primary rocks; and though they had found a well in Dophkah and Alush, the supply was probably scanty for so large a multitude, and the water less agreeable

than that obtained from the chalk or sandstone. The people therefore began to murmur during the next day's journey, and clamoured for water. . . . Upon this, Moses led them to Rephidim, which was six hours distant, and gave them to drink of the sparkling and pleasant fountain of the Wady Firan." If this view be correct, we must assume, either that the whole story is mythical, or that Moses resorted to some conjuror's tricks;—which of the two we are to prefer the author does not tell us.—The statement of *Tacitus* (Hist. 5, 3) probably has reference to this occurrence. He says: "The Jews, on their exodus from Egypt, were thoroughly exhausted for want of water. Moses, however, observed a herd of wild asses climbing to the top of a rock covered with trees. He followed them, and found a well with a copious supply of water. This led him to set up the image of an ass to be worshipped in the holy place."

(2.) The *Amalekites* were a rapacious Bedouin tribe, who had their settlement to the south of Palestine in Arabia Petræa, and extended as far as the mountains of Sinai. They were encircled by the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Amorites, the Edomites, and the Midianites (Gen. xiv. 7; Ex. xvii. 8; Num. xiii. 30; Judg. vi. 3; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8; 1 Chron. v. 43). From this locality they appear to have penetrated at one time into the interior of Canaan; at least we find a mountain in the tribe of Ephraim which bore the name of "the mount of the Amalekites" (Judg. xii. 15, v. 14; cf. *Ewald*, Gesch. i. 296, Anm. 3). The Mosaic list of tribes (Gen. x.) does not include their name; but in Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, and 1 Chron. i. 36, there is an Amalek mentioned, who was the grandson of Esau (Edom). This omission of their name from the list, which embraces *all* the tribes with whom the Israelites came into contact (excepting the Terahite tribe, the various branches of which are given in Gen. xii. sqq.), and the insertion of the name in the Edomitish genealogy, remove all doubt that the author of the book of Genesis looked upon the Amalekites as a branch of the Edomites. Accordingly *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 1, 2) also describes them as an Edomitish tribe, and their territory as a portion of Idumæa. *Clericus* was the first to dispute this combination; and *J. D. Michaelis* (Spicil. i. 171 sqq.), who followed him, has written still more elaborately, maintaining that there was no connection whatever between the grandson of Esau and the tribe of the

Amalekites. Among modern writers, such as *Bertheau*, *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, *Knobel*, *Tuch*, *K. Ritter*, etc., this has become the prevailing opinion,—with this difference, however, that in order to account for the statement in Gen. xxxvi., it has been assumed by some (*Ewald*, i. 296) that a branch of the original Amalekites sacrificed their national independence, and connected themselves with the kingdom of the Idumæans, and that this gave occasion to the introduction of Amalek into the Edomitish genealogy as a grandson of Esau (Gen. xxxvi.). *Knobel*, who adopts this view, traces the Amalekites to the Semitic tribe Lud (Gen. x. 22; Arabic, Laud or Lawad), on the authority of Arabic tradition (Völkertafel, p. 199 sqq.). *Hengstenberg* alone adheres firmly to the old opinion, and we cannot but agree with him. The arguments adduced on the opposite side are the following: (1.) "According to Gen. xii. 7, there were Amalekites in Abraham's time,—that is, long before Esau." But *Hengstenberg* neutralises the force of this argument entirely by remarking, that it is not the *people*, but a *field*, of the Amalekites that is here referred to, and that it is evident from the whole tenor of the account that this expression is used proleptically.—(2.) "In Balaam's oration (Num. xxiv. 20), they are described as the firstling of the nations (רֵאשִׁית גּוֹיִם), in other words, as one of the earliest tribes." This expression is employed, however, as *Hengstenberg* has proved from the words themselves, and from the context of the passage (Balaam, pp. 489, 490), to denote that Amalek was, not the *oldest* of the nations, but the *first* to oppose the people of God (after their deliverance from Egypt),—the prototype of heathenism in its hostile relation to the kingdom of God.—(3.) "In the period which elapsed between the grandson of Esau and Moses (four or five hundred years) there was not time for so large a body of people to spring up, as Ex. xvii. presupposes." To this we reply, that it was just as easy, as for Israel to grow into a much larger body during the same period. In the formation of the Amalekite nation a large number of servants (Gen. xxxii. 7, 8) and tributaries, and more particularly the incorporated remnants of subjugated tribes, may have contributed a very important contingent towards its rapid growth.—(4.) "There is no indication of the existence of so close a relationship between the Edomites and the Amalekites, either in their sympathies or their antipathies; and there is no reference whatever in the Biblical

history, to any claim on the part of Amalek to that protection which the Israelites were to extend to every kindred tribe." We have already replied to the latter part in the paragraph above. In reply to the former, it is sufficient to say, that the early separation of this minor branch from the main body suffices to explain their subsequent estrangement.—(5.) "Arabian traditions also describe the Amalekites as a very ancient, wide-spread, and powerful people." But even *Tuch* himself (*Sinaitische Inschriften*, in the Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft, ii. 150) is obliged to acknowledge that this legend is a very vague one: "The term Amalek," he says, "as employed by the Arabians, is very comprehensive and indefinite; for instance, they mix up together the traditions of the Amalekites themselves and those of the giant-tribes of Canaan, of the Hyksos, and of the Philistines."—On the other hand, *Hengstenberg* adduces as proofs of the descent of the Amalekites from the grandson of Esau—(1.) not only the identity of name, but that of their settlement also (1 Chron. v. 42, 43); (2.) the fact that in Gen. xii. 7, with evident intention, and in contrast with the whole of the context, there is *no people*, but only *a field* mentioned,—an evident intimation that there was not as yet any people of this name; and (3.) lastly, the improbability of a tribe, with which the Israelites came so frequently into contact, and which stood in so important a relation to their history, being introduced entirely ἀγενεαλόγητος,—a course which would have been completely opposed to the plan invariably adopted in the Pentateuch. *Ewald's* remark (i. 296), that "the Amalekites are passed over in the list of tribes because they had lost their original importance at the time when the catalogue was drawn up," by no means weakens this argument; for in that case, as there were other nations which had lost their importance even before the Amalekites (the Amorites, for example), they ought much rather to have been omitted.

(3.) According to Deut. xxv. 18, the Amalekites attacked the exhausted REAR of the Israelitish procession. "Remember," says Moses, "what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary." The course of events may be supposed to have been the following: The

murmuring on account of the want of water, and the relief afforded, took place immediately after the arrival of the main body at Rephidim; while the rear, which had been prevented by fatigue from arriving earlier, was still on the road. And it was upon the latter that the attack was made.—We learn from Num. xiii. 17 (16), that JOSHUA'S original name was *Hosea*. The change in his name was no doubt connected with this victory over the Amalekites, even if it was not made immediately (§ 35, 3): Moses called *Hosea* (הוֹשֵׁעַ, *i.e.*, deliverance, help) *Joshua* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, *i.e.*, *Jehovah* is a *help*, Sept. Ἰησοῦς), because he had proved himself a help to Israel. The change was made to show whence the help really came. The alteration in his name had also a prophetic signification. It was his ordination to a new course, upon which he had now entered, and which was destined to become still more glorious in its future stages than in its first commencement; and the new name served to excite in him a consciousness of his new vocation.—*Hur* is frequently mentioned (chap. xxiv. 14, xxxi. 2) as an assistant of Moses, and a man of great distinction. *Josephus* (Ant. ii. 2, 4) follows the Jewish tradition, which is by no means improbable, and describes him as the husband of Miriam, Moses' sister.—*The attitude of Moses*, with his *hand raised*, is frequently supposed to have been that of a man in prayer. But there is nothing in the account itself to sustain such a view; and it is the less admissible, since it attributes an importance to the outward form of prayer which has no analogy even in the Old Testament. The power of prayer is in the desire of the heart towards God, and not in the elevation of the hands to God; and so far as this desire is in need of a vehicle and outward expression, it is to be found in the *word* of prayer. The attitude of Moses was rather that of a commander, superintending and directing the battle. This is evident from the simple fact, that the elevation of the hand was only a means; the raising of the *staff*, which was held up before the warriors of Israel as the signal of victory, was really the end. It was not to implore the assistance of Jehovah that the hand and staff were raised, but to assure the Israelites of the help of Jehovah, and serve as the medium of communication. It was not a sign for Jehovah, but for Israel: it was rather a sign *from* Jehovah, of whom Moses was the mediator. So long, therefore, as the warriors of Israel could see the staff of

God lifted up, by which so many miracles had already been wrought, their faith was replenished with Divine power, inspiring confidence and insuring victory; and they became strong to smite Amalek in the name of the Lord. But the mediator, by whom this power was conveyed, was only a feeble man. His arm was wearied, and almost crippled, by the long continuance of the conflict; and he was obliged to let it fall. At the same time, the courage and confidence of Israel fell with it; for their weak faith still required an outward, visible sign. It is evident from ver. 9 that this is the correct interpretation. Moses there says to *Joshua*, "Go out, fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand.' And it is further confirmed by ver. 15, where Moses calls the altar, which he built as a memorial, *Jehovah Nissi* (Jehovah my banner). His design in giving this name was precisely the same, as that which led him to change the name *Hosea* (help) into *Joshua* (Jehovah is help). It was not Joshua who was the *help* of Israel, but Jehovah through him; and neither Moses nor his staff was the *banner* of victory for Israel, but Jehovah through him. Jehovah was the banner, the staff was His symbol; and this banner was held by the hand of Moses. Hence Moses says, ver. 16: "The hand is on the banner of Jah;"—for we agree with the majority of commentators in regarding it as probable, that כִּס should be the reading adopted here, instead of כֵּס (equivalent to כִּסֵּא), which is not met with anywhere else.—When Moses received the command to record the occurrence in THE BOOK (בַּסֵּפֶר), the article shows that it was not any book that was meant, but one particular book, which had either been already provided, or the idea and plan of which existed in Moses' mind. So much, at any rate, we may learn from this passage, that the leading facts connected with the history of Israel were written in a book by Moses himself, though it does not necessarily follow that this book was the Pentateuch in its present shape (*Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 122 sqq., transl.).—And when, again, Jehovah commanded Moses to enjoin upon Joshua the extermination of Amalek, it became at once apparent that Joshua was destined to be the successor of Moses; and what we have already said respecting the alteration of his name is thereby confirmed.

(4.) It is questionable whether the VISITS OF JETHRO oc-

curred during the halt at Rephidim, or not till they reached the next station (the desert of Sinai). In support of the former, it is said that the departure from Rephidim is first recorded in the next chapter (xix. 2); but to this it is replied, that in chap. xviii. 5 Jethro is expressly stated to have brought the wife and children of Moses "into the wilderness, where he encamped at the *mount of God*." The former cannot possibly be maintained, unless it be assumed, either that the mountain of God here referred to was a different mountain from the mount of God in Horeb mentioned in chap. iii. 2, and the "mountain" by which Moses went up "to God," namely, the mountain of the law (chap. xix. 2, 3); or that the place of encampment at Rephidim was so near to Sinai, that it could very properly be described as a place where he encamped at the mount of God. Either of these, however, appears to us entirely out of the question. It is a sufficient objection to the last, that, however near to each other Rephidim and the desert of Sinai may be supposed to have been, they still formed *two different stations;* and that the account would have been confused indeed, if Rephidim had been called the place of encampment at the mountain of God, and then the author had proceeded to state, in chap. xix. 2, that "they departed from Rephidim, and came to the desert of Sinai (after at least a day's journey), and camped there before the mount (of God)." We are surely not to infer that this day's journey had led them farther from the mount of God, rather than brought them towards it.—The other opinion, that the mountain of God in Rephidim is to be distinguished from the mount of God in the desert of Sinai, is supported by *K. Ritter* (Erdkunde xiv. 741). He supposes the mountain at which Jethro met with Moses to have been the Serbal, which had received the appellation "mountain of God," as a place of heathen worship, and distinguishes it from the mountain of the law, which was afterwards called the mount of God (that is, of the *true* God) on account of the giving of the law. He thinks that this view is sustained by chap. xix. 2, where Mount Sinai is merely spoken of as "the mountain," not "the mountain of God," because it had not yet been rendered a holy mountain by the giving of the law. But *Lepsius* (p. 428) refers him to the next verse (ver. 3), where Moses is said to have gone up the mountain "unto God," and *Jehovah* to have called to him out of

the mountain. To this we would further add a reference to chap. iii. 1, 12, and iv. 27, which equally demonstrate the futility of Ritter's reasoning. Still more untenable is the supposition that the Serbal was called the mount of God, "because the Amalekites and Philistines regarded it as a sacred mountain." If this was the case (and for many reasons it is by no means improbable, § 5), and if the Amalekites really called it the mount of God (though they would have been far more likely to call it the mount of Baal), it is altogether inconceivable that this name should have been so unreservedly adopted in the Bible, especially as the same name had already been given to another mountain, as the place in which the true God was worshipped (Ex. iii. 1, vi. 27). In what way the expression of Jethro at Rephidim (chap. xviii. 11), "Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods," can have been enlisted in support of this hypothesis, I cannot divine. In fact, the most unfortunate of all the explanations that have been given, is that commended by *Ritter*. There is an earlier one, which has much more to recommend it, viz., that the *rock* at Rephidim, from which Moses brought the water, was also called the mount of God, because Jehovah stood upon it in the presence of Moses (chap. xvii. 6). But even this explanation is inadmissible, for a rock is not a mountain; and (what is of the greatest weight of all) as the mountain of the law has no parallel in history, so must the title given to it, the mountain of God, have remained in the language as the designation of this mountain alone.

We are shut up, therefore, to the other assumption, that the visit of Jethro did not occur during the halt at Rephidim, but at the next resting-place (the desert of Sinai). But how is this to be reconciled with chap. xix. 2? Only on the supposition that the position assigned to the account of Jethro's visit is *chronologically* inaccurate, though it is *actually* correct and appropriate; *i.e.*, that according to a strict chronological arrangement, it would more properly have stood immediately after chap. xix. 2, or perhaps even later, but that there were still stronger reasons for placing it here. It makes no essential difference to our purpose, which is purely historical, whether this inversion was made by a later compiler of the Pentateuch records, or by the single author of the entire Pentateuch. We may therefore leave this question unanswered, and proceed to point out the

motive which may have induced the one or the other to make such an inversion. *Ranke* (*Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, i. 83) has also pointed this out with his usual circumspection: "The mountain of God," he says, "and not Rephidim, is described as the place of encampment at that time (ver. 5). Moreover, the circumstances in which we find the people are adapted, not to their flying halt at Rephidim (only half a month intervened between their arrival at the desert of Sin and their encampment in the desert of Sinai), but to their longer stay at Sinai. Hence this chapter departs from the chronological order, and anticipates the occurrence. As our examinations thus far have shown that we have here a well-arranged and orderly work, we must inquire into the reason of this singular deviation. The author is now standing at the commencement of an important section in his history, which extends from Ex. xix. to Num. x., and contains the account of the giving of the law at Sinai. All the directions embraced in this section are given through Moses by Jehovah, and bear throughout the character of Divine commands. It is different with the appointment of the judges, the origin of which is recorded in chap. xviii. This was not ordered by Jehovah, but recommended by Jethro. . . . And hence we are led to conjecture that the author purposely separated th human institution from such as were Divine, and pointed out the distinction by the position assigned to it."

We have something to add to this excellent exposition, which will serve still further to establish its correctness. First of all we would observe, that the chronological inversion is only a partial one, and is not made entirely without preparation. For the commencement of the account of Jethro's visit (chap. xviii. 1–4) is to all appearance fitly placed, even chronologically considered, in the position in which it stands. "And Jethro heard all that God had done for Moses and for Israel." The words, "All that God had done for Moses and for Israel," undoubtedly refer primarily, though not exclusively, to the victory over Amalek, recorded immediately before. The news of *this* victory first convinced Jethro that he might restore his daughter and grandchildren to Moses without anxiety or danger. Before he reached the camp, the Israelites had no doubt departed from Rephidim, and entered the desert of Sinai. If we assume—what is very probable for the reasons already assigned (vol. ii. § 19, 6)—that

Jethro was living at the time on the other side of the Elanitic Gulf, a whole month or more may easily have intervened between the victory over Amalek and the arrival of Jethro in the camp at "the mount of God;" and in that case his arrival would not even fall in the very earliest period of the sojourn at Sinai, but *after* the promulgation of the first Sinaitic law.

There is another view, which will probably serve to confirm our opinion. When Moses left his wife and children with his father-in-law, he will certainly have given him to understand when, where, and under what circumstances he intended to receive them back again. According to Ex. iii. 12, he knew for certain that he would return to Sinai, and remain there for a considerable period. Now, is it not very probable that he had instructed his father-in-law to bring his wife and children to join him there?—But the history of the Israelitish journey itself furnishes still more decisive arguments in support of our opinion. The period which elapsed between the arrival of the Israelites in the desert of Sin, and their arrival in the desert of Sinai, was only fourteen days (chap. xvi. 1, and xix. 1). Of these fourteen days, seven were absorbed by the halt in the desert of Sin alone (according to chap. xvi. 22 sqq.; see § 3). Consequently their stay at Rephidim must have been brief and hurried, and (as the battle itself occupied a whole day, chap. xvii. 12) cannot have left sufficient time for such transactions as are described in chap. xviii., viz.: first, the lengthened confidential interview between Moses and Jethro (ver. 8 sqq.); then the sacrifices offered by Jethro, and the festal meal in which Jethro united with the elders of Israel (ver. 12); after that, the day spent by Moses in judging the people (ver. 13); and, lastly, the organisation of the new plan, recommended by Jethro, which must have occupied a considerable time, especially as we find, from Deut. i. 13, that the judges were elected by the *suffrages of the people*. Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile chap. xviii. 27 with the opposite view. If Jethro's visit took place at Rephidim, his journey homewards would have lain in the same direction as that taken by Moses,—and as Moses must have left Rephidim at the same time as his father-in-law, we cannot understand why Jethro did not travel in company with Moses until their roads separated.—*Lepsius* also maintains (Briefe, p. 437) that Jethro's visit did not take place during the halt at Rephidim, but when they were

encamped at Sinai (*i.e.*, according to his theory, at the foot of the Serbal). But when he accounts for the error in the order of events by asserting that chap. xix. 1, 2 is a later interpolation, or, if not, that it must have stood before chap. xviii., we cannot agree with him. We must also dissent from him when he places Jethro's visit in the very earliest part of the halt at Sinai; *i.e.*, in the period which intervened between the arrival of the Israelites and the promulgation of the law (according to him, in the first three days). We cannot believe that everything connected with Jethro's visit can have been transacted in these three days (in fact there would not be *three* days, but two, if his interpretation of chap. xix. 11, 15 were correct; for we find in vers. 11, 15, not "on the *fourth* day," but on the *third*). Still less can we believe that the two or three days, which were set apart for the purpose of preparing for the giving of the law, were spent in such tedious, noisy, and distracting occupations (as Jethro's feast with the elders of Israel, the day spent by Moses in settling disputes, and the election and installation of the new judges).—We observe, in conclusion, that *Josephus* (Ant. iii. 2–5) interpreted the text as meaning that Jethro's visit was not paid till after the Israelites were encamped at Sinai.

Two objections have been offered by critics to the credibility of the account before us. *Vatke* (bibl. Theol. i. 296) attacks the *decimal division* in the new institution, as inappropriate and not historical. But *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, ii. 342) has completely set aside this objection, by showing that the new arrangement itself was merely the restoration of an ancient institution, which naturally arose out of the organisation common to nomadic and patriarchal communities. In Egypt the judicial customs of the patriarchs had fallen to some extent into disuse; as we may infer from the occurrence described in Ex. ii. 11 sqq. A monarchical principle, of which Moses was the representative, was introduced into the Israelitish community on its departure from Egypt, and therefore all judicial authority centred in him. But Jethro's advice led to the restoration of the ancient judicial institutions, which were henceforth associated with the new monarchical principle. There can be no doubt that the new arrangement was essentially identical with the ancient custom, which had fallen for some time into disuse. The word אלף (a thousand) is frequently employed to denote a large, natural

section of a tribe, as every lexicon proves; and it is apparent enough that the numeral employed here is merely approximative, and not mathematically exact. Why may not the same principle of classification have been carried out still further, and thus groups of a hundred, fifty, and ten individuals have formed larger or smaller family circles, with a common judicial head? In Arabic the family is called عَشِيرَة, from the numeral ten, though a family does not always consist of ten persons. In Deut. i. 13, 15, it is also expressly stated, that the judicial plan adopted on Jethro's advice, was made to conform as closely as possible to the existing divisions into families and tribes.

*De Wette* (*Einleitung*, § 156, 2) finds a *contradiction* in the fact, that in Deut. i. 6–18, where the introduction of the judicial plan is again referred to, no mention whatever is made of Jethro; and even *Köster* (*Die Propheten* der alten und neuen Test., p. 23) says: "According to Ex. xviii. 17, Jethro recommended that judges should be appointed over the people according to a decimal system of classification; and, according to Deut. i. 15, Moses adopted this plan by the direction of God. Thus we see that the good advice of a friend was regarded as the word of God." But it is not true that the institution is traced to the direction of God in Deut. i. 15; and *Stähelin* himself (*Krit. Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, p. 79) admits the futility of *De Wette's* objection: "The omission of any reference to Jethro in Deuteronomy does not amount to a contradiction; for the intention of the writer was simply to state *the fact* of the appointment of judges, and not to describe the *manner* of their appointment."

(5.) In chap. xix. 1 it is stated, that "IN THE THIRD MONTH (בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי) after the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, ON THAT DAY (בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה) they came into the desert of Sinai." What day does this mean? Nearly every expositor, from Jonathan downwards, has taken it to mean the day of the new moon, basing the explanation upon the primary meaning of חֹדֶשׁ = *novilunium*,—a meaning which the word always retained (1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24; Hosea v. 7; Amos viii. 5; Is. i. 13, 14; 2 Chron. ii. 3, viii. 13; Neh. x. 34, etc.); thus *Gesenius* renders it *tertio novilunio, i.e., calendis mensis tertii* (Thesaurus, p. 449). But *Lepsius* protests most strongly against such an interpreta-

tion.[1] If this were the meaning, he says, we should find בְּאֶחָד לְחֹדֶשׁ, as in Ex. xl. 2, 17; Num. i. 33, 38. Now no one can deny that this would be the more exact expression; but the use of the less exact (as in this passage, and in Num. ix. 1, xx. 1) is not thereby precluded, especially in the present case, where any misunderstanding is prevented by the words ביום הזה (in that day). But when he further maintains, that the Jewish tradition cannot have taken this to be the meaning of the word, since it fixes the fiftieth day after the Exodus—*i.e.*, the fifth or sixth day of the third month—as the day of the promulgation of the law (which, according to Ex. xix. 11, 15, took place on the third day after the arrival of the Israelites at Sinai), and must therefore have taken the second or third of the month to be the day of arrival, he is evidently in error. For it is not stated anywhere, that the third day was reckoned from the moment of their arrival at Sinai; on the contrary, such an interpretation is

[1] Both *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, ii. p. 297, transl.) and *Bertheau* (*Sieben Gruppen*, p. 62) object to the rendering *novilunium*, though for a totally different reason. Their argument is directed against *Hitzig*, who asserts (Ostern und Pfingsten, p. 21 sqq.) that, in contradiction to Ex. xii. and other passages, Ex. xxxiv. 18 fixes the first of the month Abib (בְּחֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב), instead of the fourteenth, for the celebration of the Passover. In addition to many other correct and conclusive arguments, which they bring forward in opposition to this unheard-of assertion, they state that the word חדש does not occur a single time in the whole of the Pentateuch with the meaning "the day of the new moon." But this is unquestionably the primary meaning of the word; and it is also certain that this meaning was preserved through the whole of the Old Testament (see the passages quoted above). Still, in the passage before us, *Hengstenberg* does not regard the expression as referring to some day in the third month, which is not more particularly defined, but agrees with us in supposing the day intended to be the *first* of the month. He does not found this opinion, however, upon the words בחדש השלישי, but upon the expression "on that day," which is employed to define more precisely the general expression "in the third month." for "on that day" means, "on the day in which the month *commenced*." The incorrectness of such reasoning is very apparent; for if חדש did not of itself denote the beginning of the month, the clause, "on *that* day," could not suffice to indicate the first day of the month. *Hengstenberg's* objection, that in this case ביום הזה would be superfluous, has already been refuted by *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 519): "The analogous passage," he says, "in Gen. vii. 13, demonstrates the opposite. The words, 'on that day,' point emphatically to the day just mentioned, and are only a little weaker than 'on the self-same day,' which also refers to a day already indicated, and not to any longer space of time."

excluded by the context. Shortly after their arrival, probably not till the second day (on account of the fatigue of the journey), Moses ascended the mountain and received the preliminaries of the covenant (vers. 3–6). On his return he collected the elders together, to make known to them the words of Jehovah (this was on the third day). He then brought back to Jehovah the answer of the people, and received a command to make the people ready for the promulgation of the law on the third day from that time (that is, on the fifth or sixth of the month). Thus the fiftieth day from the Exodus is seen to correspond quite correctly to the fifth or sixth day from the arrival at Sinai; and it is evident that the Jewish tradition interpreted ביום הזה in the same manner as we have done.—*Lepsius* supposes "that day" to have been the day of the battle with Amalek (for, in the learned critic's opinion, chap. xix. 1, 2, is put in the wrong place, and ought to stand *before* chap. xviii. 1). That is to say, *on the same day* on which Israel had maintained a severe conflict with Amalek, from the first thing in the morning till late in the evening (xvii. 9, 12), and on which Moses had crippled his hands with the exhaustion caused by holding them up (xvii. 12),—on *the very same day*, though it was a long time past sunset (xvii. 12), Moses not only built an altar at Rephidim (xvii. 15), but after erecting the altar, directed the people, who were worn out partly with terror and anxiety, and partly from the twelve hours' engagement, to leave Rephidim and march through the Wady Aleyat to the Sinai-Serbal;—yes, and on *the same day*, notwithstanding all the strain that had already been put upon both body and mind, Moses ascended to the top of the fearfully precipitous Serbal, which is 6342 feet high, and conversed with Jehovah there; again, *on the same day*, he came down from the mountain (we will hope that he did not find the same difficulty as the Egyptologist, who was quite fresh when he went up, and who says, with regard to himself and his companions [p. 332]: "We were obliged to leap from rock to rock like the chamois, and by this pathless route, the most difficult and exhausting that I ever travelled in my life, we arrived at our tent with trembling knees in two hours and a half") ; and even then the indefatigable Moses had *not* yet finished his day's work, but *on the same day* again he assembled the elders of the people, and then again reported the answer of the people to Jehovah,—all this בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה,

for all this occurred on the day of their arrival, with which the three days' preparation for the promulgation of the law commenced.—Indeed! Then let no one say that *Lepsius* does not believe in miracles! But that is the way with these critics: the actual miracle (*e.g.* the sweetening of the bitter water at Marah, and the flowing of the water from the rock at Rephidim) is pronounced a purely natural occurrence; and the simplest and most natural event in the world, which really required no miracle at all, is so interpreted as to be absolutely inconceivable without the performance of miracles of a most colossal description.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE ROAD TO REPHIDIM AND THE COUNTRY ROUND SINAI.

§ 5. As the route of the Israelites from Ayun Musa to the plain of el-Kaa may be determined with tolerable certainty, so may also the course which they took from the latter place to Sinai. From the northern extremity of the plain of el-Kaa (whether we suppose this spot to have been the station "by the Red Sea," or the station in the desert of Sin), the Israelites, like the modern traveller, had to choose between three different roads, which led to the Jebel Musa, the mountain appointed for the giving of the law (§ 8). They could traverse the plain of el-Kaa towards the south, along the sea-coast as far as the *Wady Hebran*, and then, turning to the east, reach Mount Sinai through this wady to the south of the Serbal group. This is the route which Kosmas, the Indian traveller (in the sixth century), supposed the Israelites to have taken. The first part of the way is very easy, but the latter part is so full of difficulties, that Moses, who knew the country, is not likely to have selected it. The northern route, which leads through the *Wady Nash* to the table-land Debbet er-Ramleh, on the north of the Serbal and Sinaitic groups, is also not likely to have been chosen, notwithstanding its superior facilities,—less, perhaps, because it would be more circuitous and badly supplied with water, than because the Israelites would be directly exposed to the attacks

of the barbarous hordes of Amalekites who inhabited that region (1).—The shortest, best watered, and safest route, led through the Wadys Mokatteb, Feiran, and es-Sheikh, by a tolerably direct and easy way, to the Jebel Musa; and there is scarcely ground for a single doubt that this was the road by which the Israelites travelled. In this opinion both travellers and expositors are now unanimously agreed. We shall therefore dwell a little longer upon the description of this route.

A little to the south of the Wady Nasb, the *Wady Mokatteb* opens into the plain of el-Kaa. This wady owes its name (Valley of Inscriptions) to the ancient inscriptions in the rocks, for which it has become so celebrated (2).—It is from three-quarters of a mile to a mile in breadth, and runs S.S.E. for a distance of four or five hours' journey between rocky hills. At length it joins the *Wady Feiran*, which also opens into the plain of el-Kaa. The latter wady turns somewhat more towards the east, and, after a journey of about six hours, brings the traveller to the northern promontories of the Serbal group. The Feiran valley is "the largest, the most fertile, and the broadest of all the valleys in that region, and the only one through which a clear rivulet is still flowing for several miles. The exact source of this stream, and its disappearance beneath the rocky soil, have not been by any means sufficiently investigated. Again, in all that rocky wilderness there is no other oasis so beautifully studded with palm-groves, fruit-gardens, and corn-fields, as the Wady Feiran" (3).—"From the higher and most fertile portion of the Wady Feiran, where the ruins of the ancient Pharan still bear testimony to an age which understood, far better than the present degenerate race, how to turn its fertility to account, the *Wady Aleyat*, an hour's journey in length, opens into the Wady Feiran, and conducts through a narrow defile to the group of the lofty and majestic *Serbal*, whose tall peaks rise to a height of 6000 feet, and command all the valleys on every side. From the most remote distance, even from Elim, it serves as a landmark to guide the traveller from Egypt, the

loftier but more distant group of Sinai being concealed for a time behind it" (4).—A little farther to the east of the ruins of the ancient Pharan, you ascend from the Wady Feiran to the broad and extensive *Wady es Sheikh*, which continues winding for a distance of about ten hours' journey, till it forms a complete semicircle, and eventually opens into the plain of *er-Rahah*, on the northern side of the central group of the mountains of Sinai (5).

(1). As the most decisive reason for not passing through the Wady Nasb (*copper valley*), *Ritter* (Ev. Kal., p. 45) mentions the circumstance, that a considerable number of Egyptians, whom he had every reason for wishing to avoid, had already settled in this valley for the sake of the mining, which was carried on there with spirit. "For it was here," he says, "that the ruined edifices of an ancient Egyptian colony were discovered by *Niebuhr*, at the northern outlet of the wady, into which he had wandered by mistake. The ruins consisted of a temple, several tombs, and blocks of stone, all covered with hieroglyphics. They are surrounded by a district which is full of the excavations made in connection with ancient mining operations, with copper mines and furnaces, that point to a very early pre-Mosaic period. This mining was still carried on at the time of Moses, and had been pursued at the same spot a thousand years before (? ! !); for we find the name of the Pharaoh of the Exodus—namely, *Menephtha*—in hieroglyphics on the monuments, with those of many of his ancestors of a much earlier date. The name given to the place by the modern Bedouins is *Sarbat-el-Khadim*, *i.e.*, hill of the rings, from the rings which surround the names of the kings on the stone tablets, according to the general and traditionary custom of the Egyptians." (For further particulars, see *Ritter's Erdkunde*, xiv. 793 sqq.) This argument has little weight in our estimation, since it presupposes the unconditional correctness of the fallacious results of the chronology of *Lepsius* (vol. ii. § 45, 1). Moreover, even if there had been still, or had been already, Egyptian colonists engaged in mining there, it is not very likely that they would be provided with a military garrison of sufficient strength to cause the Israelites any anxiety.

(2.) In the Wady Mokatteb there are several side openings, containing traces of Egyptian architecture, with ruins of

temples, shafts of mines, etc., on some of which there are the names of kings of still greater antiquity than those at Sarbat-el-Khadim. The fact that these are not noticed in the Mosaic account of the journey of the Israelites, is explained by *K. Ritter*, on the supposition that either the mines had been already forsaken as being older than the others, or the Israelites passed by them without observing them, as they were somewhat hidden in the clefts which are found at the end of the side valleys.—But the Wady Mokatteb has derived much greater interest than that which is imparted to it by the remains of mines, from the quantity of *inscriptions* in the sandstone rocks, which cover nearly every spot where room could be found to engrave them. As inscriptions of just the same character are frequently met with in other places in the neighbourhoods of the mountains of Sinai, they are called by the general name of the SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

"They are found," says Robinson (i. 188, 189), "on all the routes which lead from the west toward this mountain, as far south as Tûr. They extend to the very base of Sinai, above the convent el-Arbain, but are found neither on Jebel Mûsa, nor on the present Horeb, nor on St Catherine, nor in the valley of the convent; while on Serbâl they are seen on its very summit. Not one has yet been found to the eastward of Sinai. But the spot where they exist in the greatest number is the Wady Mukatteb, 'Written Valley,' through which the usual road to Sinai passes before reaching Wady Feirân. Here they occur by thousands on the rocks, chiefly at such points as would form convenient resting-places for travellers or pilgrims during the noonday sun; as is also the case with those we saw upon the other route. Many of them are accompanied by crosses, sometimes obviously of the same date with the inscription, and sometimes apparently later or retouched. The character is everywhere the same; but until recently it has remained undeciphered, in spite of the efforts of the ablest paleographists. The inscriptions are usually short; and most of them exhibit the same initial characters. Some Greek inscriptions are occasionally intermingled."

The earliest notice of the existence of these inscriptions we find in the work of the Indian traveller Kosmas (about 530). But even then every historical tradition of their origin had disappeared, as well as the ability to read and interpret them. *Kosmas* himself was led to believe, on the testimony of some

Jews, who professed to have read them, that they were relics of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel under Moses. He says (according to *Ritter*, xiv. 28): "When the people received the written law of God through Moses at this spot, they were made acquainted for the first time with the art of writing; and during their prolonged stay there, they had time and leisure enough to exercise themselves in the practice of that art. Hence at every station in the neighbourhood of Sinai, at which the people rested, you may see the blocks of stone which have been rolled from the heights, and the surface of the rock itself, covered with Hebrew characters. The writing itself consists of names and dates connected with their journey, the names of tribes, the months, etc."—Since his time, it was not till the last century that attention was again directed to these inscriptions. Several copies were made and brought to Europe; but for a long time the attempts of antiquarians to decipher them entirely failed. Professor *Beer* of Leipzig made the first successful beginning in 1839 (*Inscriptiones vett. ad montem Sinai servatæ*, Lps. 1840). *Credner*, in a review of Beer's work, carried the investigation considerably further (Heidelberg Jahrbücher 1841, p. 908 sqq.); and more recently *Fr. Tuch* has subjected the researches of his predecessors to so strict a scrutiny, and carried them out to such an extent, that hardly any essential improvements remain to be made (*Versuch einer Erklärung von* 21 *Sinaitischen Inschriften*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenl. Gesellschaft* iii. H. 2, pp. 129–215, Lpz. 1849). *Beer* was misled by the frequent recurrence of the cross in these inscriptions, and attributed them to Christian pilgrims belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era. But such a theory could hardly be reconciled with the fact, that all the names which he deciphered were purely heathen names, and that not a single Jewish or Christian name could be found among the whole of them. Moreover, where could the pilgrims have come from, who wrote in characters of which we cannot find the slightest trace, and to which no analogy can be discovered among all the languages of antiquity? The assumption, that the writers lived in the peninsula itself, seems altogether impossible, if we suppose them to have been Christians; for the only Christians who inhabited those regions in the first centuries of the Church, are known to have been nearly all monks and hermits, whose lives were constantly

threatened by the wild heathen natives, the so-called Saracens. *Tuch's* researches, however, have established it as an undoubted fact, that these inscriptions are written in a dialect of Arabic, and that the authors belonged to the native population of the peninsula, and were most likely of Amalekite descent. Their religion he has since discovered to have been the Sabæan worship of the stars; and the occasion of the inscriptions themselves he supposes to have been the pilgrimages made to the Serbal, the mountain consecrated to Baal from time immemorial, for the celebration of religious festivals. The date of their composition he imagines to have been the last centuries before Christ, and the first centuries of the Christian era. The difficulty arising from the frequent recurrence of crosses he removes by the supposition, which a single glance in most cases confirms, that they were added afterwards by Christian pilgrims, just as trees, camels, goats, and a hundred other things, were inserted at a still later period by the hands of shepherds. The inscriptions generally consist of a short salutation, and the name of the writer.

(3.) Travellers are all enraptured at the paradise-like fertility and loveliness of the WADY FEIRAN. *Lepsius* (*Briefe*, p. 332) calls it the most precious jewel of the peninsula, praises its luxuriant forests of palms and tarfah, and the lovely banks of the brook, which flows rapidly through the wady, winding along amidst bushes and flowers. "Everything that I had hitherto seen, and all that I saw afterwards, was bare stony desert, in comparison with this fertile, woody, and well-watered oasis. For the first time since we left the Nile we trod upon soft black earth, had to keep off the overhanging branches with our arms as we walked along, and heard birds singing among the thick foliage of the trees." Though the writer, from sympathy with the Israelites, who, according to his theory, spent a whole year on this spot (as Sinai), or rather from partiality to this hypothesis of his own, may have used too brilliant colours in his painting (most decidedly he has done so in the negative portions), there is still no doubt that the Wady Feiran is one of the most fertile spots in the whole of the peninsula (cf. *Dieterici*, ii. 31). According to *Lepsius* (p. 334), the most fruitful part of the valley is situated between two rocky *hills*, which rise from the plain in the midst of the wady. Of these, the upper one, which stands at the opening of the Wady es-Sheikh, is named

*el-Buêb;* the other, which is opposite to the entrance to the Wady Aleyat, *Hererat.* Near the latter stood the ancient populous city of Pharan, which *Cl. Ptolemæus* inserted in the geographical tables drawn up by him about the middle of the second century, and which in the time of Kosmas was an episcopal see of considerable importance. On the Hererat, which is surrounded by two arms of the brook Feiran, there stood a splendid monastery, the site of which is still marked by its ruins. Immediately behind the hill, *Lepsius* (p. 334) found "the narrow valley as stony and barren as the upper valleys, though the brook flowed for half an hour at their side. It was not till the next sharp turn in the valley, which he calls *el-Hessun* (*Burckhardt*, Hosseye), that some groups of palm-trees were seen again. Here the BROOK disappeared in a cleft in the rock, just as suddenly as it had issued forth behind the Buêb, and we saw it no more." According to *Ritter* (xiv. 739), the brook, at the present day, is the natural result of the confluence of the waters from the large Wady es-Sheikh and the numerous valleys in its vicinity.

(4.) In the *Wady Aleyat* the traveller passes by innumerable inscriptions in the rock, to a well surrounded by palm-trees, from which *Lepsius* (p. 333) enjoyed a full prospect of the majestic SERBAL. "Separated from all the other mountains, and forming one solid mass, the Serbal rises to the height of 6000 feet (according to Rüppell, 6342 feet) above the level of the sea. At first the ascent is gentle, but higher up there are only steep precipitous rocks." "We were obliged," says *Lepsius* (p. 330), "to go round the south-eastern side of the mountain, and to ascend it from behind—that is, from the south, as it would have far exceeded our powers to climb to the top through the *Rim*-cleft, which separates the two eastern peaks, and the ascent through which is straight and very steep. After about four hours' exertions, we reached a small piece of table land, lying between the (five) peaks. There was a road across it, leading to the western edge of the mountain. . . . From this point the mountain-path suddenly descended through rugged rocks into a deep, wild ravine, around which the five peaks of the Serbal rose in a semicircle, forming a majestic coronet. In the heart of this ravine lay the ruins of an ancient monastery." *Lepsius* went back from this spot across the table land, and

ascended first the southernmost peak, and afterwards the one next to it, which appeared to be somewhat higher. As it was beginning to get dark, he returned by the steep cleft in the rock, which led straight to the travellers' encampment (compare § 4, 5). See also the lively description given by *Dieterici*, ii. p. 31 sqq.— The *name*, Serbal, is derived by *Rödiger* (on *Wellstedt's Reisen in Arabien*, vol. ii. last page) from the Arabic سرب (*palmarum copia*) and *Baal*, and most Arabic scholars agree with him. It is equivalent, therefore, to "the palm-grove of Baal." The name itself points to the idolatrous worship which was offered upon it in ancient times; and the inscriptions that cover it to the very summit are proofs, that this was the spot whither the festal pilgrimages were made, memorials of which have been handed down by inscriptions on the cliffs of every road through which it can be approached. The Serbal, in fact, seems made for the Sabæan worship of the stars. "The fine, bold, rugged, hardly accessible rocky peaks, which crown the summit in so royal a form, seem better fitted," says *K. Ritter*, "for the five pyramidal thrones of the five great planets, than for the seat of the one God; for the other two of the seven planetary deities, the sun and the moon, had undoubtedly their own special sanctuaries in the Serbal itself and the immediate neighbourhood. Antonius the Martyr, at the end of the sixth century, found this opinion still prevailing among the inhabitants of the district, whom he called Saracens. And even to the present day the Bedouins of the tribe of Tawarah, in that locality, who are probably the latest descendants of the ancient heathen population, and who have adopted but little of the religion of Islam, only approach the summit with dæmoniacal reverence, barefooted and praying. On occasions of prosperity they offer sacrifices on the mountain, and regard it as a desecration of the sacred mountain to bring strangers thither.

(5.) The Wady es-Sheikh (*Shech*) is described by *Ritter*, in the heading to his excellent description (xiv. 645 sqq.), as "the large, crooked, principal valley, the cleft which connects the Sinai and the Serbal groups in the central range, and the *only* convenient road by which the two are connected." Immediately behind the spot at which the rocky hill el-Buêb (Note 4) contracts the Feiran valley to so great an extent, you enter the longer and broader Sheikh valley, which derives its name from

the tomb of an Arab sheikh who was considered a saint, and who lies buried there. It winds first towards the north-east, then towards the east and south-east, and lastly towards the south, and thus describes almost a perfect semicircle of ten hours' journey in length. This great wady continues to ascend gently, but constantly; so that at the point at which it issues into the plain of er-Rahah, at the foot of the Sinaitic group, it is more than 2300 feet higher than at its junction with the Wady Feiran. The waters of the innumerable side wadys flow into this one; and hence it is well watered for a considerable portion of the year, and contains many tracts of meadow land, with a large number of tarfah-trees. It is especially noted as yielding the largest supply of manna at the present day. Moreover, there is no spot in the whole peninsula, so densely populated as this wady and its numerous side valleys. Towards the middle of the wady, at the point at which its direction changes from the east to the south, the broad valley is contracted into a defile of not more than forty feet in breadth, which runs between cliffs that rise on either side like granite walls. In a part of this pass, which is a little broader than the rest, the Bedouins point out a block of stone five feet high, which looks like a seat provided by nature, and to which they have given the name of *Mokad Seidna Musa* (resting-place of the lord Moses). Beyond this pass the valley widens again, and there is an opening in the eastern wall of rock, at the farther extremity of which is a well with excellent water, called the *Moses-well* (Bir Musa). After travelling an hour from the so-called resting-place of Moses, you enter a second defile, in a side opening of which you find the *well* of *Abu-Suweirah* (Abu-Szueir). When you emerge from this pass, the valley attains a considerable breadth, and you proceed for some hours in a southerly direction, rising gently the whole way, until at length you reach the table land of *er-Rahah*.

§ 6. As the curvilinear Wady es-Sheikh affords to the traveller a convenient road from the Serbal group to that of Sinai, so are the two groups also connected by the "Windy Pass;" but the difficult passes of this range of hills repel the traveller from going to them for a shorter road from Serbal to Sinai.

We shall content ourselves, therefore, for the present, with our acquaintance, if not with the shortest road, yet with the one which was most suited for the journeyings of Israel, and will proceed at once to survey the Sinaitic group and its immediate neighbourhood.

"Whichever peak may be regarded as the scene of the giving of the law, the ordinary notion, that there is a large plain at the foot of the mountain, on which the Israelites may all have assembled, is altogether a mistaken one. On the contrary, it is completely surrounded by a labyrinth of valleys and clefts, so that the whole nation can hardly have witnessed what was taking place at the summit of the mountain."—We have here an assertion which so circumspect a scholar as *Winer* was able to make (as he imagined, with perfect certainty) but a very short time ago (*Reallexicon*, ed. 2, ii. 550). Since then, however, our acquaintance with the environs of Sinai has been so improved and extended, that we know of not *one* merely, but *two* large plains in the immediate neighbourhood of the mountains, either of which would perfectly satisfy all the requirements.

The heart of the Sinai- (et-Tur-) mountains consists of a group of three immense parallel ranges, running from the north-west to the south-east. The centre of the three is *Horeb*, which has two peaks,—*Ras-es-Sufsâfeh* towards the north, and *Jebel-Musa* to the south. The eastern portion of the group is called *Jebel ed-Deir*, and the western *Jebel el-Homr*. The last of the three extends much farther towards both north and south than either of the others, and rises in the south into the highest mountain of the entire group, *Mount Catherine* (1.)—At the north of the Horeb, the broad Wady es-Sheikh (§ 5, 5), leading from the north-east, joins the still broader *table-land* of *er-Rahah*, which extends two English miles towards the north-west, when it is closed by the Windy Pass, which joins the Jebel el-Homr and the table-land of the Jebel el-Fureia, that bounds it on the north (2). The two narrow defiles, which separate the three mountains from one another, open into this plain. The western

defile (between Jebel el-Homr and Horeb) is called *Wady el-Leja;* it has no outlet towards the south, as the Jebel Musa and the Jebel el-Homr are connected together by a ridge, from which you ascend Mount Catherine. The eastern defile, between Horeb and Jebel ed-Deir, is named *Wady Shoeib;* this also forms a *cul-de-sac*, the two mountains being joined together towards the south by a saddle-shaped ridge (the *Jebel es-Sebaye*) (3). On the other hand, a broad valley curves round the eastern and southern side of the Jebel ed-Deir, the *Wady es-Sebaye*, which may be regarded as a continuation of the Wady es-Sheikh, and is also connected with the plain of er-Rahah. This wady forms the only open and convenient approach to a large and broad plain, which surrounds the Jebel Musa on the south in the form of an amphitheatre, and touches the western foot of Mount Catherine. The name of this plain is *Sebaye* (4).

*N.B.*—An excellent and graphic representation of the Sinaitic group is attached to *Robinson's* Researches. In general, it accords with the map of Sinai which *Laborde* has incorporated in his *Commentaire Géographique*, and in which (though in other respects it is inferior to Robinson's) one feature overlooked by Robinson is very accurately given, viz., the plain of Sebaye.

(1.) The central range (HOREB, *Sinai*, Jebel et-Tur, etc.) rises almost perpendicularly from the plain of er-Rahah, like a wall of rock, to the height of about 1500 feet above the plain, and 5366 feet above the level of the sea. Its highest point is called RAS ES-SUFSAFEH (by *Lepsius*, *Sefsâf*). The summit is crowned by three distinct peaks,—two of them conical, the central one resembling a dome. From this point you command a view of the plain of er-Rahah in its whole extent, and also of a large portion of the Wady es-Sheikh. The three peaks all rise about 500 feet above the main body of the mountain-range, the southern extremity of which is almost an hour's journey distant, where it rises into another and still larger peak, the so-called mountain of Moses, or JEBEL MUSA (according to *Russegger*, about 7097 feet high). The plain is hidden from this point by the Ras es-Sufsâfeh, and the view of the southern plain of es-Sebaye, which lies at its foot, is somewhat contracted

by the low hills in the foreground.—The eastern range—which *Robinson* calls *Jebel* ED DEIR; *Laborde, Epistemi*—is not much inferior either in magnitude or height.—*Jebel* EL-HOMR is larger and more lofty than either. Its highest point in the southern part of the range, according to *Russegger's* measurement, is 8168 feet above the level of the sea.

(2.) The WADY ER-RAHAH was certainly seen and trodden by many a traveller *before* the time of *Robinson;* but none of them had ever paid particular attention to it, or observed its importance in connection with the configuration of the Sinaitic group. The merit of this unquestionably belongs to *Robinson* (i. 130 sqq.), however *Laborde* may endeavour to detract from it (*Comment. Geogr.*, pp. 41, 42 of the Appendix). As *Robinson* and his companion *Smith* were descending by the Windy Pass from the north-west towards the south-east, they were struck with the view which unexpectedly presented itself, and both of them involuntarily exclaimed, "There is room enough here for a large encampment!" "Before us," says *Robinson*, "lay a fine broad plain, enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern and naked, splintered peaks and ridges of indescribable grandeur, and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly, in frowning majesty, from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn grandeur, wholly unexpected, and such as we had never seen; and the associations which at the moment rushed upon our minds were almost overwhelming." The whole plain is, on an average, from one to two-thirds of a mile broad and two miles long, making in all more than a square mile. This space is nearly doubled by a broad curve towards the south-west, which leads to the Wady el-Leja, and by the level ground of the Wady es-Sheikh, which is very little narrower, and which runs at right angles to the plain of er-Rahah, from which it is separated by a deep mountain torrent.

(3.) The western defile, WADY EL-LEJA, conceals in the background the deserted monastery of *el-Arbain* (*i.e.*, the forty, *sc.* martyrs), with its rich olive plantations. (For further particulars of the monastery, see § 8, 1.) The eastern defile, WADY EL-SHOEIB, is better known, as it is from this point that the ascent of Jebel Musa is generally made. *Shoeib* is the Arabic

name of Jethro (vol. ii. § 19, 7); and the valley is named after him, because the flocks of this prince and priest in Midian are supposed to have been driven hither for pasture. In the heart of this valley lies the hospitable *monastery of St Catherine*, with its pleasure grounds and fruitful gardens, in which every traveller to Sinai finds a welcome home (see *Ritter*, xiv. 598 sqq.).

(4.) The existence of so extensive a plain at the foot of the Jebel Musa, as the PLAIN OF ES-SEBAYE (Zbai, according to Lepsius) proved to be, had escaped the notice of all the earlier travellers, not excepting even Robinson himself. The cause of this remarkable circumstance is to be found in the fact, that the view from the Jebel Musa is by no means an advantageous one, as there is a row of small gravel hills at the foot of the mountain, which, though they do not quite conceal the plain, prevent your discovering its actual extent. *Laborde* can claim the merit of having been the first to perceive the importance of this plain, and of having included an outline of it, though somewhat inaccurate and confused, in his topographical sketch of Sinai. *W. Krafft* and *F. A. Strauss* examined this remarkable plain with greater minuteness and care (compare *Strauss's* Sinai und Golgotha, p. 136, and his manuscript communications quoted by *Ritter*, xiv. 596 sqq.). "The Sinai," he says, "descends abruptly for about 2000 feet, and at the foot there are low gravel hills, and behind them a broad plain, which rises like an amphitheatre towards the south and east. . . . If the view from the summit of the Jebel Musa was such as to astonish us at its majestic situation, our amazement was equally aroused when we looked from the plain at the grandeur of the altar of God, which rose abruptly before us in the most magnificent form." "On the side on which the Wady es-Sebaye enters, the plain is 1400 feet in breadth; at the south-western foot of the mountain, 1800 feet. The latter is the breadth at its central part, and its length from east to west is 12,000 feet. Its superficial dimensions, therefore, are greater than those of *er-Rahah*. (According to *Robinson*, i. 140, er-Rahah is 2700 feet broad and 7000 feet long,—though this space is nearly doubled when we add the broad plain of the Wady es-Sheikh.) Towards the south the plain of es-Sebaye rises very gradually; and even the mountains, which bound it on the south, have a gentle slope, and do not

reach any very great height;" so that the plain and mountains together form a natural amphitheatre around the majestic Moses' mountain.

*Graul* (ii. 218) writes as follows:—"I crossed the hills in the foreground, which are connected with the Jebel Musa, and with some difficulty reached the low-lying *plain of Sebayeh*, which I found on closer inspection to be considerably larger than it had appeared to be when I looked at it from the summit of the Jebel Musa. I walked straight forwards, with the determination to keep right on till the summit of the Jebel Musa was lost to view; but, as the sun was very hot, I turned back long before there was any prospect of reaching the point I had intended. The road still continued to ascend between the mountains. From the point at which I turned I counted 1500 steps, over partly hilly ground and partly a gentle slope, and then 1500 more over level ground, to the point at which the Wady Sebayeh curves round the Jebel ed-Deir, and the summit of Jebel Musa is lost for a short distance. As soon as it was visible again, I walked forward 1500 steps into the *Wady Sebayeh*, and was unable to perceive any point at which it was likely to be obscured again. The wady is from two to four hundred paces broad, apart from the gentle slope of the mountains to the east."

§ 7. In what part of the valleys and plains, which we have now traversed with the help of experienced guides, are we to look for the stations, *Dofkah*, *Alush*, and *Rephidim?* Where was the encampment in the *desert of Sinai?* And which of the giants of the desert, that we are now acquainted with, was the mountain of the law, the *Mount of God* in Horeb? We have no clue at all to the exact position of Dofkah and Alush, and even with regard to the station at Rephidim we are not much better off. We can only decide with tolerable certainty, that they must all three have been on the road which leads from the plain on the coast, el-Kaa, to the Jebel Musa. A comparison between the number of the stations and the length of the road will not even enable us to get a general idea of the distance between the stations; for our previous investigations have shown

most conclusively that there was the greatest inequality in the length of the various stages,—sometimes they were hardly a day's journey, and at other times they occupied three whole days, if not more. At Rephidim there was a dearth of water: Moses smote the rock, and a spring issued from it. How far will this fact help us? There are thousands of rocks on the road at which this might have occurred. We do not even know whether we are to look for a particularly parched locality, which might answer the description given, or for a peculiarly well-watered district, which would testify to the results of the miracle wrought by Moses. For who can inform us whether the spring, which Moses called forth from the rock, was merely intended for the time of their sojourn at Rephidim, or continued to flow after the Israelites had departed? Again, we read of the battle between the Israelites and the Amalekites, and of a hill from which Moses looked down upon the battle-field. But both the Wady Feiran and the Wady es-Sheikh are of very nearly the same breadth throughout; and there are so many hills on the road, that it is impossible, if we examine without prepossession, to fix with confidence upon any one spot as more adapted for this purpose than all the rest. And is it absolutely certain that the battle-field must have been a broad and extensive *plain*, when we consider that the conflict merely arose from a predatory attack of Bedouins?—We have now exhausted all the special *data* from which we might hope to obtain a clue to the exact position of Rephidim. It appears, therefore, that we must for ever renounce the hope of discovering the rock from which the waters gushed out, and the spot where Moses stood when his uplifted staff brought victory to the combatants. Only *one* hope still remains, namely, that possibly the ancient names Dofkah, Alush, Rephidim, might be unexpectedly heard from the lips of the Bedouins as faithfully guarded reminiscences of the most remote antiquity (an occurrence by no means without analogies). Yet even this we can hardly speak of as *possible;* for in that portion of the peninsula which is the most frequented and the most thickly populated, travellers have asked the name of every little

wady, every opening, every rock, and every hill, a thousand times, without once detecting the least resemblance to the ancient names.

(1.) Under the circumstances described above, we shall content ourselves with giving a cursory sketch of the conjectures of the most celebrated travellers and expositors as to the *situation of Rephidim*. The most westerly spot of all has been selected by *Lepsius*, who supposes the Serbal to have been the mountain of the law. He places it at *el-Hessun* (§ 5, 3), where the Feiran brook suddenly disappears behind a cleft in a rock, and never emerges again. To this spot, with which he was well acquainted, Moses is supposed by him to have led the murmuring people, that they might taste for the first time the water of the primeval mountains. To this he reduces the whole miracle at Massah and Meribah (§ 4, 1). But even apart from the triviality of his mode of explaining the miracle, this hypothesis cannot be sustained; for the original record points to the origin, not to the end, of a stream; and *Ritter* (xiv. 740) has conclusively replied: "The staff of Moses cannot possibly have caused the water to issue forth at the spot where it buries itself in the ground; this can only have taken place at the point at which it takes its rise, even if it be correct to regard the stream of the Wady Feiran as identical with Moses' spring." The paradise, which commences half an hour behind el-Hessun, between the two hills Hererat and el-Bueb (§ 5, 3), is supposed by *Lepsius* to have been occupied by the Amalekites, who were afraid that Israel might intend to dispossess them, and therefore had reason enough for the attack which they made. *Lepsius* also appeals to the fact that *Eusebius* and *Jerome* place Rephidim ἐγγὺς Φαράν (*prope Pharan*). But the most conclusive argument he supposes to be, that Massah and Meribah were a "rock in Horeb," and that Jethro visited his son-in-law, when there, at the "mount of God in Horeb," *i.e.*, at the mountain of the law (or Serbal) (§ 4, 4; 8, 3).

*K. Ritter* is of opinion that we must look for Rephidim higher up, namely, in the most fertile parts of the valley between Hererat and el-Bueb (xiv. 739 sqq.). In this case, the hill Hererat would be the spot upon which Moses stood when Israel fought against Amalek, and the rock Massah and Meribah

would be identical with the narrow cleft el-Bueb (§ 5, 3), where the brook of Feiran suddenly issues from the rock. In the present day, it is true, the brook takes its rise in a natural manner from the confluence of the waters of the Wady es-Sheikh. But may not "the staff of Moses have first opened a passage for the brook into the Wady Feiran, through the narrow cleft el-Bueb?" If so, "this wady will not have been a cultivated valley, as it afterwards was, nor a treasure of such importance for the sons of Amalek to defend." For "if this was the case, the luxuriance and cultivation of the Wady Feiran cannot be of a more ancient date than the age posterior to Moses." The Mount of God at Rephidim, where Jethro visited Moses, must have been Serbal, in Ritter's opinion; and there were therefore *two* distinct mountains of God—the Serbal, the mountain of heathen worship, and the Jebel Musa, which afterwards *became* the mountain of (the true) God in consequence of the promulgation of the law (§ 4, 4). The mention of *Horeb* in connection with the smiting of the rock (chap. xvii. 6), is accounted for by *Ritter* on the ground that the name Horeb is used in the Pentateuch to denote the whole of the Sinaitic group of mountains, including even its most extensive outlying hills (§ 8, 1).

*Robinson*, *Laborde*, *Raumer*, and others, go farther up the road through the Wady es-Sheikh in their search for Rephidim. *Laborde* fixed upon a site between the two defiles of Mokad Seidna Musa and Abu-Suweirah (§ 5, 5); but *Robinson* decides in favour of the point above the well Abu-Suweirah, at which the valley widens again into a broad plain, about five hours' journey from the junction of the Wady es-Sheikh with the plain of er-Rahah. This site, says *Robinson*, answers very well to the description of Rephidim as the last station before the encampment in the desert of Sinai, and also enables us to explain the fact that the rock is said to have been "in Horeb," and that Jethro came to Rephidim "at the mount of God;" for the outermost hills of Sinai actually commence here, and the people were already in the neighbourhood of the mountain of the law. *Robinson* is only acquainted with one objection which can be offered to this opinion, namely, that neither at this spot, nor throughout the entire Wady es-Sheikh, is there any particular dearth of water at the present day. This difficulty he cannot meet in any other way, than by supposing that, as the people appear to have remained at Rephi-

dim for a considerable length of time, the small supply (from the well Abu-Suweirah) was soon exhausted.

The *legend* of the monastery at Sinai places the site of Rephidim farthest up, and is decidedly inadmissible. It points out an immense mass of rock, in the western cleft of Horeb, the Wady el-Leja (§ 6, 3), as the rock from which the water was brought by the rod of Moses.

§ 8. But the most interesting and important question of all is, which was the mountain, or mountain-peak, upon which Jehovah descended amidst thunder and lightning and a mighty trumpet blast, and whence He proclaimed to the assembled people, in fire and with the voice of thunder, the fundamental law of the covenant (Ex. xix. 16 sqq.)? Where did the people encamp in the "Desert of Sinai;" and where are we to look for the spot to which Moses "brought forth the people *out of* the camp to meet God" (xix. 17), and from which the people fled away and stood afar off, "when they saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking" (xx. 14 [18])?

We have every reason for keeping at a distance from the opinion to which *Lepsius* has given utterance, and which he has advocated with such a show of eloquence and such persuasive arts, viz., that the *Serbâl* was the mountain of the law,—to say nothing of other conjectures of travellers in search of discoveries. A calm examination of the Biblical statements, a thoughtful comparison of the localities referred to (1), and a proper attention to the testimony of tradition (2), which is by no means so groundless in this case as it frequently is, compel us to decide in favour of the mountain-range of the Jebel Musa (§ 6, 1) (3). The only thing about which there is still some uncertainty, is whether we should side with *Robinson*, who fixes upon the northern peak of this range, namely, the Râs es-Sufsâfeh (4), as the spot to which the Lord descended in the fire, or should follow tradition and many modern travellers, and give the preference to the southern peak, or Jebel Musa. A careful examination of the neighbouring valleys and plains may enable us

to arrive at some certainty as to this contested point. And, happily, the latest researches have added so considerably and essentially to our knowledge of the locality in question, that we can now assert with tolerable confidence, that the place of encampment in the desert of Sinai was the *plain of er-Rahah*, with the adjoining valleys and patches of pasture land; that the mountain on which the law was promulgated was the *Jebel Musa;* and that the spot to which Moses conducted the people of God was the *plain of es-Sebaye* (5).

(1.) The *use of the* NAMES SINAI AND HOREB (*Choreb*) has always been very variable. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 325 sqq., translation) and *Robinson* (i. 177, 551 sqq.) decide that, in the Pentateuch and the Bible generally, *Horeb* is used as the original name of the entire group, whilst *Sinai* is restricted to one particular mountain (that of the law); and in this decision *Rödiger* (on Wellstedt's Reise, ii. 89–91) and *Ritter* (xiv. 743) concur. *Gesenius*, however (on Burckhardt, p. 1078), comes to the very opposite conclusion; and *Lepsius* (Briefe, pp. 352, 439) declares that the two names are continually applied to the mountain of the law, with exactly the same signification. It is certain, at the outset, that if either of the two names is more comprehensive than the other, it must be the name Horeb; for there is not a single passage in the Old Testament, in which the name Sinai is employed, where the context shows that it necessarily refers to the entire group of mountains. But this is the case in Ex. xvii. 6, where the name Horeb occurs. When the rock Massah and Meribah is described, as it is there, as "a rock in Horeb," we think at once of the outlying mountains of the entire Sinaitic group, not of the mountain of the law; for Rephidim (where the rock was situated) and the desert of Sinai (at the foot of the mountain of the law) were two different stations, at least a day's journey apart (chap. xix. 2). This more comprehensive, and therefore more indefinite meaning of the name Horeb, is still further confirmed by Ex. iii. 1: "Moses led the flock of Jethro to the mountain of God, to Horeb (חֹרֵבָה)," where the mountainous *district* of Horeb is evidently referred to, and not one particular mountain. On the other hand, the fact that the name *Sinai* originally denoted the par-

ticular mountain, is evident from this among other reasons, that the plain at the foot of the mountain is always called the "desert of *Sinai*," never the "desert of *Horeb*." On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that the name Horeb is frequently employed in cases in which we can only think of the one mountain of the law, and that in the later books this actually became the prevailing name. There is nothing strange in such an interchange of names, especially as it takes place according to a definite law, as *Hengstenberg* has fully proved. During the whole period of the sojourn of the Israelites at the mountain of the law, when the number of mountains round about them rendered it necessary that a distinction should be made, this particular mountain was called *Sinai* (with the single exception of Ex. xxxiii. 6). But in the history of the Israelites subsequently to their departure from that district—for example, in the whole of the Book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of Deut. xxxiii. 2—the name *Horeb* is applied to the mountain on which the law was given. There was no longer the same necessity for distinguishing the one mountain from all the rest, as during their stay in the immediate neighbourhood; and the more general name became current again.—The name Horeb was probably of Egyptian origin, and Sinai the name given in the district itself. If so, the more general and indefinite use of the former could be very easily explained.—In the later books of the Old Testament, the two are used promiscuously (but *Horeb* the more frequently of the two). In the New Testament we meet with *Sinai* alone; and this is also the case in Josephus. After the time of the Crusades, travellers varied considerably in their use of the two names; but, since the last century, this diversity has ceased among Christian writers,—Jebel Musa being almost invariably designated *Sinai*, and the northern part of the same range *Horeb*.

2. The remarks of *K. Ritter* (xiv. 729, 730), with reference to the *perpetuity* of the TRADITION CONCERNING THE SITUATION OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LAW, are undoubtedly correct. He says, "The stupendous events connected with the sojourn of the Israelites at Sinai were intended to produce a far greater effect upon their immediate descendants, the people on the Jordan, than merely to fix their attention upon localities, namely, to work upon their minds in such a way as to contribute to their

eternal salvation. Hence the transient terrestrial phenomena only needed to be so far hinted at, as to connect, to some extent, the brief occurrences of the time with the local circumstances that attended their wanderings. At the same time, but little weight was attached to details, since Jehovah did not remain behind at Sinai and in the desert, but went along with His people Israel to Canaan and to Sion. Hence, in all future ages, though the attention of the Israelites was directed to the *law*, it was not fixed upon the *mountain* of the law. For the glorious event was not concentrated exclusively upon this particular mountain. . . . Moreover, this one mountain, Sinai, was never an object of adoration, like the sacred places of other nations, nor were the pilgrimages of the Israelites directed thither."—Still, we must not carry this out so far, as to suppose that the Israelites of a later age lost all interest in the spot where the law had been delivered, and that even their acquaintance with the locality became less and less, if it did not cease altogether. The frequent references made by the psalmists and the prophets to the mountain of the law, could not fail to excite and perpetually renew inquiry as to its exact situation. It did not follow that, because the people were spiritually minded, or were intended to be so, therefore this question excited no longer any interest in their minds. We have evidence enough that the places in the Holy Land, which had been rendered sacred by the events connected with the history of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were regarded with perpetual interest by their descendants (sometimes, in fact, with more than was right), and that this was in itself quite a proper thing (of course within proper bounds). The book of Genesis, with its vivid descriptions of the patriarchal adventures, was evidently designed to stimulate this interest, and keep it alive. Abraham laid the foundation of it by purchasing the family grave at Machpelah (vol. i. § 66). Moriah, Bethel, Mahanaim, and many other places, consecrated by manifestations of God Himself, demanded it by their very names. The temple at Moriah was founded upon a spot, which had already been marked out for the purpose by the culminating points in the lifetime of Abraham. Jeroboam selected Bethel for the worship of the calves, doubtless in order to give a colour to what he did by the recollections which the name excited. And the worship offered on the high places was able even to

maintain a successful opposition to the temple-worship at Jerusalem, since it called to mind the fact, that the patriarchs themselves had sacrificed on the very same high places. And, even if we had no direct testimony to the fact, it would be natural to assume that the people cherished similar feelings with reference to the place at which the law was proclaimed. But we are not altogether without such testimony. Elijah made a pilgrimage to the mountain on which Jehovah in His majesty had given the law to the people, that he might there utter his complaints to God, of the manner in which the people of his times had fallen away from the law. Elijah, and the men of his age, therefore, were undoubtedly acquainted with the situation of this holy ground (cf. 1 Kings xix. 8). The Apostle Paul was even in a position to inform his readers of the name which the mountain of the law bore among the native Arabs at that time (Gal. iv. 25: for Mount Sinai is called Hagar by the Arabs). He had been in Arabia (Gal. i. 17): *very possibly* he had ascended the mountain with feelings akin to those with which Elias had climbed it before him; for, like Elias, he also had had to complain of the obduracy and persecution of his nation. We may assume that he also was still acquainted with the situation of the mountain, or that he thought he was. Christian churches were formed in Arabia at a very early period, namely, in the second century; and Christian hermits withdrew from the world into the mountains and valleys, which had been consecrated by the wonderful works that God had performed for His people. Dionysius of Alexandria (about the year 250) mentions, that in his day Mount Sinai was the resort of Egyptian Christians during the time of persecution, and that the Saracens, who frequented it, often made them slaves (*Eusebius* Historia, 6, 42). We also learn from many authorities of the fourth century, that Mount Sinai was the seat of many a hermitage; and that, although the hermits themselves inhabited separate cells, they had a common president, and were in constant intercourse with one another. One of these rulers of the hermits was *Sylvanus* the Egyptian (about the year 365), who had laid out a garden upon Mount Sinai, which he cultivated and watered with his own hand. In the year 373 the monk *Macarius* made a pilgrimage to Sinai, and reached it eighteen days after his departure from Jerusalem. He met with a number of anchorites there; and during his stay

an attack was made upon them by the Saracens, in which forty of the Christian fathers were slain. Such massacres as these were of frequent occurrence. There was one, for example, in the time of *Nilus*, who lived among the anchorites of Sinai with his son *Theodulus*, and has left us a description of an attack, when he himself escaped, whilst his son was carried off into slavery, from which he was afterwards ransomed by the Bishop of Elusa (in the year 390). At that time Pharan, in the Feiran valley, was the seat of a flourishing Christian bishoprick. We have a letter, written about the middle of the fifth century, by the Emperor Marcian to the Bishop Macarius, and to the Archimandrites and monks of Sinai, warning them against being led away by a heretic, Theodosius, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Sinai after the Council of Chalcedon. In the year 548, a certain *Theonas*, *presbyter Montis Sinai*, signed his name, at a synod held at Constantinople, as legate from this mountain, and from the church at Pharan and Raithou (= Elim). At the the fifth œcumenical council at Constantinople (553), there was present a certain Constantine, Bishop of Sinai, etc. (Compare the still fuller accounts given by *Robinson* and Ritter xiv. 12 sqq.). When we take all these facts into account, though we have not in any instance such further details as would enable us to determine which was the mountain referred to, it may not perhaps be going too far, if we venture the assertion, that the exact site of Sinai was kept in mind till the time of Justinian by means of continuous tradition. But just at that period we meet, undoubtedly, with two different accounts of the position of the sacred mountain. *Kosmas* Indicopleustes evidently identifies it with *Serbal*, when he describes it as six miles from the city of Pharan (in Montfaucon Coll. nova T. ii. L. 3, p. 196: *εἰς Χωρὴβ τὸ ὄρος, τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Σιναΐῳ, ἐγγὺς ὄντι τῆς Φαρὰν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ*); and this is confirmed by his remarks concerning the inscriptions (see § 5, 2). Yet, previously to this, very weighty authorities had decided in favour of the Jebel Musa. According to the tradition of the existing monastery of Sinai, in the Wady Shoeib, Justinian I. was the founder of the monastery (in the year 527), and built it on the site on which Helena had erected a small church a long time before. The essential part of this legend, namely, the erection of a large church in one of the valleys of Sinai for the numerous monks in the district, is confirmed by the historian

*Procopius*, who was almost contemporaneous with the event itself (de ædificiis, *Justin.* 5, 8). He states, that it was impossible to build the church on the top of the mountain, on account of the constant noise and other supernatural phenomena, which prevented any one from remaining there at night, and therefore it was placed lower down. There can be no doubt that the church referred to is the Church of the Transfiguration, which is in existence still. According to Procopius, the same emperor erected a strong fortress at the foot of the mountain, in which he stationed a select garrison to resist the attacks of the Saracens. The credible testimony of the Patriarch *Eutychius* of Alexandria, in the ninth century, is more definite still. He states that Justinian ordered a fortified monastery to be erected at Sinai, for the purpose of protecting the monks from the predatory attacks of the Ishmaelites, and that this monastery embraced the tower which had already been built by the anchorites for their own defence (*Eutychius*, Annales ed. Pococke, ii., p. 160 sqq.). This is probably the existing monastery, which Procopius confounded with a fortification. These statements are all confirmed by the Itinerarium of the martyr *Antoninus*, who made a pilgrimage to Sinai at the end of the sixth century. His account removes the possibility of a doubt, that the Jebel Musa is the mountain referred to (*Ritter* xiv. 30); and such distinctness is thereby given to the legend of the church of Helena, and the locality of the invasion, as described by Nilus, that there can be no question as to its being situated either on the side or summit of the Jebel Musa. This proves, then, that from the time of Helena the general opinion was, that Mount Sinai stood just where the tradition of the present day still places it; and there is nothing extravagant, therefore, in regarding it as *possible* that the tradition might be traced back through Paul and Elijah to the time of Moses himself.

But as this tradition is supported by such general as well as ancient testimony, how did the Indian traveller come to entertain a different opinion? *Ritter* (xiv. 31) conjectures that "possibly two different traditions or party views prevailed in the monasteries and among the monks of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*, which may have arisen from a contest to secure for one or the other of the two places the highest repute for sanctity. The Byzantine view, which received such imperial support, would very naturally prevail over that of Egypt." But we cannot find the least indi-

cation anywhere of the existence of such a relation, and in itself it is very improbable. The only foundation upon which it could possibly rest, is the fact that *Kosmas* was an "Egyptian" monk; but this is at all events a very weak one. The difference between the *party* views entertained by the two rivals on the Bosphorus and the Nile, must in that case have existed as early as the times of Dionysius of Alexandria and the Empress-mother Helena, and must have continued for three hundred years. But we should certainly expect to find some trace of it, when we consider the various ways in which Byzantium and Alexandria came into collision with each other, and still more, the very numerous and sometimes very full notices which we possess of the anchorites of Sinai. All the accounts of (? before) Kosmas mention only *one* Sinai, namely, the one upon which Justinian built the monastery. There is no hint of the possibility of any other locality putting in a claim to be regarded as the scene of the most wondrous work performed by God in connection with the history of Israel. Even Eutyches, who was an Egyptian, and must therefore have been acquainted with the Alexandrian "party view," and most probably would share it—who possessed, moreover, the most accurate knowledge of all such subjects, does not make the slightest allusion to the possibility of Mount Sinai being discovered anywhere else than where Justinian erected his cloister-fortress. The claim of Serbal to the honour of being the mountain of the law must have arisen at a very late period, not long before the time of Kosmas; it must have been confined to a very limited space, and can only have met with acceptance in a very contracted circle. We can hardly be wrong, therefore, if we trace the origin of this notion to Pharan. Pharan was at first a heathen city. It owes its proximity to Serbal certainly not to the fact that the mountain was sacred to Jehovah (if its sacredness had anything to do with it, it must have been Baalite or Sabæan), but to the paradisiacal fertility of the Feiran valley, that "most costly jewel" of the whole peninsula. But Pharan became by degrees a Christian city, the centre of a flourishing episcopal see. What could be more natural than that the city, which was at all events situated in the road taken by the people of God under the conduct of Moses, should endeavour to fix as many reminiscences as possible of the mighty works of God for Israel in its own immediate neighbourhood, and especially of the

greatest and most glorious of all? But these attempts cannot have met with much approval, or spread over a wide area (they cannot have been received either at Byzantium or Alexandria), probably because the conviction, that the Jebel Musa was the mountain of the law was too ancient, and too firmly and deeply rooted, as well as too widely diffused and too generally adopted. In fact, the other opinion prevailed to so limited an extent, that we should hardly have heard of it at all, had not a *credulous* monk of the 6th century, who most likely never went beyond Pharan, allowed himself to be persuaded that the opinion, which prevailed in that city, was the more correct of the two. It would undoubtedly be all the easier to convince him of this, on account of the deep impression which the aspect of the majestic Serbal must have made upon his mind.

*Lepsius* (p. 445 sqq.) has taken great pains to weaken the evidence, referred to above, in favour of the antiquity of the tradition which has come down to us; but more especially to convince us that the monastery at Sinai cannot have been built by Justinian, and that the entire tradition originated in the 11th century, at the time when the monastery was actually built. But the whole of his argument consists of nothing more than an assertion that Kosmas Indicopleustes is the only credible witness—all the rest being either spurious, or, if genuine, not trustworthy. Relying implicitly upon Procopius, he maintains that Justinian had a fortress erected upon Jebel Musa for purely military purposes, without the slightest reference to the assumed importance of the spot in connection with the history of Moses, etc.

(3.) *Burckhardt* (according to the quotation in Lepsius, p. 418) was misled by the references to Serbal occurring in the inscriptions, which he supposed to be of Christian origin, and therefore came to the following conclusion: "I am persuaded," he says, "that Mount Serbal was at one period the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula, and that this was considered to be the mountain where Moses received the tables of the law; though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the Upper Sinai, and that either Jebel Musa or Mount St Catherine is the real Horeb." Since his time several have written in support of the opinion, that the Serbal is the true Sinai, though this opinion has always been confined to individuals. According to Kutscheit's account

(in Brun's Repertorium 1846, ii., p. 12), *Hughes*, the Englishman, who published a Biblical Atlas in 1841, was the last to assign the promulgation of the law to Sinai. In 1846, *Lepsius* appeared, claiming credit not only for having rediscovered in Serbal the true position of Sinai for the first time for a thousand years, but also for having set the question at rest for all time to come (Reise, pp. 11–50). Again, in 1852 he published an eloquent defence of his theory, though *Ritter*, the master in this department, did not adopt his view; but, on the contrary, brought forward the most conclusive arguments against it (xiv. 736 sqq.).[1] Hitherto his hypothesis has met with but little success, notwithstanding his reiterated defence of it. *Robinson* has determinately rejected it (Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. iv., p. 381 sqq.). The acknowledgment made by *Dieterici* (ii. 53, 54) is also worth noticing:—"Professor *Lepsius*," he says, "was kind enough to send me his work before my departure. I found it so excellent in many respects, that I determined to follow it in the formation of my own plan. At the outset I had almost made up my mind to regard the Serbal as Sinai; but, after having climbed the Serbal, I have formed a totally different opinion."

Let us look more closely, however, at the arguments and counter-arguments employed by *Lepsius*. First of all, he fancies that he takes away from the prevailing opinion its main support, by pronouncing it a monk's fable of comparatively modern date. How wrong he is in this assertion, is apparent from what we

[1] *Kutscheit's* pamphlet, which is certainly somewhat warmly written, has not been deemed worthy of notice by *Lepsius*. On the other hand, he has entered partially into *Ritter's* objections. The fact that Ritter still adheres to the traditional theory, in spite of his own proofs of its fallacy, he *excuses* in the following manner (p. 427): "In *Ritter's* account there was necessarily an *a priori* decision in favour of one of these two views. Hence, when a new (?) view was only presented to him at the *final conclusion of his important preliminary labours*, in which the belief of a thousand years, confirmed as it had been by every modern traveller, was for the first time (?) disputed in an occasional and necessarily imperfect book of travels, it presented but little claim to his preference, especially as it had neither been critically reviewed nor noticed by later historians." We confess that we have a better opinion of the literary fidelity and conscientiousness of such a man as *Ritter;* and we are convinced that even "at the conclusion of his important preliminary labours" (which, however, had but little to do with *this* question), he would not have shrunk from the trouble of changing, if necessary, the passages referred to.

have already written. Then, again, he lays it down as an axiom, which is to be maintained under all circumstances, that, generally speaking, the geographical conditions of the peninsula have continued essentially the same since the days of Moses, and particularly, that the amount and relative proportions of fruitfulness and unfruitfulness are exactly the same now as they were at that time; so that, in his opinion, any one who has recourse to the opposite view, though he may prove everything, will for that very reason prove nothing. *K. Ritter* may well take this to heart; for he not only maintains, in innumerable passages in his invaluable work, and adduces satisfactory reasons to prove, that the peninsula was generally much more fertile in ancient times than it is now, but, what is more important still, he is very much inclined to trace the fruitfulness of the Feiran valley, upon which the whole of the argument of Lepsius rests, to the miraculous production of the Feiran brook by means of Moses' rod (§ 7, 1). Dieterici has pointedly observed (ii. 55, 56): "Professor *Lepsius* persists in taking the present condition of the peninsula of Sinai, as a standard by which to measure the past. We shall not attempt to decide whether the learned Egyptologist, when he looks at Egypt and Nubia in their present desert state, with the fields so deeply buried in sand, has laid the same stress upon the present condition of the country as in the case of Arabia."

Moreover, the effort of *Lepsius* is evidently to make as much as possible of the unfruitfulness of the environs of Sinai and of the fertility of those of Serbal, and to place the contrast between the two in the most glaring light. The Sinai, with the surrounding district, is said to differ in no respect whatever, so far as regards sterility, from the dead and barren soil of the rest of the peninsula, whilst a little patch of garden is maintained with the greatest difficulty by the skill of the monks. But is it really the case that the country round about the Jebel Musa is a parched and barren desert? *Kutscheit* (p. 23) appeals to *Shaw*, *Niebuhr*, *Burckhardt*, *de Laborde*, *Robinson*, *Schubert*, and a hundred other travellers, who were also eye-witnesses and trustworthy men, and from whom we receive very different testimony. One of the latest travellers, *St Olin*, the North American, writes as follows (in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft* ii. 3, pp. 318, 319: "Beautiful springs gush

forth from the rocks, and form together a magnificent waterfall, which rushes down into the ravine beneath. . . . We often had recourse to its cool, clear water, for the purpose of quenching our thirst," etc. *K. Ritter*, who has studied the character of the peninsula more minutely than any other of his contemporaries, has given a very different account of the mountains of Sinai, and supports it by the concurrent testimony of travellers in innumerable ways. He describes it as containing "a cool, wide-spread, elevated, Alpine tract of meadow land;" and sees no difference in the Feiran valley, except that there is "a greater amount of fertility concentrated within a more limited space" (xiv. 743). Lepsius considers it inconceivable, that Moses should ever have thought of leading the people away from the fertile paradise of the Feiran valley, to spend a year in the barren desert of Sinai; and believes that the people themselves would have politely declined to follow him, when once they had enjoyed the delights of such a paradise as this. To this *Kutscheit* replies, "That is very like saying that the Israelites had no other object in view than to find out some fruitful nook in which they might pitch their tents and huts, and stay there for ever. But the desire of the Israelites was to reach the land of their fathers, which flowed with milk and honey; and, first of all, it was necessary that they should be conducted to Sinai, there to lay aside the children's shoes, and be made by the law a perfect man, an organised nation." But *Lepsius* is very serious in the matter. He says (Briefe, pp. 347, 348): "The fact cannot be overlooked, that if Moses wanted to conduct so numerous a people to the peninsula, the first and principal thing that he had to settle, by means of his wisdom and his knowledge of the country, was how to maintain them all. For, whatever conclusion we may come to with reference to the number of the emigrants (*Robinson* estimates them at two millions), we must in any case assume that there were a very large number, who had all to be supported in the Sinaitic desert, and who had taken no provisions with them. How can we suppose it possible that, instead of directing attention at once to the only fruitful and well-watered spot in the whole peninsula, and striving to reach it with all speed, Moses should have led them to a remote corner among the mountains, where two thousand emigrants, with their cattle and attendants, could never have found sufficient food and water? It would

have been a wrong thing for Moses to rely upon the miracles of God; for they always commence just when human wisdom and human counsel fail, and are never intended to supersede them." —Very good; but if this line of argument is really to be taken as serious, it must be admitted, *at the very outset*, that Moses was the most infatuated and imprudent leader that ever existed, and that the murmuring people were quite right when they cried out, "Are there no graves in Egypt? Wast thou obliged to bring us into the desert, to kill us with hunger and thirst?"—*Lepsius*, who reduces the 430 years spent in Egypt by a bold stroke of the pen to 90, will probably show the same skill in reducing the two million emigrants to twenty thousand, or, if necessary, to a still smaller number; but how quickly would even these, with their cattle, have consumed the entire produce of the Feiran valley, which is scarcely a mile long, and at the most 500 paces broad? What becomes, then, of the celebrated wisdom of Moses, and his intimate acquaintance with the country? Even if he did select the Feiran paradise for his principal halting-place, he must still from the very first have "relied upon the miracles of God," though *Lepsius* considers that this would have been a most improper proceeding. Is there, then, so great a difference in this respect between Feiran and er-Rahah, when we take all the circumstances into consideration? *K. Ritter* is of a different opinion (xiv. 743): he thinks, on the contrary, that the neighbourhood of the Jebel Musa "is *better adapted* than any other spot in the peninsula for the *lengthened* halt of such a people, on account of the many ramifications of its different valleys, and even superior to the Feiran valley, in which a greater amount of fertility is concentrated in a smaller space." We fully concur in this opinion. At the present day, the environs of the Wady es-Sheikh (§ 5, 5), with its innumerable side valleys and clefts, are incomparably more densely populated than the district surrounding the Feiran valley, which is more fertile in itself, but has much smaller side valleys, and none of equal fertility to those found in the Wady es-Sheikh. *Dieterici* has very correctly observed, in opposition to *Lepsius*, "The only conception we can form of the encampment of the Israelites is, that whilst the head-quarters were fixed at the place whose name is given, the flocks were scattered far and wide in search of their scanty food, in precisely the same manner as

those of the Bedouins of the present day. At the same time, we must never lose sight of the extraordinary supply which they received from the Lord." From this point of view, *Ritter's* opinion, just quoted above, is fully confirmed.

*Lepsius* is certainly right, when he says, in his reply to *Ritter*, that there cannot possibly have been two different mountains of God at the time of the Exodus (viz., the Serbal and the Sinai; see § 4, 4); but *Ritter* is as decidedly correct when he maintains, in opposition to *Lepsius*, that the mountain of the heathen gods (the Serbal) cannot possibly have been the same as the mountain of Jehovah. Since *Credner* and *Tuch* have clearly proved that the Sinaitic (or, as *Ritter* more correctly names them, the Serbalitic) inscriptions point out the Serbal as the central point, not of Christian worship, but rather of the earliest heathen worship and pilgrimage (Baalite or Sabæan), the Serbal hypothesis has lost its most plausible argument. It cannot but surprise us, therefore, to find *Lepsius* still adducing these inscriptions in support of his opinion. "To this we must add," he says at p. 347, "that the Sinaitic inscriptions, which are found in the greatest numbers on the road to the Wady Feirân and in the Wady Aleyât, leading up to Serbal, seem to indicate that in a much later age large crowds of people performed a pilgrimage to this mountain, for the purpose of celebrating religious festivals." *Sic!* On the contrary, as the Serbal, from its very shape, invited the heathen inhabitants of the peninsula (the Amalekites) to idolatrous worship (§ 5, 4), and therefore had been abused to that purpose even before the time of Moses, it was for that very reason absolutely unfit to be the mountain of the God of Jehovah. "The people," says *Dieterici* (ii. 57), "were still carrying on a fierce mental conflict (with their deeply-rooted inclination to idolatry), and were overcome by it again and again. And can we suppose that, whilst this conflict was still going on, Moses selected the mountain of Baal as the mountain of God?"

Moreover, when "the rock in Horeb" (Ex. xvii. 6), from which the people were supplied with water at Rephidim, and the visit of Jethro (to Rephidim?) at the "mount of God" (Ex. xviii. 5), are referred to the Serbal; *we* are just as much at liberty to refer the former to the outlying mountains of Sinai, as *Lepsius* to those of Serbal;—and the latter simply proves that

Rephidim was either so near to the mountain of the law as to justify an expression of this kind (as *Robinson* supposes), or (what seems to us still more correct, see § 4, 4) that this visit is narrated according to the subject-matter, and not in chronological order; an alternative which even *Lepsius* cannot oppose (and in fact assents to), for his Rephidim is not situated immediately at the foot of the Serbal, but the Wady Aleyat lies between.—The remarkable proof deduced from Ex. xvi. 1, that the Serbal alone can have been called Sinai, or the mountain of Sin, because it touched the desert of Sin, we have already disposed of in § 2, 5.

We see, then, that the argument in favour of the identity of the Serbal with the mountain of the law is very weak; and we cannot blame *Ritter*,[1] Robinson, Dieterici, and others, when, in spite of the learning and eloquence of *Lepsius*, in spite of his challenge to ocular demonstration, they still adhere to the ancient system; especially as this system is supported by a mass of the most convincing arguments and proofs. The authors just named have furnished such powerful arguments in proof of the improbability, or rather impossibility, of *Lepsius*' theory, and also in

[1] Notwithstanding the weighty arguments brought forward by *Ritter*, in opposition to *Lepsius*, and in support of the more ancient view, he still speaks of the latter, with which his own opinion coincides, as hypothetical (xiv. 740): "We see," he says, "in the two almost contemporaneous authorities, *Jerome* and *Kosmas*, the great diversity that existed between the views entertained with reference to these places, whilst neither of them is supported by such decisive arguments as to commend itself, to *us* at least, as the only one that can possibly be maintained. As both of these attempts to elucidate a text which has been left so indefinite in topographical respects, and to describe a locality as yet so little known, can only rest upon hypothetical probabilities, we may be allowed to give a brief explanation of *our own* hypothetical opinion on a subject which will, probably, never be entirely extricated from obscurity." The thought of Kosmas, who is certainly overrated, has given to Ritter's words an air of uncertainty here, *which they lose altogether afterwards.* He repeatedly expresses himself *in a most decided manner* (*e. g.* p. 742). In the *Evang. Kalender*, again (p. 52), he concludes his treatise with the words: "The latest researches have contributed to bring about at least a negative result; that is, to render it impossible to regard the Serbal of Amalek as the Sinai of Israel, unless subsequent discoveries should furnish positive reasons for coming to an opposite conclusion. Till then, the noble range, at whose foot the monastery was erected in the time of Justinian, will be regarded by every pilgrim as the true Sinai and Horeb of Israel, which furnishes equal evidence of its ancient dignity and splendour."

confirmation of the ancient traditional view, that we have little else to do than to let them speak for themselves, and to arrange their arguments, which supplement one another, into one consolidated phalanx.

*Robinson* considers it a prerequisite, in determining the scene of the giving of the law, that there should be sufficient space for so large a multitude to stand and behold the phenomena on the summit; and rejects the hypothesis of *Lepsius*, because this condition is wanting in the case of the Serbal. *Lepsius* himself confesses, that there is certainly no plain at the foot of the Serbal, on which the whole of the people could have been collected together. But he appeals to the fact, "that the encampment of the people at Sinai is described in just the same terms, as at all the earlier stations. Hence, if we suppose the term camp to require a given space, sufficiently large for so numerous a body of people to pitch their tents, we must be prepared to point out a plain of er-Raha at all the earlier stations. If we imagine two million people congregated together in an enclosed camp, which must have consisted of two hundred thousand tents, reckoning one for every ten, and these tents arranged as in a regular military encampment, even the plain of Raha (§ 6, 2) would be too small; but if we suppose that a comparatively small number were collected immediately around the head-quarters of Moses, whilst all the rest sought out the shady spots and scanty pasturage of the surrounding valleys, the Wady Feiran would suffice for the *head-quarters* as well as any other. Moreover, the Wady Feiran, even if we take only the most fertile portion of it, as far as to el-Hessun, along with the broad Wady Aleyat, would afford quite as much space, and certainly a much more suitable situation, for a continuous camp than the plain of Raha." We readily admit all this, but make two remarks:—In the *first* place, the argument just mentioned involves an acknowledgment, that there was not room at the foot of the Serbal even for the *head-quarters*, since it places them as far off as el-Hessun, in the valley of Feiran (even when the Israelites are said to have encamped in the "desert of Sinai"). But the Feiran valley corresponds to the station at Rephidim, which would therefore be identically the same as the station in the desert of Sinai. The Israelites, however, had to depart from the former and march at least one day's journey farther before they arrived at the latter, where

they pitched their tents again (Ex. xix. 1, 2).—*Secondly* (and this is still more important), *Lepsius* has totally misunderstood *Robinson's* arguments, or at least has given such an explanation of it that it was a very easy matter to refute it. *Robinson* required a large space at the foot of the mountain, not (as *Lepsius* assumes) that all the tents might be pitched within it, but that all the people might be able to see what was going on at the summit; and whilst there is every ground for laying down such a condition (Ex. xix. 17 sqq., xx. 18 sqq.), it is quite certain that it cannot possibly be satisfied in the neighbourhood of the Serbal. But let us turn to *Dieterici*, who went with a decided prepossession in favour of the hypothesis of *Lepsius*, and carefully examined the neighbourhood with special reference to that hypothesis. He says (ii. 54): "It was impossible for either me or my companion, *D. Blaine*, who showed a remarkable tact in the examination of all local circumstances, to imagine the scene in any way as occurring upon the Serbal. This mountain is, no doubt, visible from a great distance, on account of its height; but not in the immediate neighbourhood, either from the Wady Aleyat or the fertile valley of Feiran. There is only a small corner of the valley visible from the Serbal, just where the former turns a little more towards the north, opposite the ruins of the City of the Desert (Pharan). In the blooming valley of Feiran the mountain is hidden by the high rocky walls. The Wady Aleyat curves round at a short distance from the mountain, and a precipitous cleft, with blocks of stone heaped up in wild confusion, leads up between the rocky cliffs. But the writer of the Bible history represents the scene as so present to the view of all, that the revelation of God was made 'in the sight of all the people' (Ex. xix. 11), and Moses went up and down again several times before their eyes (chap. xix.). Moreover, the mountain must have risen abruptly from the plain, for it was ordered to be fenced round (xix. 12). But the ravine just mentioned (the Wady Aleyat) is the only approach to the Serbal, and it is not without the greatest difficulty that any one can reach the mountain itself; if, then, this road was guarded by the elders, what necessity could there be for a hedge?"

Another argument is based upon Ex. iii., and is sufficient of itself to decide the question. We read there, that Moses kept the sheep of Jethro, the priest in *Midian*, and led them behind

the desert to the mountain of God in Horeb. Now Wady Feiran and the Serbal were in the territory of the Amalekites; but the Jebel Musa was in the eastern half of the peninsula, within the territory of the Midianites. And, as *Dieterici* says, even if Moses had attempted to drive his flock into the country of the Amalekites, they would certainly have prevented him. If the Amalekites guarded this treasure of theirs (the Wady Feiran) with so much jealousy as to attack the Israelites when they passed through, they are not likely to have suffered the flocks of foreigners to come and feed there at pleasure. "We must assume, therefore, if we decide impartially, that this Horeb was in the territory of the Midianites. These two tribes appear to have been both well organised, and to have lived side by side in the peninsula. Now there were two large mountain-ranges in the peninsula, the Serbal and the Sinai. In both of these water was to be found; and either of them answered admirably, as the head-quarters of a pastoral tribe."—*K. Ritter* was also acquainted with this argument, and laid great stress upon it (Evang. Kalender 1852, p. 52).

*Lepsius* cannot possibly conceive how Moses could pass by the majestic Serbal, which was visible from so great a distance and commanded the whole country like a lofty watch-tower, and go into a corner of the desert, enclosed on all sides, to a mountain which was not visible in any direction, was almost entirely unknown, and by no means remarkable for its shape, its position, or any other peculiarity. *Robinson* and *Ritter*, on the contrary, regard the concealed position of this corner of the desert, and the fact that the mountain is completely enclosed, as furnishing another argument in favour of the opposite view. *Robinson* (i. 176) describes it as an adytum in the midst of the great circular granite region, with only a single feasible entrance,—a secret holy place shut in from the world by barren, solitary mountains. *Ritter* writes to the same effect (xiv. 742). He calls the Jebel Musa "the *adytum* of the more central and better protected group of Sinai;" and employs this expression, without doubt, to indicate that, in his opinion, this mountain was selected for the giving of the law, because it was the most secret sanctuary in the peninsula. Just because Jehovah desired to speak to Israel in secret, because He wished to be *alone* with Israel, that He might conclude the marriage covenant with the nation,

He led them into the most central and secret *adytum* in the desert.

(4.) After the southern peak of the Sinaitic range had passed, for more than a thousand years, as the scene of the promulgation of the law, ROBINSON pronounced this assumption an impossibility, after a personal examination of the various localities, and transferred the grand event to the northern peak of the same range, the *Ras es-Sufsafeh*. His arguments appeared so forcible, that nearly every commentator embraced his opinion; but, latterly, still further discoveries have been made in the locality of Sinai, which have caused many to alter their views again.—*Robinson's* argument was twofold, negative and positive: showing, first, the incompatibility of the Biblical *data* with the position of the Jebel Musa; and, on the other hand, demonstrating the perfect harmony between these *data* and the situation of the Ras es-Sufsafeh. The former we shall have to examine in the next note: at present, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the latter.—Being thoroughly dissatisfied with his ascent of the Jebel Musa, *Robinson* proceeded to climb the northern peak. "The extreme difficulty," he writes, "and even danger of the ascent, was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Rahah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh, on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with and opening broadly from er-Rahah, presented an area which served nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord descended in fire and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched if not forbidden; and here the mountain-brow, where alone the lightnings and thick cloud could be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trumpet be heard, when the Lord came down on Sinai" (i. 157, 158). We shall presently show, that all these points of agreement with the Biblical text are to be found even more completely in the Jebel Musa; whilst, on the other hand, there are two points in the description of the Ras es-Sufsafeh and its vicinity which are not in harmony with the Biblical data. *Robinson* himself has pictured the difficulty of ascent in glowing colours: "We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course; but

found the rock so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous route. From the head of this ravine we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice, and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages" (vol. i. p. 157).

*Lepsius* (Briefe, p. 327) and *Dieterici* (ii. 46) climbed this peak, and both agree with *Robinson* as to the danger and difficulty of the undertaking. "This alone," says *Lepsius* with perfect justice, "would have prevented me from coming to the conclusion that Moses had even stood upon one of these rocks, which are visible from the valley." And this argument has double force, when we consider that on more than one occasion Moses went up and down the Mount of God *several times* on the same day.

Moreover, we read in the scriptural record, that "Moses brought forth the people *out of the camp to meet with God*, and they *came to the foot of the mountain*" (Ex. xix. 17); and when the people saw the terrors of the majesty of God, which were displayed before their eyes, "they fled and stood afar off" (Ex. xx. 18), evidently that they might not see and hear what they were quite unable to bear. But how does this tally with Ras es-Sufsafeh and the plain at the foot? If the camp was in the plain of er-Rahah, that is, close to the foot of the mountain, what necessity was there for Moses to lead the people *out of the camp* to the foot of the mountain? And whither could the people flee, so as to avoid seeing and hearing what had caused them so much alarm? There was no spot in the whole of the plain of er-Rahah, or the adjoining portion of the great Wady es-Sheikh, from which the Ras es-Sufsafeh would not be distinctly seen.

Dieterici also came back from the Jebel Musa discontented, and climbed the Ras es-Sufsafeh in the hope of finding a spot better adapted for the giving of the law; and in this hope he was not disappointed. "The broad plain of er-Rahah lay before us," he says, "in which were a number of black Arab camel-hair tents, that reminded us of the camp of the Israelites. The precipitous abruptness, with which this rock rises almost perpendicularly from the plain, led us to subscribe to *Robinson's* conjecture, that this might be the mountain on which Moses stood

transfigured before the people." Still, the second objection suggested by us appears to have excited some scruples in his mind. At any rate, he tries to evade it by a peculiar combination of the two opinions: "As Ras es-Sufsafeh and Jebel Musa are actually two peaks of Mount Horeb, we might imagine one of them (the more northerly) to have been the point at which Moses was visible to the people, and the other (the Jebel Musa) the place where he was hidden from the people in the stillness of secrecy with God. We can then imagine the scene exactly. The Jewish camp was in the Wady er-Rahah; the elders stood in the Wady Shueib, where the monastery has since been built, or in the western opening (Wady el-Leja); on the Jebel Musa Moses was separated from all the world; and on the Ras es-Sufsafeh he was still present to the eyes of all." But Robinson's hypothesis gains nothing from this modification. Which was the peak upon which the Lord came down in the fire? The Ras es-Sufsafeh? In that case both of *our* objections remain in full force. The Jebel Musa? Then Robinson's difficulties, which Dieterici shares, are not removed. But, beside this, the notion of there being two mountains of God, upon the one of which everything was visible, whilst upon the other all was hidden from view, is altogether arbitrary and unfounded, and thoroughly irreconcilable with the Biblical account.

(5.) We come, lastly, to the opinion which has generally prevailed from the very earliest times, though *Laborde* was the first to test it by an examination of the locality itself, and which has been thoroughly and conclusively expounded by F. A. Strauss and *Krafft*, and warmly commended by Ritter. To this opinion we at once acknowledge our adhesion.

*Robinson* (i. 153) says, with reference to his ascent of the Jebel Musa: "My first and predominant feeling, while upon this summit, was that of disappointment. Although, from our examination of the plain of er-Rahah below, and its correspondence to the scriptural narrative, we had arrived at the general conviction that the people of Israel must have been collected in it to receive the law; yet we still had cherished a lingering hope or feeling that there might, after all, be some foundation for the long series of monkish traditions, which for at least fifteen centuries has pointed out the summit on which we now stood, as the spot where the ten commandments were so awfully proclaimed.

But scriptural narrative and monkish tradition are very different things. In the present case, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had anything to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood, and hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit; nor are the bottoms of the adjacent valleys; nor is any spot to be seen around it, where the people could have been assembled. The only point in which it is not immediately surrounded by high mountains is towards the S.E., where it sinks down precipitously to a tract of naked gravelly hills. Here, just at its foot, is the head of a small valley, Wady es-Sebaiyeh, running towards the N.E. beyond the Mount of the Cross into Wady esh-Sheikh, and of another not larger, called el-Warah, running S.E. to the Wady Nusb of the Gulf of Akabah; but both of these together hardly afford a tenth part of the space contained in er-Rahah and Wady esh-Sheikh." *Dieterici* writes to the same effect: "The view from this point is exhilarating, though the first feeling is one of disappointment. We look in vain for any large valley in which the numerous host would have pitched their tents; for the valley of the Jews (? probably the plain of es-Sebayeh, § 7, 4), which lies below, shut in by mountains, is evidently by no means sufficient. Nor does the mountain itself appear to be so detached from the others, that it could easily have been touched."

Let us turn, however, to what *Ritter* says (xiv. 589, 590): "Further examination leads to a totally different conclusion. It is not a fact, that the only large plain, adapted for the encampment of a tribe, *lies by the northern cliff of the Horeb;* but there is an equally large one immediately adjoining the southern cliff of the Sinai, from which there is a direct road to the Wady Sheikh, through the broad, capacious Wady Sebayeh; and from this large, southern *plain of Sebayeh* (§ 7, 4), the peak of the lofty Sinai of tradition, which rises like a pyramid to the north, would be just as visible to a whole tribe as the Sufsâfeh, which is supported by no ancient tradition whatever." On a closer acquaintance with this plain, every difficulty vanishes in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. It meets the requirements of the case, as described in the Bible, even to the most minute details: "For it is large enough to contain an immense

crowd of people; it lies close at the foot of Sinai, which rises in front of it and towers above it like a great monolithic granite wall to the height of 2000 feet; and the buildings at the top—the mosque, the Christian chapel, and even the stone of Moses—are clearly discernible by any one looking up from below. There is not a single spot in the whole peninsula in which the topographical data (given in the Bible) can all be found united more perfectly than they are here." This is *Ritter's* opinion.—*Tischendorf* (i. 232) says: "This wady (this plain) of Sebayeh has been regarded, and not without reason, as the spot on which the children of Israel were encamped during the Mosaic legislation. It is of considerable extent, and looks as if it had been made for some such festival as this. It also enables us to understand the expression employed by Moses, 'Whoever touches the mountain.' In the Wady Sebayeh the mountain may literally be touched; for it rises so precipitously, that it stands before your eyes a distinct object from the foot to the summit, evidently detached from everything around. The same remark applies to the words, 'And the people came up to the foot of the mountain.' It is very rarely possible to see the summit of a mountain, and yet stand so near to the foot as you can here." At the same time *Tischendorf* discovers difficulties, which make it almost more advisable to adhere to Robinson's views: first, because there is not a good road direct to the summit from the plain of Sebayeh; again, because the way by which the Israelites must have gone from the Sheikh valley to the foot of the mountain would be "too narrow and difficult;" and, lastly, because the words, "Moses led the people out of the camp to meet God, and they came to the foot of the mountain, seem to imply that there was a considerable distance between the mountain and the camp." But there is no ground for the assumptions, from which these difficulties arise. The plain of Sebayeh was not the place in which the people encamped, and *also* that in which *they went out of the camp to the foot of the mountain* to receive the law. It only answered the latter purpose. The head-quarters of the encampment were, without doubt, in the plain of er-Rahah and the Wady es-Sheikh. From this spot Moses conducted the people out of the camp, through the broad though short Wady es-Sebayeh, into the plain of es-Sebayeh, to the foot of the Jebel Musa, to meet with God; a dis-

tance which the Englishmen who accompanied *Strauss* and *Krafft* were able to accomplish, with fast walking, in three quarters of an hour. The people were collected together in this broad plain, which surrounds the steep rocky cliff of the Jebel Musa like an amphitheatre. On account of the precipitous character of the mountain, even the front ranks could see everything that passed at the top of the mountain; and as the plain itself rises gradually towards the south, and therefore every row stood on somewhat higher ground than the one before it, there was nothing to prevent the hindermost ranks from seeing clearly the summit of the mountain. Moreover, as the mountains which bound the plain on the south are neither steep nor lofty, a considerable number of people could take their stand upon the mountains, if there was not sufficient room in the plain. When the people, overpowered by the sublime spectacle attendant upon the giving of the law, were seized with a panic and rushed away from the spot, they ran through the Wady Sebayeh, and hurried back to their tents in the valleys and openings of Sheikh and Rahah, from which they were no longer able to see what was taking place on the Jebel Musa, as the steep cliff of Ras es-Sufsafeh stood between.—If the question be asked, By what road did Moses ascend the mountain? the most natural assumption is, that he ascended from the plain of Sebayeh, crossing the Hutberg (which connects the Jebel Musa with the Jebel ed-Deir in the form of a saddle); in which case his ascent would be "witnessed by no stranger's eye, and concealed from all below." Subsequently, however, when starting from the camp in the valley of Rahah, he will probably have gone through one of the ravines which intersect the range (vol. ii. § 42, 3), either Wady Leja or Wady Shoeib (probably the latter, which is still the more usual route for ascending the mountain). The seventy elders, whom Moses took with him, after the conclusion of the covenant, within the boundary of the sacred mountain, that they might see God (Ex. xxiv. 10) and partake of the covenant-meal (ver. 11), and whom he left behind him (ver. 14) when he went up to the top of the mountain, were probably stationed in the Wady Shoeib at the foot of the Hutberg, or they may possibly have accompanied Moses to the top of the main body of the mountain-range, and remained standing there while he went up the highest peak.

In *Ritter's* opinion (xiv. 591), if we look upon the plain of Sebayeh as the spot from which the giving of the law was witnessed, we need only assume that it was not the *whole* of the people who were led there to meet with God, but only a very large portion of them. For "the whole people, even though they had only numbered hundreds of thousands, could not possibly have passed in one day through such narrow valleys as all the wadys of the Sinaitic group, even the broadest, are; and this they must have done before they could reach the mountain." The same assumption, however, would be quite as necessary if we removed the scene to the plain of Rahah. And he does not consider that this presents any difficulty; for very frequently (*e.g.*, chap. xix. 7–9) the elders, who were the representatives of the whole people, are actually spoken of as though they were themselves "all the people." Still, although such a limitation is certainly admissible, in our opinion it is by no means necessary. As a matter of course, the old men, the women, and the children, would not be there. Hence there would not be more than 600,000 men present (Ex. xii. 37); and we do not see that it would be impossible for this number to pass through the Wady es-Sebayeh, which is very short and from two to four hundred paces broad, into the plain of es-Sebayeh, and back again to the camp in the course of a day.

We conclude with an extract from *Graul.* He says (ii. 260): "I am not the man to take up the cause of monastic traditions, and least of all those of Sinai, which rest as traditions upon very feeble foundations. But I cannot, and do not wish to conceal the fact, that of all the spots in the peninsula which I have visited, not one has seemed to me to harmonise so completely with the Biblical account of the giving of the law, as the Jebel Musa and its neighbourhood. At the same time, I must candidly confess that I visited the Jebel Musa with a decided prejudice *in favour* of the hypothesis of Lepsius."

## PREPARATIONS FOR GIVING THE LAW AND CONCLUDING THE COVENANT.

§ 9. (Ex. xix. 3–15).—When the procession had reached the desert of Sinai, and the tents had been pitched there, Moses went up the mountain to God. Probably the pillar of cloud and

fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3) may have rested on the mountain, to show that that would now be the dwelling-place of God for a considerable time, and that He would continue there in the midst of His people, who were encamped in an amphitheatrical form on the north of the mountain. At the same time, the cloud was hidden from the view of the people, by the rocky cliff of the Ras es-Sufsâfeh which stood between. From the period of His call (Ex. iii. 12), Moses had known that the people were to serve God on this mountain. He went up the mountain, therefore, to ascertain in what manner this was to be done. The answer which he received was the following: "*Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people; for all the earth is Mine: and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.*" These were the *preliminaries* of the covenant (1),—a promise and a demand on the part of God, to which the people were required to respond with cheerful faith and obedience. Moses came down the mountain with this message, and delivered it to the elders, who at once announced their readiness to enter into the covenant on these terms. As the covenant was to be concluded through the medium of Moses, it was necessary that he should receive special credentials in the sight of the people; and for this purpose, God promised to come down to him in a visible manner, and converse with him before all the people. Moreover, as the mountain was set apart as the Holy of Holies in which God was about to reveal Himself, it was requisite that it should be consecrated, that is, separated and distinguished from the hills round about. This was done by placing a hedge around it; and as it was now no longer a similar mountain to the rest, but a mountain of Divine manifestation, it had become an unapproachable sanctuary, that might not be touched by either man or beast (2). Moreover, as the people were to draw near to Jehovah to receive the law, the groundwork of the covenant, they also must sanctify themselves and make ready for the third

day (3); for on the third day Jehovah would come down upon Mount Sinai before the eyes of all the people, to use it as His throne from which to proclaim the law.

(1.) The first message which Moses had to bring to the people from the sacred mountain, contained the PRELIMINARIES OF THE COVENANT. It laid before them, for their acceptance, a general outline of the nature, conditions, and design of the covenant which was now about to be concluded. On the basis of this covenant a politico-religious commonwealth was to be formed, which should include both Israel and its God, and the distinctive characteristic of which *Josephus* (c. Ap. 2, 16) first appropriately designated the THEOCRACY, or rule of God. Referring, by way of contrast, to the various constitutions of other states, he says: *ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς μὲν τούτων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατιαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς.* What the theocracy actually involved, can only be learned from the legislation itself, in which its nature was fully unfolded in the most minute details. At present, we have only to seek to understand the fundamental idea, which was first expressed in a general form in the preliminaries of the covenant.

The first prerequisite, the *conditio sine qua non*, of the establishment of the theocracy, was the deliverance of the people from Egypt. As the *Redeemer* of Israel, Jehovah claimed to be the *King* of Israel. Hitherto He had *served* for the sake of Israel, and had thus earned the right to govern it;—He had *sued* for Israel, as for a bride; as a Bridegroom, He had attested His love and fidelity to the bride (§ 1), and therefore He now claimed to enter upon the rights and supremacy of a Husband. As a *Father*, He had begotten Israel for His first-born, and now He asserted his paternal rights, and demanded filial obedience and love. As the Creator and Governor of the world, He was the Lord and King of every nation; but He did not base His kingly relation to Israel upon this foundation. He founded it rather upon what He had done *especially* for Israel: it was not as *Elohim*, but as *Jehovah*, that He desired to reign over Israel. Moral freedom and necessity were united in the establishment of this covenant, for, as the son of Jehovah, Israel was bound to obey; but Jehovah had made Israel a bride

merely as the result of its own free choice and consent. As Elohim, He was a King over Israel, as He is over every nation, by virtue of unconditional necessity; as Jehovah, He was King over Israel in consequence of the free concurrence of the people, and in a sense in which no other nation could claim Him as King.

For this reason the preliminaries of the covenant commenced with a reference to the deliverance from Egypt. "*Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself.*" He had rescued from the house of bondage the bride, whom He had chosen by His free grace, and He had carried her home to His own home on the eagles' wings of love. He gave before He demanded; He gave proofs of His love, before He asked for obedience; He gave Himself to Israel, before He required Israel to give itself to Him. Now came the demand; but even here it was not without a promise: "*Now, therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people,*" etc. What commandments His voice would give, what duties His covenant would impose upon the people, could not be fully explained in these brief preliminaries. But the essence and intention of the covenant were made known, and the duties of the covenant were affected and determined by these. Moreover, the guidance afforded thus far by Jehovah, constituted a title to unconditional confidence. At present, however, He merely required a provisional assent. It was not till His will had been fully explained in the giving of the law, that the people made a solemn declaration, and gave a distinct and definite pledge (Ex. xxiv. 3).

The first position assigned to Israel by the covenant of Jehovah was this: "*Ye shall be My property out of (before) all nations, for the whole earth is Mine.*" All the nations of the earth are God's property,—they are so by virtue of their creation. Israel, however, was to be so, not by virtue of creation only, but by virtue of redemption also. God created the nations; but, in addition to this, He begat Israel as His son; He wooed Israel as his bride; He purchased Israel, when it was in foreign slavery, to be in a far higher sense His own property. Hence this possession was of double worth to the Possessor; and the nation was under double obligation to show affection and attach-

ment to its Lord. "*The whole earth is Mine:*" this fact, which was the groundwork of their consciousness of God, was to be kept perpetually present before the minds of the people of the covenant. On the consciousness that Jehovah was the God of all gods, and the King of all kings, was built the consciousness of the peculiar relation in which they stood to Him as a nation. Nothing can be more unwarrantable, therefore, than to assume that the Israelites regarded Jehovah as merely a national Deity; for they knew that, as the Creator, their God was the God of all nations; but they also knew that, as their Redeemer, He stood in a peculiar relation to them (Deut. iv. 7). The notion of national deities involves the idea of co-ordination. As the nations are co-ordinate one with another, so are also the national deities. Their power is measured according to the power and strength, which they are supposed to confer upon the people who serve them. Hence the gods of one nation may appear to be stronger than those of another; the deity of one nation may be regarded by a heathen as having gained a victory over that of another; but, originally and essentially, they are supposed to be equal. With the God of the Israelites it was altogether different. The idea which they entertained of their Deity did not even permit a comparison with the gods of the heathen; and these gods were not only not co-ordinate and equal to the God of Israel, they were not even beings of simply inferior power. On the contrary, in distinction from Him, they were pure אֱלִילִים, *i.e.*, *nothings* (vol. ii. § 23, 1).—It is a most reprehensible frivolity, therefore, on the part of *Stähelin (Krit. Unters. über d. Pentateuch*, p. 19), and *v. Lengerke* (i. 460), who copies him word for word, to take this passage, which is expressly designed to guard against the notion of a national god, and make it teach this very notion, as they do when they say that "Moses ascended the mountain, and Jehovah commissioned him to ask the people whether they would acknowledge Him, under certain circumstances, as their national God."

"*And ye shall be to Me a kingdom of priests* (מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים), *and a holy people:*" in these terms they received again a message and a promise. There was to be a *kingdom* founded by the covenant. But a kingdom must have a *king*, and, as a matter of course, this king could be no other than Jehovah; for, if the members of a kingdom are *priests*, the ruler must be *God;*

and if the subjects in this kingdom were the property of Jehovah above all nations—His property in a sense in which no others are —the sovereignty of Jehovah over Israel must also have been unique. Moreover, as Jehovah Himself desired to be King over Israel, not merely on the ground on which He ruled over every other nation, *viz.*, because the whole earth was His, but for a reason altogether peculiar to itself, *viz.*, because He had redeemed, won, and earned it as His own special property; His intention to be Israel's King could only be understood as meaning, that in the case of Israel He would raise and consolidate His universal rule into one of a special nature; that in His own person He would undertake the duties and claim the privileges of sovereignty, which He left in other cases to earthly, human kings. In a word, Jehovah was about to stoop to be not merely heavenly, but earthly King over Israel. So far as Israel was a *nation*, an earthly political commonwealth, He did not refuse to place Himself in the list of earthly kings. As such, He undertook the obligations, and laid claim to the rights of a king. Among these were, in home affairs, the giving and administration of the law; and in foreign affairs, the determination of peace and war. Hitherto He had given to the people a visible sign and pledge of His presence as their guide, by sending the Angel, who was His personal representative (Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15), and in whom was His name (Ex. xxiii. 20, 21), to go before them in the pillar of cloud and fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3). This was done because He desired to conclude a covenant with Israel. By the conclusion of the covenant itself, this sign of His presence was still more firmly united to the congregation of Israel. But whereas hitherto He had only spoken to the people by Moses, though always present Himself, henceforth He would make use of other human agents for announcing and executing His will. Various theocratical offices would be associated with the new organisation of the covenant constitution; and through these, the different theocratical functions would be discharged. Before and during the process of organisation, these functions had all been united in Moses; but as soon as the organisation was complete, they were to be distributed and arranged as present or future circumstances might require (they included priests, elders, judges, kings, prophets, etc.).

But Jehovah was not the less Israel's *God*, because He became

Israel's King. The peculiarity of the new relation was just this, that He was God and King in one person; in other words, was *God-King*. And as divinity and royalty were thus combined in the Head of the new commonwealth (their God manifesting Himself and acting as their King, and their King as their God), all His commandments bore this twofold character: the religious commandments were also political, and the political at the same time religious. The breach of a religious commandment was also a civil crime; and the violation of a civil and political institution was treated at once as sin. The moral, civil, and ceremonial laws were not in any way subordinated the one to the other, but were in all respects equal; and whenever they were broken, they all required, according to the heinousness of the offence, in precisely the same way, religious expiation and civil punishment. A faithful subject was therefore, *eo ipso*, a pious child of God, and *vice versa*. And this did not apply to the commands alone; but the gifts and promises of this God and King partook of the same twofold character. What He promised as God, He performed as King; and what He did as King, subserved His Divine purposes, *viz.*, the accomplishment of His eternal plan of salvation.

This was still more clearly indicated by the further announcement, that the kingdom about to be established in Israel was to be a "kingdom of *priests*." A priest is a mediator between God and man: hence the idea of a priest implies the existence of a God who allows of mediation, and of men who need it. But the whole nation of Israel consisted of none but priests. The nation, as such, was to sustain the character and discharge the obligations of a priest; and therefore it is evident that the men in need of mediation, those who required this priesthood, were not to be found in Israel itself, but outside its limits,—in other words, that the priestly vocation of Israel had reference to other (*i. e.*, heathen) nations. What the priest in a particular nation is to the individuals composing the nation, that was Israel as a people to be to the sum-total of the tribes composing the great (Elohistic) kingdom of God in this terrestrial world. It is the province of the priest to receive and preserve the revelations, promises, and gifts of God, of which the nation stands in need, to make them known to the people, and transmit them to future generations. And thus was it Israel's vocation, as a priestly

nation, to communicate to every other nation the revelations which it received from God. Hence the promise of a covenant with the nation leads us back to the promise formerly made of a covenant with the family ("In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," see vol. i. § 51, 4); and it becomes apparent that the covenant at Sinai was precisely the same as that which had formerly been concluded at Mamre. The one was merely a renewal of the other—a transference to the nation, which had sprung from the family, of the promise and call which the family itself had already received. The individuality and exclusiveness which characterised the former covenant, were equally manifest in the latter, for *out of* all nations Israel was the property of Jehovah; but the fact that the covenant was destined for the most unlimited universalism, appeared in the latter also, bright and clear, as the pole-star of the future. Here also was the truth exhibited and confirmed—that Israel was merely the *first-born*, not the *only* child of Jehovah; that the other nations, as younger members of the family of Jehovah, were to be made partakers of the same sonship which Israel was the first to receive, but which it received as the pledge of the future adoption of the other nations of the earth (vol. ii. § 21, 1); "for the whole earth is Mine," saith the Lord.

Lastly, Israel was to be "*a holy nation.*" The primary notion of holiness is that of *separation;* but the merely negative idea of separation is not complete without the addition of the positive side, that of separation *to*, as well as *from.* According to the idea of holiness, God is the source of all holiness: He is revealed as the only Holy One. This fact determines what holiness is, both on its negative and positive sides. It is a loosening and separation from everything that is opposed to God, estranged from God, everything god-less; it is also dedication to God and His purposes, an entrance into His saving plans, the return of a godless creature to fellowship with God, the reception of those saving influences from God Himself, by which a man becomes holy again, or in other words, conformed to God, and well-pleasing in His sight. This state of holiness was *demanded* of the people of the theocracy: "Be ye holy, for I Jehovah, your God, am holy" (Lev. xix. 2). But in the passage before us, where we first meet with this demand, it appeared in the form of a promise, to testify that the sanctification of the people *could* only take

place, and at the same time assuredly *would* take place, as the result of the covenant of God with Israel, by virtue of the covenant acts of God, to which He bound Himself when the covenant was concluded. Hence, as the nation was to become a holy nation under the theocracy, the latter was also a *remedial institution:*[1] in fact, this was its actual kernel, its centre and soul; for all the preliminaries of the covenant culminated in the promise, "Ye shall be a holy nation unto Me." Every other purpose was subservient to this one; every other institution (political and magisterial) subserved the purposes of salvation, which they were merely intended to protect and define. The kingly office of the God-King was merely a foil to His *saving* work; the theocratical state-institutions were merely the outer form in which the Church was for the time enclosed; and the position of subjects, assigned to the people of the theocracy, was merely the setting which enclosed its higher position as a nation of worshippers of God.

Israel was a priestly nation; but a priesthood, the essence and office of which is mediation, can only continue so long as mediation is necessary; and therefore the priesthood of Israel only lasted till its task of conveying to heathen nations the revelations of God had been fully accomplished. After this the Israelites had no essential superiority, either in rights or duties. From this it is evident that the *form* of the theocracy, in which the Sinaitic covenant was embodied, was not *an end*, but merely a *means* to an end,—that it was not permanent and eternal, but changeable and temporary. There are other considerations which lead to the same result. If God became a King, that as a King He might accomplish His divine purposes, *viz.*, the plan of salvation, it followed that He would cease to be a King, in *this* sense, as soon as His purposes of salvation had been realized.

But it was merely the *form* of the theocracy which was changeable and temporary. Its *essence*, like the purposes of salvation from which it had sprung, was imperishable: it existed

[1] There is a play upon the word here, which cannot be rendered into English. *A Heilsanstalt* is, strictly speaking, an infirmary or hospital. The theocracy, says *Kurtz*, was a *Heils*-anstalt (an institution for making men *whole*), because its purpose was to make men *heil*-ig, holy. In German the words *Heil*, soundness, salvation, *Heiland*, Saviour, *heilen*, to heal, and *heilig*, holy, are all formed from the one root *Heil*. —*Tr.*

before the establishment of the ancient covenant, and continued to exist when the design of the covenant had been fully accomplished. The kingdom of God on earth then passed beyond the national limits, within which the wisdom of God had confined it during the time of the ancient covenant; the sphere of the operations of *Jehovah* henceforth embraced all nations, and was co-extensive with that of the operations of *Elohim*. Jehovah was still a King, as He had been before; but His kingdom was no longer a *national* one, and His government no longer political and magisterial. For the *political* affairs of a state arise out of its separation from other states, and its connection with or opposition to them; but in the new Divine state, in the kingdom of God under the New Testament, all distinction, separation, and opposition between tribes and nations have been abolished,—"there is neither Jew nor Greek, but all are one in Christ." In the same way are the *magisterial* functions (*lit.* the police administration) of the Divine government entrusted (or rather, like the political, they naturally fall again) to the very same authorities to which they had been entrusted from the beginning, under the universal government of Elohim. But the real, eternal, imperishable kernel of the theocracy, the personal interposition on the part of God to carry out His plans of salvation, His personal activity in connection with human affairs, His incorporation in the creature, have not come to an end, but, on the contrary, have now received their complete and highest fulfilment.

(2.) "Make a FENCE AROUND THE MOUNTAIN, and sanctify it" (ver. 23). *Hofmann* (*Schriftbeweis* i. 79) says, that הִגְבִּיל denotes a separation from what is without, קִדֵּשׁ the setting apart of that which is within. I cannot agree with this. The *vav* is not disjunctive, but explanatory. It does not show that a second thing was to be done in addition to the fencing, namely, sanctifying; but the additional clause, "and sanctify it," shows what was the design of the fencing, what it really signified. If the קדש had been different from the הגבל, an explanation would necessarily have been given of the manner in which it was to be performed. By the fencing, the mountain was separated and distinguished from all the other mountains round about; and, by the separation itself, was set apart for other—that is to say, for Divine purposes. The fence around the sacred mountain was also a fence around the unholy people (ver. 12); for it warned

them against presumptuously touching the mountain, and guarded them from doing so accidentally (unintentionally). The latter was rendered impossible by the fence, and therefore the former could all the more justly be threatened with the punishment of death. The reason of the infliction of such a punishment was, that a presumptuous approach or ascent of the mountain, on which the holiness of God was about to be manifested, would have indicated a thorough contempt of the conditions which were indispensable to the conclusion of the covenant. If the Holy One was to make a covenant with those who were unholy, the latter must first make themselves holy (ver. 10); if, however, the latter should attempt to climb the mountain, *i. e.*, to draw near to God, without a previous sanctification, or before their sanctification was complete, this would be equivalent to a declaration that the conditions were unnecessary, either because they themselves were holy, or because God was unholy.

It is very difficult to give a more particular explanation of the prohibition in question.—In ver. 12 we read: "Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount (עֲלוֹת בָּהָר), or touch the border of it;" but in ver. 13, on the other hand, it is said, that "when the horn is sounded *they* are to ascend the mount" (הֵמָּה יַעֲלוּ בָהָר). Hence that which was prohibited to the people for the time being, was permitted, or rather commanded, for a subsequent period, when the signal should be given by the sound of the horn. But this again appears to be contradicted by what follows. For, according to ver. 16, "it came to pass on the third day, that there were thunders and lightnings, and the *voice of the trumpet* exceeding loud;" whereupon Moses led the people out of the camp to the foot of the mountain to meet with God. Whilst the sound of the trumpet continued to grow louder and louder, *Moses* ascended to the top of the mountain, but was obliged to come down again, to charge the people once more not to break through (the fence) to Jehovah to gaze (ver. 21, 24); so that what seemed to be permitted, and even commanded in ver. 13, appears in this verse to be strictly and unconditionally forbidden.

Various attempts have been made to solve the difficulty. *O. v. Gerlach* refers the הֵמָּה (they), in ver. 13, not to the people, but to the elders, mentioned in ver. 7; and supposes that during the promulgation of the law they were allowed to pass beyond

the fence, just as we find in chap. xxiv. 9, 10, that after the covenant was concluded, they passed beyond the fence to look at God. But this solution is not only inadmissible, on account of the intolerable harshness of referring the pronoun "*they*" to the elders, who had been mentioned a long time before, and in a totally different connection, but it is also at variance with ver. 24, where the warning, "Let not the *priests* and *the people* break through to come up to Jehovah," is repeated immediately before the giving of the law. What is here forbidden to the priests was certainly forbidden to the elders also; or, at any rate, the expression, "the priests *and* people," which embraced the whole nation, must assuredly have included the elders as well.—*Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 522), on the other hand, interprets עֲלוֹת בָּהָר, in ver. 13, as denoting merely the approach of the people to the fence itself. But if the expression in ver. 13 denotes an approach to the fence, it must have the same meaning in ver. 12, where the words are precisely the same; and it is an unjustifiable act of capriciousness on the part of *Luther* to render it "*auf* den Berg steigen" (go *up* the mountain) in ver. 12, and "*an* den Berg gehen" (go *up to* the mountain) in ver. 13. It is imperatively required by a correct exegesis, that the whole passage should be interpreted as prohibiting the עלות בהר *until the horn was sounded*, and *then* commanding it.—The Septuagint adopts a different method. The thirteenth verse (בְּמְשֹׁךְ הַיֹּבֵל הֵמָּה יַעֲלוּ בָהָר) is translated, or rather paraphrased, as follows: "*Οταν αἱ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ἀπέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ἀναβήσονται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος*. By taking the sounding of the horn to mean the time when it left off sounding, the difficulty undoubtedly vanishes. But is such a rendering of משך warrantable? The Vulgate gives the very opposite meaning: *cum cœperit clangere buccina*, etc.

As the whole of the 19th chapter was certainly the production of the same author, and there are no various readings to be met with, *criticism* cannot render any assistance in getting rid of the difficulty. Moreover, as it is not conceivable that the author should have written such contradictions as ver. 12 and 13 appear to contain, when compared with ver. 16, 19, and 21, the expositor need not despair of finding a solution. According to the law of exegesis, we hold it as *a priori* indisputable, that עלות בהר must mean precisely the same in ver. 12 as it does in ver. 13;

and therefore, that what had been previously forbidden was allowed, or rather commanded, when the trumpet gave the signal (בִּמְשֹׁךְ הַיֹּבֵל). It is also quite as indisputably evident (from Josh. vi.) that the trumpet (שׁוֹפָר) in ver. 16 and 19 was exactly the same instrument as the horn in ver. 13. With these premises, it appears to us that there are only two ways open in which the apparent discrepancy can be solved, viz., either by assuming that, notwithstanding the identity of the instruments referred to, the sounding of the horn in ver. 13 was different from the voice of the trumpet in ver. 16 and 19;—or else, by supposing that the ascent of the mountain in ver. 12, 13 was altogether different from the "breaking through to Jehovah," in ver. 21 and 24.

The former of these could only be established in some such way as this: the term ordinarily employed to denote the blowing of the horn is תָּקַע (Josh. vi. 4, 8, 9, 13, 16, 20), and מָשַׁךְ only occurs twice (Ex. xix. 13 and Josh. vi. 5). But are the two perfectly identical? We feel obliged to differ from *Gesenius* and others, and answer this question in the negative. תקע means to *strike*, to *thrust*; משך to *draw*. The application of these two different expressions to the blast of a trumpet, leads to the conclusion that each refers to some particular kind of blast: the former denoting a short, sharp, crashing sound; the latter a blast, sustained and long drawn out. This difference we believe to be indicated here; for there can be no doubt that the tone of the תקע is referred to in ver. 16 and 19, where the *voice* of the trumpet is associated with the thunder and lightning. Hence the משך היבל in ver. 13 does not mean "when the blowing ceases," as the *Septuagint* renders it, nor "at the commencement of the blowing," as the *Vulgate* has it, but denotes a peculiar long-drawn note; and *Luther*, therefore, has hit upon the correct interpretation, when he translates the clause in ver. 13, "but when the blowing continues *long*." The meaning of the announcement in ver. 13 would in that case be the following: the people were forbidden to ascend the mountain, until the long-drawn blast of the trumpet gave the signal that they were now at liberty to ascend it and draw near to Jehovah. This could not occur, as ver. 21 and 24 clearly show, either *before* or *during* the promulgation of the law, and must therefore have followed the giving of the law. This is confirmed by chap. xx. 18 (15), where we are told that thunder, lightning, and the sound of trumpets

(which must certainly have been silent during the utterance of the ten commandments) concluded the promulgation of the law, just as they had previously introduced it (chap. xix. 16). The time had now arrived when, according to the announcement in chap. xix. 13, the people ought to have ascended the mountain; that is, if the evolution of the drama had taken place according to the original design. But this had not been the case: the Divine plan laid down in chap. xix. 13 had not been followed. The people endured the introductory phenomena; they even stood their ground during the utterance of the ten "words." But the majestic voice of Jehovah, in which He proclaimed the fundamental principles of that holiness which He demanded of the nation, made so powerful and alarming an impression upon the people, who had already been made conscious of their unholiness, that when the giving of the law was ended, and they heard the thunder, and lightning, and the sound of the trumpets, they lost all their courage, and could stand it no longer; and, instead of waiting for the promised signal, and then ascending the mountain to Jehovah, as Moses had arranged, they were overpowered by fear and anxiety, and ran from the spot, crying out to Moses (chap. xx. 19): "Speak *thou* with us, and we will hear; but let not *God* speak with us, lest we die."

It cannot be denied that this solution has the appearance of being somewhat forced; still, I should be sorry to reject it summarily on that account. If it is inconceivable, that the writer should have set down two things so contradictory in such close connection; the appearance of contradiction must arise from some looseness in the terms employed, which has caused them to be misunderstood, and in such cases there is almost sure to be something apparently forced in any solution that may be suggested. The second solution, which has been mentioned as also a possible one, has the same appearance of being forced; but I am inclined to give it the preference. In this case, the difficulty is removed by understanding the "breaking through to Jehovah," in ver. 21 and 24, in a different sense from the עֲלוֹת בָּהָר (going up to the mount) in ver. 12 and 13. I do not think this impossible. The former (the breaking through) evidently refers to the fence placed around the mountain, and denotes a forcible attempt to break through or climb over the fence. But the latter may be interpreted as meaning merely an ascent from

the camp, which stood upon the low ground, to the foot of the mountain, which was on a higher level. In this case, the meaning of the announcement in ver. 13 and 14 would be the following: The Israelites were not even to approach the mountain (the foot of the mountain) during the three days of preparation. As soon as the signal was given by the trumpet-blast from the mountain, they were to go up to the foot; but even then they were not to break through the fence (ver. 21). This is in harmony with the epexegesis in ver. 12: "Take heed that ye do not go up to the mount and *touch the extremity of it*." It is also in harmony with what actually took place; for, when the trumpet sounded, Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they came to the foot of the mountain (ver. 17),—for "touching the *extremity* of the mountain," and "coming to the *foot* of the mountain," may very well be taken as identical expressions. This rendering of עלה בהר is justified by the well-known usage of the language, in which עלה is the standing expression for going to any place that stood upon a higher level. It is also confirmed by the fact, that the phrase ordinarily employed to denote the ascent of a mountain is עָלָה אֶל הָהָר or עַל הָר, or still more precisely אֶל רֹאשׁ הָהָר (see Ex. xix. 20, 23, xxiv. 13, 15, 16, 18; Num. xxxiii. 37, 38; Deut. xxxii. 49), and by the meaning of בָּהָר itself, which is usually employed in other cases to denote, generally: "by the mountain" (Ex. iv. 27; Num. xxviii. 6; Deut. i. 6), or "among the mountains" (Gen. xxxi. 23, 25, 54), or "in the neighbourhood of the mountain" (Ex xxxiv. 3; בְּכָל הָהָר all round the mountain).

3. The SANCTIFICATION, by which the people were to prepare themselves during three days for receiving the law, consisted chiefly of two things—washing their clothes (ver. 10), and abstaining from their wives (ver. 15). *Sommer* pronounces the latter unhistorical (bibl. Abhandl. Bonn 1846, p. 226 sqq.). He thinks that he has proved that Lev. xv. 18 does not relate to conjugal connection; and (to use his own words) that "the opinion which so generally prevailed in ancient times, of the uncleanness of conjugal connection," was not adopted in the Mosaic law, but found admission among the Jews at a much later period. His reasons are certainly plausible, but we have not been convinced by them. However, we must defer our

exposure of the fallacy of his argument till we come to our own systematic account of the Mosaic legislation. We shall also find a more fitting opportunity for the examination of the meaning and design of these forms of purification, when we come to that section of the law which treats of the subject in question.

## PROMULGATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

§ 10. (Ex. xix. 16–xxiii. 33; Deut. v.)—On the third day after the announcement of the preliminaries of the covenant (probably the fiftieth after the departure from Egypt, § 4, 5), thunder and lightning burst forth; a loud blast of trumpets was heard, and the mountain was covered with a black, heavy cloud. The people were greatly alarmed, and Moses led them out of the camp to the foot of the mountain to meet with God (§ 8, 5). The whole of the mountain of Sinai smoked, and shook to its very foundations; for Jehovah had come down upon it in fire (1). Moses ascended the mountain, but was ordered to come down again, and repeat the warning to the people not to break through the fence. Whilst he was below among the people, JEHOVAH (2) Himself addressed the assembled congregation, face to face, from out of the midst of the fire and darkness, and proclaimed with a loud voice the *ten* fundamental "words" of the law of the covenant (3). All the people heard the voice of God, and the mountain burned with fire (Deut. iv. 33, v. 4, 22). Upon this the people fled in the greatest terror; and the heads of the tribes and elders came to Moses, and said (Deut. v. 23): "Speak thou to us, and we will hearken; but let not *God* speak to us, lest we die." Thus the people abandoned the privilege of a priesthood, of coming directly into the presence of God, and holding immediate communion with Him. In the consciousness of their unholiness, they felt that they were not yet fitted to enter upon the priestly office in its fullest extent, and that they were still in need of a mediator to conduct their intercourse with God. The nation retained its priestly vocation, but the full realisation of it was postponed to a very remote future on

account of this change of affairs. This was necessarily the case, and it was intended that it should be so. The designs of God in connection with the covenant pointed to this from the very first; but the people themselves were to learn by experience, that for a time it could not be otherwise. Jehovah therefore approved of the people's words (Deut. v. 28); and Moses was solemnly appointed by *both* parties, and recognised henceforth as the mediator of the covenant. In this capacity he now ascended the mountain a second time (with Aaron, Ex. xix. 24) to receive Jehovah's further commands. The ten words, which the people themselves had heard from the mouth of God, had laid the foundation of all future legislation.

(1.) The design of those terrific phenomena of nature, which introduced and accompanied the promulgation of the law, is pointed out in chap. xx. 20. Moses addresses the people thus: "Fear not; for God is come *to tempt you*, and *that His fear may be before your eyes*, that ye sin not." The whole path of the Israelites, from their departure out of Egypt to the present hour, had been one series of *temptations*, intended to bring the people to a knowledge of themselves and of their God, and to establish the normal relation between the two. Amidst the temptations of the desert, the natural obduracy and unholiness of the people unfolded itself on the one hand, and the faithfulness and mercy, the power and glory of Jehovah, were revealed upon the other. The previous temptations had served to reveal the ungrateful and unbelieving disposition of the people, and to put it to shame by attesting the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah. The words of Moses, "Where is there a nation to whom God is so near, as Jehovah our God when we call upon Him?" (Deut. iv. 7), were confirmed on every hand. The *Redeemer* from the Egyptian house of bondage showed Himself also as the Deliverer from all the straits and necessities of the desert. But Jehovah intended to be not merely the Redeemer, but also the Lawgiver of Israel. As the Redeemer of the people, He had shown them His faithfulness and mercy, His patience and long-suffering; and now it was requisite that as their Lawgiver He should make known to them the whole majesty of His glory, and the fearful severity of His holiness. Israel was also to be tempted, that it might not

place so false a confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, as to attribute them to its own worthiness, and thus forget His *holiness* and *majesty*. The Israelites again were *tempted*, that it might be seen whether they could stand before the majesty of God. They were to learn by experience that they could not do this; that however near Jehovah might draw to them, they were not in a condition to draw near to Jehovah, but still needed a mediator to act on their behalf. In the terrors of Sinai there was a representation of the terrors, which the holiness of God always has to an unholy man; in other words, of the terrors of the law towards the sinner by whom it has been transgressed. But even in the midst of the terrors of Sinai there was a manifestation of mercy as well; for the fire of holiness did not appear uncovered, but hidden in a thick, black cloud; and even unholy Israel learned that day, "that God may talk with man, and man remain alive" (Deut. v. 24).

(2.) The *manifestation of God at Sinai* was made through the same *representative of God* who had formerly spoken to Moses out of the burning bush (Ex. iii. 2 sqq.), and who had hitherto conducted Israel in the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. xiii. 21 sqq.). It was the majesty of God Himself which came down upon Sinai in the fire; but the majesty of the invisible God was brought within the cognisance of the senses in the Angel who represented Him. It was the voice of God and the commandment of God which entered the ears of the people; but the voice came from the mouth of the Angel, in whom was Jehovah's name (Ex. xxiii. 20, 21). We refer the reader to our remarks at Vol. i. § 50, 2, and also append the clear and pointed remarks of *Hofmann* (Weissagung und Erfüllung, i. 136), with which we entirely concur, in further explanation of the occurrence under review. He says: "What the people heard, and what Moses heard, were both angelic words. When Moses on a subsequent occasion called to mind the great day on which the holiness of Jehovah appeared on Sinai, he said (Deut. xxxiii. 2): *He came in the midst of His holy myriads.* But in the book of Exodus we read of nothing but thunder and lightning, and a sound resembling a trumpet. Yet, as all the natural operations employed by Jehovah to make known His presence are operations of His spirits, Moses was right in recognising the presence of the multitude of heavenly hosts. It was the voice of God,

and not of a man, which the people heard (Deut. iv. 12, 32, 33, v. 4); but, notwithstanding this, it is still certain that God only spoke through the medium of his finite spirits. Hence it is stated in the New Testament that the law was spoken by angels (Heb. ii. 2, ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος), was given to the people through their mediation (Acts vii. 53, ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων; Gal. iii. 19, διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου). No other part is ascribed to the angels in connection with the giving of the law. The διατάσσειν τὸν νόμον was exclusively the work of God, but He made use of angels to publish his will. All that the words of Acts vii. 53 say is, 'Ye received the law as the commands of an angel.' When Moses, therefore, ascended the mountain to hear the words of Jehovah alone, he saw the God of Israel close by him, as the people saw Him in the distance, namely, like a consuming fire (Ex. xxiv. 10, 17). But Stephen says, an angel spoke to Moses on Sinai, as He had done before out of the burning bush (Acts vii. 38, 30, 35). Moses himself was the mediator between God and the people, and not the angel, as *Schmieder* infers from Gal. iii. 19 (in his treatise on that passage, 1826); for the words ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου (in the hand of a mediator) refer to the position in which Moses stood, and of which he himself says (Deut. v. 5), 'I stood between Jehovah and you.' But the revelation of Jehovah to Moses was made through the medium of the same angel who went before the people as a pillar of smoke. Moses did not learn the will of Jehovah concerning His people apart from Him."

3. In the year 1836 a lively and learned discussion originated with *Fr. Sonntag* (*Ueber die Eintheilung der zehn Gebote; theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1836, pp. 61–89) respecting the form and contents of the DECALOGUE. *E. J. Züllig* answered him in 1837 in the same periodical, pp. 47–122 (*für die calvinische Eintheilung und Auslegung des Dekalogs*), and *Rinck* in the Badisches Kirchenblatt (1836, No. 24). *Sonntag* defended his position in a second article in the Studien und Kritiken 1837, pp. 253–289 (*noch einiges über die Eintheilung des Decalogs zur Rechtfertigung meiner Ansicht);* but another weighty opponent rose up in the person of *J. Geffken* (*Ueber die verschiedene Eintheilung des Dekalogus und den Einfluss derselben auf den Cultus*, Hamb. 1838). *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch ii. 317 sqq.), *Bertheau*

(*die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze in den mittl. Büchern des Pentateuchs*, Göttingen 1840, p. 7 sqq.), and others, wrote in the same strain as Geffken.—*S. Preiswerk* defended another view (Morgenland 1838, No. 11, 12); and with both skill and good practice in connection with unsupported criticism, *E. Meier* has discovered and restored "the original form of the decalogue. Mannheim 1846."

We must defer till a more fitting occasion our examination of the religious and ethical elements of the decalogue. At present, only a few questions will engage our attention, which bear more immediately upon its external form.

*a.* With regard to the SCRIPTURAL NAMES OF THE DECALOGUE, we observe at the outset that the name which is usually given to it now, "*the ten commandments*," is nowhere to be met with in the Sacred Writings. On the other hand, it is frequently called "*the ten words*" (עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים); *e.g.*, Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4. As the earliest document of the covenant, it is also often called "*the covenant*" (הַבְּרִית; Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; 1 Kings viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 11, etc.). A very favourite name is הָעֵדוּת, *the testimony*. *Hengstenberg* maintains (Pent. ii. 319) that this name is to be traced simply to the design of the decalogue, as the accuser and judge of the sinner,—an opinion which I have shown at some length (in my Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttestl. Cultus, Leipzig 1851) to be thoroughly inadmissible, and to which I shall have to refer when describing the ark of the covenant as the receptacle of the testimony. The only possible meaning of the word is "*attestation* of the Divine *will* to the people." At the time when the New Testament was written, the decalogue appears to have been known as *αἱ ἐντολαί* (Luke xviii. 20).

*b.* It is evident from the standing expression, "the ten words," that *the number ten* was intentionally chosen, and therefore not without meaning. In any case, then, we must look back to the symbolical importance of this number. In my work, *über d. symbolische Dignität der Zahlen an der Stiftshütte* (Stud. u. Krit. 1844, p. 352 sqq.), and in my *Einheit d. Genesis* (Berlin 1846), I have traced the symbolical meaning of the number ten, as the sign of completeness and independence, to the isolated position in which this number stands in the series, and I still adhere to my opinion. *Bähr*, *Hengstenberg*, *Bertheau*,

*Baumgarten*, and others, have given the same explanation. *Hofmann* has taken a different course, but it leads eventually to the same result (see also *Delitzsch*, Genesis Ed. 2, ii. 225). He starts from the number of fingers on a man's hand, and finds from this that ten is the number which represents human capacity,—in other words, the manifold development of humanity. It does not, therefore, denote absolute perfection, but human perfection; and in this sense the number ten sets the seal of perfection upon any object. A simple fact may serve to connect these two opinions, namely, that the decimal system of numeration undoubtedly originated in the number of the fingers. *Delitzsch* explains the use of the number ten as the sign of perfection in another way still. Three is the number of the only absolute, self-existent God; seven, on the other hand, is the number of divinity, as manifested in the created world: hence *ten* (3 + 7) denotes the complete revelation of God, both in relation to Himself and outwardly towards the world, the sevenfold radiation of that which in itself is threefold.—*Grotius* (de decal. p. 36) thinks that the number of the commandments was fixed at ten, because men were in the habit of counting with the ten fingers, and that number would therefore be more likely than any other to impress them upon the memory. The bald utilitarian theory on which this opinion is based, is well deserving of the two notes of admiration with which *Bähr* (Symbolik, i. 181) expresses his amazement. But when this view is traced back to still deeper roots, as it has been by *Hofmann*, it is really worthy of attention; and if the division of the decalogue into two pentads, to which we shall refer more particularly presently, can be established, the agreement with the number of fingers will then be so striking, that it will hardly be possible to dispute it. But when *Friedrich (Symbolik d. mos. Stiftshütte*, p. 120) brings forward Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, and Prov. vii. 8, in support of the view expressed by *Grotius*, he is most decidedly in the wrong; for, in the first place, there is no reference to the ten commandments in either of these passages; and, in the second place, it is not the fingers that are spoken of, but the hand, the space between the eyes and the table of the heart. We may safely infer that the ten commandments were divided into two parts by the Lawgiver Himself, from the fact that the ten words were written upon two tables. No further information is given,

however, as to the division itself. But we shall return to this subject again (Note 1).

*c.* In addition to the *copy of the decalogue* in Ex. xx., which is evidently the original and authentic one, we have a *second, and in many respects a different copy*, in Deut. v. (see *Ranke*, Unterss. ii. 399 sqq., and *Baumgarten*, Comm. i. 2, pp. 443, 444). The differences are merely formal, and for the most part very immaterial. They may be explained on the ground that the Deuteronomist took the decalogue, which stands in Ex. xx. in its fixed, statutory form, and repeated it to the people with a certain amount of freedom, when he made it the ground of his exhortations to them. There is only *one* variation to which, on certain suppositions, some importance may be attached; but even in this case the difference is simply in the form. In the book of Exodus, the list of things which it was unlawful to covet is given in the following order: house‖, wife, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, anything that is thy neighbour's; in the book of Deuteronomy, wife‖, house, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, anything that is thy neighbour's. See below, under Note *h*.

*d.* The most difficult question which we have to examine relates to the DIVISION OF THE DECALOGUE *into its ten words or commandments, and the two tables* upon which it was written (Ex. xxxi. 18, etc.). The following divisions have been made at different times, and most of them date from a very early period (see *Geffken*, p. 9 sqq. 123 sqq.). (i.) The words, "I am Jehovah thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt," have been taken as the first commandment; in which case the second includes the prohibition to worship other gods and to make any graven image, and the tenth embraces both the clauses which treat of coveting. This is the division which has been current among modern *Jews* from the time of the Talmud. It was adopted by the Emperor Julian, Georgius Syncellus, and Cedrenus; and lately *Preiswerk* has declared in favour of it, with this exception, that he does not regard the words, "I am Jehovah thy God," as a commandment in itself, but as an introduction to the (*nine*) commandments. In support of his opinion, he appeals to the fact that the Pentateuch never speaks of *ten commandments*, but simply of *ten words*.—*E. Meier*, who agrees with this to some extent, but who has adopted a

totally different and new division for the rest, looks upon the introductory words as a command to acknowledge the national God of the Israelites (p. 14).—(ii.) According to a second division, the law against idolatry is the first commandment, that against the making of images the second, and that against coveting the tenth. This division was unhesitatingly adopted by *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Origen;* and they were followed by nearly all the Greek fathers, and by all the Latin till the time of Augustine. In the *Greek* Church it continued to prevail (the law against the worship of images being of course interpreted as referring to λατρεία, not to δουλεία), and the Swiss reformers introduced it again in connection with the *Reformed* Church. It has been most warmly and thoroughly defended by *Züllig* and *Geffken*, and is almost universally adopted by modern theologians (both Lutheran and Reformed).—(iii.) According to a third division, the law against worshipping other gods and that against serving images form but *one* commandment, namely, the first; and the law against coveting is divided into two commandments, the ninth and tenth. This division cannot be traced to an earlier source than *Augustine* (Quæstiones in Ex. 71).[1] *Augustine* takes the edition of the decalogue in Deuteronomy, and makes the ninth commandment to consist of the law against coveting a neighbour's wife, the tenth that against coveting a neighbour's house, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, or anything that is his. This division became the current one in the West, with this unimportant difference, however, that instead of the edition in Deuteronomy, the more authentic copy in Exodus was taken as the basis; and thus the law against coveting the house formed the ninth commandment, and that against coveting the wife, man-servant, and others, the tenth. The Catholic and Lutheran Church continue to adopt this division to the present

[1] There is a passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Strom. vi. p. 682, ed. Colon. 1688) which has frequently been appealed to as an earlier proof of the division adopted by *Augustine* (and Züllig still admits its validity). In this passage he connects the prohibition of image-worship with the first commandment, calls the command not to take the name of the Lord in vain the second, and the command to keep holy the Sabbath day the third; but he passes over the fourth, and still calls the command to honour father and mother the fifth, and expressly mentions all the objects referred to in the command against coveting as contained in one commandment (δέκατος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ περὶ ἐπιθυμίων ἁπασῶν). See *Geffken*, pp. 159, 20, 159 sqq.

day. *Sonntag* (ll. cc.) returned to the form given in Deuteronomy, and defended the arrangement of the ninth and tenth commandments founded upon that form with acuteness and learning.—The *Parashoth*, into which the law is divided in the synagogue-rolls and most of the Codices, are in favour of uniting the introduction and the prohibition of idolatry and image-worship into one commandment, and separating the various objects mentioned in the law against coveting into two. But this gives rise to the following discrepancy: According to the book of Exodus, the *ninth* commandment is, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's *wife;*" but according to that of Deuteronomy it is, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's *house*."—(iv.) Lastly, *E. Meier* has very recently discovered the "original form of the decalogue." It consists of two pentads, and the different members of the first series correspond exactly to those of the second. The order is as follows:—I. (1.) I am Jehovah thy God! (2.) Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me! (3.) Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image! (4.) Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain! (5.) Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy!—II. (1.) Honour thy father and thy mother! (2.) Thou shalt not commit adultery! (3.) Thou shalt do no murder! (4.) Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour! (5.) Thou shalt not steal!—These were the entire contents; there was not a single word more or less; and this was the way in which the commandments were arranged in the two tables!!

*e.* A closer examination of such of the methods referred to as are worth noticing, leads to the conclusion that the INTRODUCTORY WORDS, "I am Jehovah thy God, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt," cannot be reckoned as the first (independent) *word* or *commandment*. If we regard this clause as the first *commandment*,—*i. e.*, as announcing the duty to serve and acknowledge Jehovah as the one and only God,—it is inseparably connected with the next clause, which passes as the second commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me." But if we take it to be merely the first *word*, which does not contain any commandment in itself, but simply introduces and lays the foundation of the commandments which follow, the decalogue contains only *nine* commandments. But as both of these are equally untenable, the *Jewish* division and all

kindred modes of reckoning fall at once away.—Nor does it seem to us that the method adopted by Catholics and Lutherans can be sustained. For the command not to covet your neighbour's house cannot stand by itself as an independent command, by the side of the command not to covet your neighbour's wife, or his man-servant, or maid-servant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is his. The solution of the difficulty, adopted by early Lutheran controversialists (*cf. Geffken*, p. 12), that the ninth commandment prohibits actual, impure lust, the tenth, merely covetousness, need only be mentioned to be at once disproved. There remain, then, only the division adopted by Philo and Origen (the Græco-Reformed method), and that defended by Augustine, and lately by Sonntag.

*f.* On both sides the early Jewish and Christian TRADITION has been appealed to, and great learning has been displayed, but without any decided advantage on either side. The supporters of the Reformed division attach excessive importance to the fact, that the oldest writers, who give any account of the method which prevailed in their day (*Philo* and *Josephus*), confirm the correctness of the view adopted by them. But who will answer for it, that *Philo* and *Josephus* have really reported the view which prevailed in their time, and not merely their own private opinion? Why may there not have been various methods current among the Jews of that time, from which *Philo* and *Josephus* selected the one which pleased them best? At all events, we know that Pseudo-Jonathan adopted the opinion which still prevails among the Jews. But even granting that Philo and Josephus have merely given utterance to the current opinion of their day, what guarantee have we that this opinion was correct, and had been handed down from the earliest times? It can be proved that in the time of Josephus the views entertained by the teachers of the law, with reference to innumerable questions connected with the Jewish ritual, were doubtful, fluctuating, and contradictory. In the whole of the Old Testament we cannot find a single instance in which the commandments are referred to by their numerical position in the decalogue. This does not appear to have been at all a usual thing. And if it was not, the practice in the time of Josephus is of no importance at all. The New Testament is also appealed to (Matt. v. 27, 28, xix. 18, 19; Mark x. 19; Luke xviii. 20;

1 Tim. i. 9, 10; Rom. vii. 7, xiii. 9). But even *Geffken* admits (p. 136) that these passages do not furnish a convincing proof of the correctness of his arrangement. For our part, we cannot admit that they favour the system of Origen any better than that of Augustine.—Again, we attach no importance whatever to the real or supposed adoption, of the division current in the Reformed Church, by all the fathers anterior to Augustine.

On the other hand, we cannot admit that there is much weight in the evidence adduced on the opposite side. *Sonntag* attaches most importance to the *Parashoth-arrangement*. In the Hebrew MSS. the decalogue is marked off by a *Pethuchah* in both recensions, viz., after Ex. xx. 6, and Deut. v. 10, and is divided into its ten sections by nine *Sethumoth*. "There might even be ten *Sethumoth;* for it depended entirely upon accident, namely, upon the size of the open space in a particular line, whether the *Parashah* was a closed or an open one. It made no difference as to the worth and importance of the division itself, whether it was marked by a *Sethumah* or a *Pethuchah*" (*Bertheau*, p. 14). Now, undoubtedly, according to this division, the introductory clause and the prohibition of idolatry and image-worship form *one* connected whole,—*i.e.*, they constitute one of the ten words or commandments; and it is just as indisputable that the authors of the *Parashoth* have divided the law against coveting into two commandments, the ninth and tenth. *Bertheau* (p. 17) finds it remarkably easy to solve the enigma of this Parashoth-arrangement, which is directly opposed to the Jewish division, so far as we have been able to trace the latter up to a distant date: "It must" (?!!), he says, "have been introduced into the Hebrew MSS. under Christian influence (!!), probably since the 14th century, as the history of the division of the decalogue indisputably (?!!) proves. It is only necessary to bear in mind the division into chapters, which originated with Christians, but yet has been adopted by Jews."—*Sic!*—There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Christian plan of dividing the chapters should have been adopted in the Jewish MSS.; the matter was one of perfect indifference, and did not in any way bring the Jews into collision with their early traditions, or the dicta of their ancient teachers. But with the numbering of the commandments it was altogether different. From the time of the Talmudists, they have had a fixed and

inflexible arrangement, which differed entirely from that current among the Christians. And this being the case, it is as thoughtless as it is unhistorical to maintain that in the 14th century the Jews introduced the Christian arrangement into their Biblical MSS., notwithstanding the fact that it was directly opposed to that which they had inherited from their fathers. How much more, then, does this apply to their synagogue-rolls, into which they would not even admit the system of vowels and accents, which had been transmitted to them by their own honoured fathers! Of all inconceivable things, surely this is the most inconceivable. —*Geffken* appeals in preference to the facts of the case themselves. For instance, *Kennicott* has collated 694 of the most ancient MSS., and has discovered that in the law against coveting, the *Sethumah* is wanting in 234 codices of the book of Exodus, and in 184 of that of Deuteronomy (in the Samaritan Pentateuch he did not find it in a single MS. which he consulted). *Züllig* calculates that the proportion was as follows: two-thirds of the MSS. have the *Sethumah*, and in one-third it is wanting. But *Sonntag* becomes magnanimous from his confidence of victory, and makes more liberal admissions. In his opinion, the proportion may have been just the reverse, since the MSS. of *Kennicott* did not all of them contain the whole of the Old Testament. But he was evidently not warranted in making so sweeping an assertion. *Geffken*, however, accepts it without hesitation, and constantly argues as if the *Sethumah* were wanting in two-thirds of the MSS. But even if it were, how did it find its way into the other third? How did it get into *all* the synagogue-rolls; and how are we to explain the fact, that there is not a single MS. in which the prohibition of image-worship is separated by a *Sethumah* from the prohibition of idolatry? It must be admitted that the enigma of the *Sethumoth* of the decalogue is by no means solved; and it is still possible, notwithstanding the ridicule in which *Geffken* indulges, that these *Sethumoth* may be traced to an authority of more ancient date than *Philo* and *Josephus*.—Still, in our opinion, it is impossible to deduce from this any clear or probable evidence of the authenticity of the numbering adopted by Augustine. It is also just as impossible to deduce any certain proof from the practice of accentuation. See *Bertheau* pp. 15, 16, and *Sonntag* 1837, p. 277 sqq.

*g*. If the question is to be decided at all, we can only hope that the solution will be obtained from the *decalogue itself*. The first question which arises is this: Are the laws against having other gods (idolatry) and making graven images (image-worship) so related to each other, that we may assume that, according to the ancient Israelitish notion, they must necessarily have formed one commandment, or that they could only be regarded as two distinct commandments? In other words, was the early Israelitish (Mosaic) notion of the worship of images identically the same as that of the worship of foreign gods, or were they kept apart as two totally distinct notions? In Ex. xx. 3 we read, "Thou shalt have no other gods beside Me;" and in ver. 4, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any (idol-) image (פֶּסֶל), nor any likeness (תְּמוּנָה) of that which is in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not worship it, nor suffer thyself to be brought to serve it." According to the explanation given by the supporters of Origen's opinion, ver. 3 prohibits the worship of other gods (such as Baal, Apis, etc.), and ver. 4 the worship of Jehovah under the figure or symbol of any creature whatever. As a proof of this interpretation, they refer to the historical fact, that this untheocratical and illegal form of worship was actually resorted to very shortly after in the worship of Aaron's calf, and also to the essential difference which there was between Ahab's worship of Baal and Jeroboam's worship of the golden bulls. But even granting that by פסל and תמונה we are to understand *merely* images and symbols of *Jehovah*, borrowed from the created world, it does not necessarily follow that the law may not have included this in the same commandment with actual idolatry, and ranked it as a *species* under the genus of idolatry. On the contrary, the stringency and exclusiveness of the Mosaic monotheism, and the earnestness with which it held fast to the notion of the absolute spirituality of God, required that the one should be held up as equally reprehensible with the other, that both should be punished as rebellion against Jehovah; in fact, that both should be represented under exactly the same point of view. It is easy enough to distinguish them in theory; but in practice the limits drawn by theory are quickly disregarded and overstepped. Aaron was a theorist of this kind: he said (Ex. xxxii. 5): "To-morrow is the feast of Jehovah;" but the people had

"asked for a God to go before them" (Ex. xxxii. 1). Hence they had rejected *the* God, who had gone before them in the pillar of cloud and fire, and demanded to be led in a different way; they wanted a god to go before them in a more tangible form, and not enveloped in the pillar of cloud. They probably had no intention of rejecting and denying their God Jehovah, for they said: This is the God who brought us up out of the land of Egypt (Ex. xxxii. 8); but they merely retained the name of Jehovah, and substituted a different and totally heterogeneous idea. The Jehovah worshipped by the people in the form of the golden calf, was as much an idol as Apis, Moloch, and Dagon; and the people acted in violation of the command in Ex. xx. 3, quite as much as of that in Ex. xx. 4. In the same way may Jeroboam have set up the bulls at Dan and Bethel as images of *Jehovah*, but in practice the people were not able to make so nice a distinction as he. Now, such dangerous distinctions as these the law would at once cut up by the root, if it placed the false worship of Jehovah in precisely the same category as the worship of idols. And this it has done. For it is a false idea to suppose that ver. 4 refers to (symbolical) images of *God* alone, and not to *idolatrous* images also. Where can we find the least indication that פסל and תמונה are to be interpreted as referring to symbolical representations of Jehovah *alone?* The usage of the language is most decidedly opposed to this arbitrary limitation of the word פסל. In Is. xliv. 9–17, for example, the word is applied four times to heathen deities; and three times in the same connection (ver. 10, 15, 17) the manufacture of a פסל is called the preparation of a *god.* And when we read in the Pentateuch of *Elohim* of wood and stone (Deut. iv. 28), or *Elohim* of silver and gold (Ex. xx. 20), or molten *Elohim* (Ex. xxxiv. 17; Lev. xix. 4), what does the author mean but פסלים? And are not these Elohim to be regarded as the "other gods" prohibited in Ex. xx. 3? Does not this prove, beyond a doubt, that Ex. xx. 4 contains a special prohibition of the very same thing, which had been prohibited generally in Ex. xx. 3? Or rather, strictly speaking, the relation between the two is not that of genus and species, but that of the idea and the actual manifestation. *Pesel*-worship is not a subdivision of idolatry in general, but is the very same thing: the two notions entirely coincide. For wherever idolatry shows itself, the form which it

assumes is that of *Pesel* (image-) worship. Idolatry is the abstract, *Pesel*-worship the concrete sin.

We may therefore regard it as a safe conclusion from all that has been said, that the worship of a *Pesel* or *Themunah* (an image or likeness) is merely a particular species of the "worship of *other* gods;" and hence it necessarily appears to us more than probable, that the two verses (Ex. xx. 3, 4) contain together but one single command. This is still further confirmed by ver. 5, 6; for if we regard the fourth verse as a *second* independent commandment, the striking and expressive words, with reference to the blessing and curse to come upon the children and children's children, would apply merely to the worship of images, and not at all to idolatry, to which confessedly it most strictly belongs.

*h.* We now turn to the LAW AGAINST COVETING. If we look, first of all, at its external form, it cannot be denied that the repetition of the words, "Thou shalt not covet" (in Exodus לֹא־תַחְמֹד is repeated, in Deuteronomy we find לֹא־תַחְמֹד and לֹא־תִתְאַוֶּה), seems to indicate that they are *two* distinct commands. But when we turn, on the other hand, to the subject-matter, it can just as little be denied that the opposite opinion has its strongest support here, and that the arguments based on this are unanswerable, if we regard the present text of the two recensions as a genuine copy of the original. The prohibition "Thou shalt not covet" is essentially one, it is argued, however various the objects coveted may be. And this is raised into indisputable certainty by the fact, that in Exodus the *house* stands first, in Deuteronomy the *wife*. If therefore there were *two* commandments, according to the book of Exodus the *ninth* commandment would be, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," whilst in Deuteronomy it would read, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." Such a difference as this, however, would constitute a complete and insoluble discrepancy. But if all the objects mentioned were included in the same commandment, the transposition would be perfectly indifferent and unessential, and not more striking than the rest of the changes made by the Deuteronomist in his free version of the decalogue. All this we are compelled to admit. But the question would assume a very different form, if we were at liberty to suppose that the arrangement in Deuteronomy, where the wife is placed first, is original and authentic, and that by some mis-

take the words have been transposed in our present text of the book of Exodus. In that case we should be warranted in assuming, or rather the recurrence of the words "Thou shalt not covet" would force us to assume, that there were *two* commandments; and this would harmonise completely with the arrangement of the decalogue in every other respect. For example, the decalogue is divided into two parts: duty towards God, and duty towards our neighbour. Both of these are represented under a threefold point of view, as they relate to the heart, the mouth, and the action. In the first part, the desire for other gods is a sin of the heart; the misuse of the name of God is a sin of the mouth; the desecration of the Sabbath, an act of sin committed against the God-King of Israel. In the second part this order is inverted. First of all, after the commandment enjoining love to parents, which links the two together, the acts of sin against a neighbour are divided into three: injury done to his life, his marriage, and his property. This is followed by the commandment against injuring one's neighbour with a word, attacking his honour. And lastly, the neighbour is protected against those sinful desires, by which he might be disturbed in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the goods and rights which his God had conferred upon him. This sinful *desire* is parallel to the *actual* violation of a neighbour's rights; but it stands to reason, that of the three objects which may lead to actual sin (life, marriage, and property), only the last two could be cited as objects that it was possible to covet. Hence the ninth commandment (answering to the sixth) prohibits any desire to invade the married rights of another; and the tenth (answering to the seventh) prohibits every desire to interfere with his rights of property. Hence the division of the law against coveting into two commandments, is warranted by the parallel thus presented to the corresponding division of the law against *actual* sin. Moreover, it is confirmed by the fact, that the desire to obtain possession of another's wife belongs to a totally different department of the moral (or rather immoral) life, from that to which a longing for another's house and property belongs. If lust and covetousness can, or rather must, be regarded as two different *genera* of sin, there can be no doubt that the law against them may also be divided into two different commandments. *Bertheau's* objection to this is quite unintelligible. He says (p. 12): "There would be just as much

reason for dividing the six objects named in the law into six different commandments." But house, field, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, and everything that is one's neighbour's, are all included in the general notion of property. Wife and property are kept distinct in the sixth and seventh commandments, and they could be separated in the same way in the ninth and tenth; but if the tenth admits of being divided, then the seventh might also be divided into five, or even a hundred commandments.

We have been fully convinced, by what we have written above, that if the arrangement in Deuteronomy be really the original one, the division adopted by Augustine is unquestionably correct. But are we warranted in coming to this conclusion? Must we not give the preference to the recension in Exodus, which is so evidently both legal and authentic? Undoubtedly; yet it does not follow that an alteration, which makes no difference as to the subject-matter, but a considerable difference as to the form, may not have crept in at an early date, through the oversight, mistake, or carelessness of a copyist. Undoubtedly the critical evidence in favour of such a conjecture is very weak. Among all the codices of the book of Exodus collated by *Kennicott*, he found only one in which the wife was mentioned first; and he also found three codices of Deuteronomy in which the house stood first: but both of them had evidently arisen from the attempt of a copyist to remove the discrepancy. We might attach greater importance to the circumstance, that the Septuagint places the wife first, even in the book of Exodus, if we did not know how little weight it possesses as an authority in such questions as these. On the other hand, the Samaritan Pentateuch places the house first in Deuteronomy, as well as in Exodus. This leads us to the conclusion, at any rate, that at the very distant date at which these two versions arose, the whole question was a doubtful one.—Let us keep, therefore, to the words of the text. Which, we ask, is the more natural, the more suitable, and therefore the more probable, that the *house* should stand first, or the *wife?* There are only two hypotheses upon which *the former* could be defended, namely: either that the *wife* was placed in the same category with the "man-servant, the maid-servant, the ox, and the ass, and everything that is his," and was thus regarded as an article of property, a *mancipium;* or that the word *house* was used in its more general sense, as inclusive

of the entire family and everything connected with it. Both of these hypotheses would be false. With regard to the former, we must refer the reader to a future volume (*cf. Sonntag* l. c. 1837, pp. 264, 265). That the word *house* cannot have been employed in this broad and general sense—that it must have been used as a species, not as a genus—will be apparent at once, if we bear in mind that in this general sense a house not only included, but sometimes consisted entirely of such objects as could not be referred to in the law against *coveting; e. g.*, sons, daughters, grandsons, and other descendants. If, however, the word *house* is used here in its literal signification, it is clear that the only natural, suitable, and worthy arrangement, is for the wife to be mentioned first.

*i.* There still remains a fact of some importance, which may contribute towards the settlement of the dispute, namely, the *division of the ten commandments into two tables.* It has never been doubted that the first table contained the duties towards God—the second, those towards man. But the question arises, how far the former extended. *Philo* divided the decalogue into two pentads. In this case, not only must the law against idolatry and image-worship be separated into two commandments, but the command to honour one's parents must be included in the first table. Nearly all the modern writers have adopted this arrangement; but we must pronounce the latter quite as inadmissible as the former (see above, under Note *g*). On the side of our opponents, it is argued that parents are placed upon the first table, because they were regarded as representatives of God. We have no doubt that the pious feelings of the early Israelites led them to look upon parents (and rulers) in this light; but when we consider the strict and jealous exclusiveness with which the law protected its monotheism, and the marked distinction which it made between the creature and the Creator—between God and man, we cannot but declare it inconceivable, that a commandment having reference to men should have been placed in the first table, when every other commandment of the same character was placed in the second. If the command to honour one's parents was written upon the first table, the worship of parents was placed *upon a level* with the worship of God. But such co-ordination must have been regarded as idolatry in the eye of the law; for the first commandment says: Thou shalt have no *other* gods *by the side of*

Me. It is said, indeed, that in one's parents the *image* (the representation) of God—in other words, *God Himself*—was to be honoured. Very good! But why, then, does the next commandment prohibit murder? Undoubtedly for the *very same* reason—that a man bears the *image* of God; as the law given to Noah most clearly and emphatically declares (Gen. ix. 6). He who attacks the life of a man, attacks the image of God, and therefore God Himself;—consequently, this commandment ought to have been placed upon the first table. In fact, there would at last be nothing left for the second table at all. For it is God who has bestowed my property upon me; and therefore whoever attacks my property, makes an attack upon God Himself.

The division of the commandments into two tables has been arranged upon a very different principle. The first table directs the eye of man upwards, to God,—to the Person of the one, holy, spiritual God; the second downwards, to the relations of earth, which God has instituted, and which he is required to maintain. The first commandment on the second table has respect to the *supremacy* of one man over another, in which there is a reflection of God's absolute supremacy. The other commandments refer to those relations in which there is no such distinction, and arrange them under the threefold division of life, marriage, and property. It also describes the sins to which these give rise, under a threefold point of view: action (murder, adultery, theft), word (false witness), and desire (lust and covetousness).

We are led to the same result by another consideration. If it be indisputable, as is generally admitted, that the *number ten* was symbolical, it is at least highly probable that the division of the decalogue into two series of commandments was regulated by the ordinary laws of the symbolism of numbers. Now, the division, which we have just shown to be rendered necessary by the subject-matter of the commandments themselves, gave us the numbers three and seven. And we may very soon see that precisely the same division is required by the symbolism of numbers. When *Augustine* says, "Mihi tamen videntur congruentius accipi tria illa et ista septem, quoniam Trinitatem videntur illa, quæ ad Deum pertinent, insinuare diligentius intuentibus," he unconsciously disregards the Old Testament stand-point, and

anticipates that of the New. Nevertheless it is a settled fact, that even in the Old Testament the *number three* is the symbol of God in His essential existence (*cf.* *Bähr* Symbolik i. 115 sqq., and *my* treatise in the Studien und Kritiken 1844, p. 336 sqq.). This use of the number three was not first derived from the doctrine of the Trinity, but was based upon a speculative consideration of the number itself. It is equally certain that *seven* is the symbol of Divine things, so far as they are brought out to view in the world, in the creature, and more particularly in the kingdom of God. It was the covenant-number, the number of the covenant of God with His people; and therefore κατ' ἐξοχήν the *sacred* number. As seven is formed by adding three to four, the holiness that is in the world (in the kingdom of God) arises from the covenant which God has made with man; and thus seven denotes the life of the creature, so far as it has received a divine and holy character from union with God Himself. Now, in the theocracy, the relation of parents, personal existence, marriage, and the rights of property (as we shall show more fully in the second part of this volume), did acquire such a character; and the purpose of the seven commandments on the second table was to guard *it* against actual violence, as well as the attacks of calumny and covetousness.

From this it is apparent that the division of the decalogue into three and seven is as natural and fitting as it is symbolically significant. If it were divided into four and six, it would lose all its symbolical meaning, and even *five plus five* has less significance than *three plus seven.* Though *five* is, no doubt, to be reckoned among the symbolical numbers, yet, as the half of ten, it can only denote that a thing is half complete; *i.e.*, that in the attempt to attain perfection, it is half way towards the goal. It would be difficult, however, in the present case, to find a fitting occasion for any such symbolical meaning. At any rate, such a division would have no connection whatever with the distinctive character of the two tables; whereas, in the other division (3 + 7), this is most evidently and strikingly the case.

*k.* The RESULT of the whole inquiry is the following. If we follow the version of the decalogue which is given in Deuteronomy, and assume that, according to the primary and correct arrangement, the wife stood first among the objects mentioned in the law against coveting; the most simple, natural,

and suitable way in which the entire decalogue can in all respects be arranged, is that adopted by Augustine. But this method is clearly inadmissible if we place the house first, as in the book of Exodus. In that case, we are compelled to give the preference to the arrangement proposed by Origen. But the many inconveniences, incongruities, and difficulties, which it becomes impossible to solve and reconcile, form such obstructions to the adoption of this view, that, even without sufficient external critical evidence, we feel warranted in giving the preference to the reading in Deuteronomy, and therefore subscribe without hesitation to the Augustinian arrangement.

(4.) *E. Bertheau* (*Die sieben Gruppen mosaischer Gesetze in den drei mittlern Büchern des Pentateuchs*, Göttingen 1840) maintains that the entire Mosaic legislation (including Deuteronomy) consists of seven groups, of seven decalogues each; and has endeavoured to carry out this hypothesis with great acuteness, but not without much that is forced and arbitrary. The hypothesis itself has much to recommend it. Such an arrangement of the contents of the law, according to numerals that were held to be sacred, would be thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of Israelitish antiquity. The whole law, too, would thus present an appearance of unity and plan; it would look at once well organised and complete in itself. It was with a strong prejudice in its favour, therefore, that I proceeded to examine this hypothesis, and with a hope that I might find it based upon solid arguments; but I was thoroughly disappointed. Not one of the forty-nine decalogues discovered by *Bertheau* (with the exception of the first) has the appearance of being a simple and natural division into exactly ten commandments. Of the supposed introductory *formulæ*, by which the particular commandments are distinguished, sometimes there are more than ten, sometimes less. Thoroughly heterogeneous elements are mixed together in the same commandment; whilst others, which are undoubtedly connected together, and must have been looked at from the same point of view, are kept distinct as separate commandments. And sometimes the very things, which had been combined together in one case, have to be torn asunder in another, although the circumstances may be perfectly analogous. For example, the instructions to make the curtain of the Holy of holies, *and* the pillars thereof, are said to constitute *one* commandment; but imme-

diately afterwards the directions to make the curtain of the Holy Place *and* the necessary pillars must be divided into *two* commandments (simply because the words "and make" happen to be written twice). Again, whole series of commandments and ordinances, both within and outside the supposed decalogues, are passed over on sundry pretexts, and not counted at all. In other places the text must be fearfully twisted about, and an entirely new arrangement made, before it is possible to divide it into ten at all. In the Pentateuch itself there is no hint whatever at any such general division into tens and sevens. It only speaks of one decalogue, which would hardly have been so exclusively designated "the ten words" if there had been forty-eight other "ten words" besides.—We are therefore obliged to give up *Bertheau's* hypothesis, however it commends itself at first sight, however much acuteness the author may have displayed, and however successful he may appear to have been in different instances in carrying it out.

The first sevenfold group of decalogues, according to *Bertheau* (and *Baumgarten*, who has adopted his hypothesis), is the series of laws contained in the so-called BOOK OF THE COVENANT (chap. xix.–xxiii.); and in this case, though with some slight difficulties, his mode of reckoning and arrangement might at first be carried out and made to appear intentional. This Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxiv. 7) contains the historical and legal preliminaries to the conclusion of the covenant. There is, first of all, a historical introduction, giving a description of the preliminary negotiations respecting the intended covenant, and of the preparations to be made for the reception of the law (chap. xix.). This is followed by the fundamental law of the theocracy, of which the covenant was to be the foundation—in other words, by a declaration of the covenant-duties of the nation (chap. xx.–xxiii. 19); and lastly, by the promises which Jehovah made to the people (chap. xxiii. 20–33). We have first a compendious account of the covenant obligations of the people, arranged according to their most essential and indispensable characteristics, as they were directly announced by God to the people; and then a further expansion, which was given through Moses (chap. xxi.–xxiii.). For, notwithstanding the objections urged by Bertheau, *Ranke's* assertion (i. 87) is perfectly correct, that the laws in chap. xxi.–xxiii. are merely a more copious expansion of

those contained in the decalogue. The difference between the first group of laws (which is found in the Book of the Covenant) and the subsequent groups which were based upon it is this: the former laid down the conditions on which the covenant was to be concluded, and the basis of the theocratical constitution; the latter contained their further development, especially in a liturgical point of view. The first group related to such departments of life, as embraced the most general and fundamental features of the theocratical commonwealth. It contained laws that equally affected the whole nation and every individual belonging to it; whereas the following groups related to more special departments of life and worship, and contained commandments, the observance of which depended upon the sanctuary, which was not yet erected, and the existence of a priesthood that had not yet been instituted.

(5.) The demands of Jehovah, which are imposed upon the people in the Book of the Covenant, are followed by the PROMISES *of Jehovah*, or the covenant obligations which Jehovah imposed upon Himself (chap. xxiii. 20–33). According to *Bertheau* (p. 72 sqq.), these promises also form a decalogue upon the following plan: 1. The special guidance of Israel by the Angel, in whom was Jehovah's name (ver. 20–22; cf. § 14, 3); 2. the entrance of Israel into the land of Canaan, and the extermination of the inhabitants (ver. 23, 24); 3. the blessing of bread and water; 4. immunity from diseases (ver. 25); 5. freedom from premature births and barrenness on the part of the Israelitish women; 6. long life (ver. 26); 7. dread of God among all the enemies of Israel (ver. 27); 8. hornets, which should drive out the Hivites, Canaanites, and Hittites (ver. 28); 9. a gradual extermination of the inhabitants of Canaan, that the country might not become waste, or be overrun by wild beasts (ver. 29, 30); 10. the determination of the boundaries of the promised land (Israel was to take possession of the country between the Red Sea, the sea of the Philistines or Mediterranean, the desert of Arabia Petræa, and the river or Euphrates; see vol. i. § 38, 1).—We cannot persuade ourselves that this division is natural and unconstrained, and therefore do not adopt it.

With regard to the promise in ver. 28, which recurs in Deut. vii. 20, and is represented in Josh. xxiv. 12 as already fulfilled, *Bochart* has collected the following particulars (Hieroz. ed. Rosenmüller, iii. 407 sqq.). Several of the Fathers (*e.g. Eusebius, Augustine,*

etc.) thought that the passage must be interpreted as figurative (representing the dread of God, or something of that kind), since we have no account whatever in the Bible of the Canaanites being driven out by hornets. On the other hand, there have not been wanting expositors (*Theodoret*, etc.) who believe that it should be interpreted literally; and Bochart acknowledges himself to be one of these. In Josh. xxiv. 12, the promise given here is mentioned in passing as having been fulfilled. The fact that there is no express and detailed account of the occurrence itself in the historical narrative, proves nothing; for the sacred historians frequently pass over different events, which, as we learn from incidental allusions in other passages, must actually have occurred. Bochart then cites a number of passages from ancient authors, to show that small animals, such as frogs, mice, snakes, wasps, etc., frequently increased to such an extent, that the inhabitants were obliged to leave the country in order to escape from the plague. But he lays particular stress upon an account given by *Ælian* (ii. 28), to the effect that the Phasalians were once driven out of their settlement by wasps (σφῆκες). These Phasalians or Solymites were a tribe, whom Strabo (L. 14) describes as inhabiting the Solymite mountains on the borders of the (Dead) Sea; and, according to other ancient accounts, they were of Phœnician (Canaanitish) origin, and spoke the Phœnician language. *Bochart* believes that he has here discovered a confirmation of the Biblical account, according to its literal interpretation; and *M. Baumgarten* is not disinclined to agree with him. *O. v. Gerlach*, on the other hand, interprets it as referring to the different plagues and terrors by which God effected the overthrow of those tribes; and with this opinion we agree.

### THE SINAITIC COVENANT.

§ 11. (Ex. xxiv. 1–11.)—After a solemn and unanimous declaration, on the part of the people, that they would observe all the words which Jehovah had spoken, Moses wrote the words themselves in a book (the so-called Book of the Covenant), as the recognised conditions of the covenant which was about to be established (1). He then built an *altar* at the foot of the mountain with twelve pillars (stones of memorial) (2); and

selected twelve *young men* (3) to offer the covenant-sacrifice. Half of the blood he sprinkled upon the altar, and then read the Book of the Covenant to the people; and after they had once more solemnly promised obedience, he sprinkled them with the other half of the blood, which had been kept in a bason, saying, as he did so: "Behold, this is the *blood of the covenant*, which Jehovah has concluded with you on all these laws" (4). He then ascended the sacred mountain, attended by *Aaron*, and his sons *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and by *seventy of the elders*. There they *saw* the God of Israel, and celebrated the *covenant-meal* as an attestation of the covenant-fellowship which they now enjoyed (5).

(1.) The Book of the Covenant is supposed by *Hävernick* (Introduction) to have been a Mosaic work of considerable extent, embracing the whole of the Pentateuch, so far as it was then completed; but *Hengstenberg* has shown that it cannot have contained more than Ex. xx.–xxiii. (Dissertations on Pentateuch, vol. i. 435, and ii. 125, transl.).

(2.) In Ex. xx. 24, 25 we find that Jehovah had already given directions concerning the erection of the *altar*, on which the covenant-sacrifice was to be offered. When Israel built an altar, it was to be constructed of earth, or unhewn stones: "If thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." The altar was the place at which Jehovah would "cause His name to be praised, and come down to Israel and bless it." For this reason *He* appointed both the place where the altar was to be erected, and the material *of which* it was to be constructed. But an altar was also a stepping-stone by which man ascended to God, and on which he offered the gifts which he presented to God. It was, therefore, necessary that the altar should be erected by man himself. When Jehovah came down—not to receive gifts and sacrifices from the people, but to give him laws and promises—Sinai was the altar on which He revealed Himself. The people durst not ascend Mount Sinai to offer their gifts to God; it was necessary, therefore, that they should build an altar themselves, which should bear the same relation to Sinai as the work of man to the work of God. At the same time, its connection with Sinai was to be made known by the fact that it was

constructed of earth and unhewn stones. As the gift itself, which man offers upon the altar, is really both the work and gift of God, which has been first presented by Him to man; so was the material of which man built an altar, for offering his gifts to Jehovah, to be the work of God, and not of an impure human hand.

Although these directions were given first of all merely with reference to a particular case, the fundamental idea was necessarily of universal validity. This appears, indeed, to be at variance with the directions afterwards given respecting the erection of the altar of burnt-offering for the fore-court of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvii.); since the very thing which had been forbidden in the former case was actually required in this, namely, that the art of man should be engaged in its construction. But the difference between the two altars was not so great as might be imagined. For, even in the altar in the fore-court, the material itself, on which the offering was presented, was *earth;* the wooden case, which was covered with copper, merely serving to enclose the earth and keep it together. But there was no such enclosure in the case of the altar erected at the conclusion of the covenant, nor could there be, since the sacred institutions of the Old Testament first received their (in some respects artistic) form in consequence of the conclusion of the covenant.

We are not told in Ex. xxiv. whether the altar which Moses caused to be built for the covenant-sacrifice was constructed of wood, or stone; probably of both. It is, at any rate, a mistake to suppose that the clause, "he built an altar *and* twelve *Mazeboth* (stones of memorial) according to the twelve tribes of Israel," means that the twelve pillars were intended to support the altar. This would have been quite as irreconcileable with Ex. xx. 24, 25, as with the meaning of the word *Mazebah* (*cf.* Gen. xxxi. 45). The *Mazeboth* were placed round the altar. And as the altar is described in chap. xx. 24 as the place where Jehovah would meet with Israel and cause His name to be praised, the twelve pillars represented the people assembled *round* Jehovah.

(3.) The sacrifices were offered by YOUTHS of the children of Israel. Jewish expositors suppose that these were the first-born, who had been set apart (chap. xiii. 2), and who were

therefore the priests at that time (see our answer to this at vol. ii. § 35, 5). *Vitringa* (observv. ss. i., p. 281) is of opinion that they were the priests mentioned in chap. xix. 22, 24, whom *O. v. Gerlach* identifies with the elders in chap. xxiv. 9. But it is inconceivable that the *elders* (זקנים=the old men) should be called *youths;* and it is just as inconceivable that the *priests* should all at once either be, or be called, young men. We cannot for a moment suppose that the reference is to those who had been priests before; for their priesthood was antiquated (this is implied in chap. xix. 24), and no new priesthood had as yet been instituted, or even chosen. Moreover, it is not true that the "youths" were called upon to exercise priestly functions on this occasion; at least, in the ritual of later times it was no part of the priest's office to slay and offer the sacrificial animals that were presented in sacrifice. The special work of the priest, to receive and sprinkle the blood, was performed by Moses, to whom the *priestly* mediatorship was entrusted until the appointment of a new and peculiar order of priests. The youths represented the people, by whom the sacrifice was presented, and whose attitude as a nation resembled that of a youth just ready to enter upon his course.

(4.) The *sacrifices*, which were offered to complete the covenant and the consecration of the people as a covenant nation, were burnt-offerings and thank-offerings. The sin-offerings, of which as yet we have found no trace, were also wanting on this occasion, probably because they were first introduced in connection with the more fully organised ritual of a later age. The more immediate object of the sacrifice, on this as on every other occasion, was expiatory. Before Jehovah could enter into a covenant relation to the people, it was necessary that expiation should be made for the sin of the people. But every point, in which this sacrificial ceremony differed from the ordinary practice, was subservient to the conclusion of the covenant itself. For example, the division of the blood into two halves, one of which was sprinkled upon the altar, the other upon the people. This double application of the blood corresponded to the twofold manner in which the flesh was disposed of, part being burnt on the altar, whilst the other part was kept for the sacrificial meal. By the sacrifice of the animal, both the blood and the flesh became the property of

Jehovah. The blood was sprinkled upon the altar as a sign that God accepted the sacrifice as a vicarious atonement. As soon as the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, the people were regarded as reconciled, and therefore fit to enter into covenant alliance with God.—When the people had thus received a negative consecration through the removal of their sin, the whole law of the covenant was laid before them; and when they had pledged themselves to obedience, they received a *positive consecration* as the covenant people, by being sprinkled with the other half of the blood. The *expiatory* virtue of the blood was derived from the fact, that the life of the animal sacrificed was in the blood. And it was from this also that it derived its virtue as a *positive consecration.* The life was taken from the animal that the people might have the advantage of it. In the place of the sinful life of the sinful nation, the innocent life of the animal was given up to death; and Jehovah accepted it as a valid atonement. But when the life that had been sacrificed was proved by God's *acceptance* of it to have power to expiate guilt which merited death, it was also proved as a *gift* of God to have power to effect the restoration of life. The former was exhibited in the use that was made of the first half of the blood, the latter, in the purpose to which the second was applied. For the people stood in need not only of the extermination of sin, that they might be negatively prepared for entering into covenant-fellowship with Jehovah, but also of the restoration of life, that they might be positively fitted for that fellowship. By being sprinkled with the blood, they received the necessary consecration.—The covenant, thus concluded, had a fundamental character; it was concluded once for all, and every member of the covenant nation had *eo ipso* a part in the covenant itself. No doubt the covenant relation might be disturbed by fresh sins, which rendered a fresh expiation necessary; but the covenant *consecration* retained its validity as long as the covenant lasted. It was this which constituted the difference between the sacrifices which were offered within an *existing* covenant, and the sacrifice which accompanied the first establishment of the covenant. This will also explain the fact that, whilst the subsequent law of sacrifice made provision for the continued offering of an *expiatory* sacrifice by the sprinkling of the sacrificial *altar*, nothing more is said about *consecration* by

sprinkling the blood upon the *people*, or the individual, who offered the sacrifice.—According to Jewish tradition, which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews adopts (chap. ix. 18–20), the ceremony of consecration was even more complicated than the account in the Pentateuch would lead us to suppose. Not only blood, but water, coccus-wool, and hyssop, were used in the sprinkling of the people; and the Book of the Covenant was sprinkled as well as the people. These supplementary details are mostly borrowed from the consecration of the leper (Lev. xiv. 4–8), which certainly resembled it in several particulars.—For a fuller examination of the covenant-sacrifice, see *my Mosaisches Opfer*, p. 236 sqq.

(5.) In the fact that *Aaron* and his sons *Nadab* and *Abihu* ascended the mountain with Moses, there was already an intimation of their future priesthood. The *elders* were taken as representatives of the people. As it was of course impossible that *all* the elders of the assembled people should go up the mountain with Moses, a selection must have been made for the purpose. Now, the number *seventy* was both historically and symbolically significant, as well as *twelve*, the number of the tribes (see vol. ii. § 2, 3). The number of Jacob's sons who founded tribes was twelve, and that of his grandsons, who went down with him to Egypt and founded families (*Mishpachoth*), was seventy.—It is evident from ver. 14 that Aaron and the elders did not go with Moses to the summit of the sacred mountain, but only to the lower part of its lofty peak. In any case, however, they went beyond the fence.—The purpose of their ascent was to celebrate the sacrificial feast, which could only be kept in the neighbourhood of what was then the sanctuary, or dwelling-place of God, since it was a feast at which God was both the Head of the household and the Host. For this reason, the guests invited *saw* the God of Israel, before they proceeded to partake of the meal; "and under His feet there was, as it were, a work of transparent sapphire, and like the sky itself for clearness." For the rest, we can appropriate *Hofmann's* words (Schriftbeweis i. 336): "They saw in the midst of the darkness the God of Israel. . . . It was not to mark the imperfection of their vision, that nothing was said about the appearance which God assumed; nor was it as a sign that the God of Israel was enthroned above the sky, that under Him it was

like the brightness of the sky; but what they saw was only so far different from what the people had seen all along, that after they had entered the darkness in which the mountain, whose summit burned as with fire, was enveloped, they saw the fiery sign separate itself from the cloud and assume a shape, *under* which everything was light and clear. In this there was a representation of undisturbed blessedness, intended to impress upon their minds the fact that the holy God is a terror to the sinner alone,—that to His own people He is a God of peace."

The *flesh* of the covenant-sacrifices was no doubt disposed of in the usual way,—the *whole* of the burnt-offering being burned, but of the thank-offerings only the *best portions* (the fat parts), the remainder being set aside for the sacrificial meal. In the offering which was burned upon the altar for a sweet-smelling savour to Jehovah (Gen. viii. 20), the nation consecrated itself, with all its members and all its powers, to the God of Israel, who had received it into His covenant; and in the *sacrificial meal* Jehovah entertained His covenant-ally at His own table, as a seal and attestation of the covenant which had just been concluded.

### ORDERS FOR THE ERECTION OF A SANCTUARY.

§ 12. (Ex. xxiv. 12–xxxi. 18.)—As Jehovah had now entered into covenant association with the people of Israel, and in attestation of the covenant was about to dwell in the midst of the people as their God-King, the first thing required was, that they should build a sanctuary for Him to reside in (chap. xxv. 8). But as it was for a specific purpose that God was about to dwell among the Israelites,—namely, for the accomplishment of His own predetermined plan of salvation,—it was necessary that both the mode in which He dwelt among them, and the style of His dwelling-place, should be subservient to this end (1). Neither Moses, however, nor the people had any full or distinct idea of what the plan of salvation was; it was equally necessary, therefore, that God Himself should issue directions for both the erection and the arrangements of the sanctuary. For this purpose Jehovah summoned Moses once more to the sacred mountain,

after the covenant had been fully concluded. During the period of his absence, Moses entrusted the superintendence of the congregation to Aaron and Hur, and then ascended the mountain, attended by his servant Joshua (§ 4, 3). On the seventh day he was called into the darkness of the cloud, where the glory of Jehovah was enthroned. There Jehovah showed him (in a vision) a *representation* of the dwelling which He required, and of all the articles of furniture (2) which were to be placed in it, and gave him the necessary *instructions* (3) for its erection. When He had completed His directions, He gave him *two tables of stone*, on which the ten words of the fundamental law had been inscribed by the finger of God (4). These, they were ordered to preserve, as a witness (עֵדוּת) of the covenant, in the sanctuary which was about to be erected.

(1.) We must reserve any more minute description of the sanctuary and its furniture, as well as the examination of its design and importance, till we enter upon a systematic account of the entire legislation.—In the meantime I refer the reader to my smaller work, entitled *Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttest. Cultus*, I. *Die Cultusstätte*, Leipzig 1851.

(2.) We have already pointed out in vol. i. § 22, 3, the great significance and peculiar importance, in connection with the history of salvation, of the fact stated here, that Jehovah showed to Moses when on the mount the heavenly original of the sanctuary, as a model to be copied in the erection of the earthly sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8; cf. Heb. viii. 5). A full discussion of these allusions will be found at the proper place.

(3.) The historical narrative is interrupted at chap. xxiv. 18, by the account of the Divine instructions with reference to the erection and furnishing of the sanctuary, and is not continued till chap. xxxi. 18. *Bertheau* (l. c. p. 82) asks: Why this interruption? and answers the question in the following way. In the course of the narrative (chap. xxxiii. 7–11) there occurred the statement that Moses took the tent, pitched it outside the camp, and called it the Tent of Assembly (§ 14, 4). But there had been no mention made of this tent, either in the previous

history or in the law of the covenant. To guard against the surprise which such an omission would have excited in the reader's mind, the editor of the Pentateuch (whom *Bertheau* supposes to have lived in the time of Ezra) interpolated this second group of laws, containing an account of the tent.—But such a view is as arbitrary as it possibly can be. For, as *Bertheau* himself confesses, it does not give the least explanation of the reason why these laws should be interpolated just at this particular point; and the actual difficulty is not in the least removed, namely, that a tent of assembly is spoken of before the erection of the tabernacle, which is first described in chap. xxxv. sqq. But the entire question is altogether superfluous. For, the simple reason why the group of laws in question is placed between Ex. xxiv. 18 and Ex. xxxi. 18, is no other than this, that the laws themselves were published between these two historical dates. The order of time, and nothing else, determined the order of the narrative. Moses was summoned to the mountain (according to chap xxiv. 13), to receive the tables of the law that were written with the finger of God. The question immediately arose, What should he do with them, where should he keep them? To this question an answer is given in the group of laws contained in chap. xxv.–xxxi. The ark of the law was to be placed in the ark of the covenant (Ex. xxv. 16, 21); and this again was to be placed in the sanctuary, which was destined for the service of the priests. But as there was neither ark, nor sanctuary, nor priesthood in existence at that time, it was necessary that directions should be given for the preparation and appointment of all of these; and when they had been given, Jehovah delivered to Moses the tables of the law (chap. xxxi. 18).

*Bertheau* also objects to the division of the subject-matter of this group of laws, as unnatural and not original. By dint of various transpositions and arbitrary numberings, he succeeds in making a better arrangement, and dividing the whole into $7 \times 10$ commandments, which he declares without hesitation to have been indisputably the original plan. We cannot follow him through these critical operations. We may observe, however, that the arrangement adopted in the text is by no means so accidental and confused, as a cursory glance might lead one to suppose. The difficulty has already been essentially removed by *Ranke*, i. 89 sqq. *Bertheau* effectually prevented himself from

understanding the plan pursued in the text, by detaching the passage entirely from the historical basis on which it rests (chap. xxiv. 12–18). The actual arrangement is as follows: After some general commandments about procuring materials for building a sanctuary, there follow first of all directions how to make the ark, in which the tables of the law were to be preserved. This reference to chap. xxiv. 12 was in itself sufficient to cause the ark of the covenant to stand first in the list. The same arrangement was also required, by the fact that the ark of the covenant was to be the innermost centre of the building, the sanctuary of the sanctuary, the depository of the most valuable treasure (namely, the record of the covenant), and the throne of Jehovah. The directions as to the table of shew-bread and the candlestick follow in perfectly natural order: the only thing to cause astonishment is the fact, that the altar of incense, which stood in the same category as these, should not be mentioned at the same time. The precepts concerning the erection of the tent follow quite as naturally (chap. xxvi.); and after these the instructions to build the altar of burnt-offering and the court of the tabernacle (chap. xxvii. 1–19). The furniture was the principal thing; for the ark of the covenant, the table, and the candlestick, were not prepared for the sake of the tent, but *vice versa* the tent was made for their sake. And this is the reason why they are mentioned first. (On the other hand, it is quite as natural that when the account is given of the actual construction of the sanctuary [chap. xxxvi. sqq.], the tent is mentioned first and then the furniture; for the very fact, that the latter was the most important, rendered it necessary that the tent, in which they were to be placed, should be first made ready to receive them.) This description of the principal furniture of the sanctuary, and of the sanctuary itself, is followed by instructions as to the kind of oil to be used in the lamp, the lights of which were to be kept always burning. It was part of the priests' duty to look after this. But, as the priests had not yet been appointed, the text proceeds to describe the arrangements made to supply this want. Aaron and his sons are pointed out as priests. But they were not actually priests till their investiture and consecration. There follow, therefore, directions as to the priests' robes (chap. xxviii.), and notices of the manner in which the priests themselves were to be ordained (chap. xxix.). Up to

this point, apart from the omission of the altar of incense, everything is arranged in the most natural and orderly manner. But the instructions respecting the altar of incense are not mentioned till now (chap. xxx. 1–10). This is certainly a very remarkable inversion. The only explanation which we can suggest (and it is not satisfactory to my own mind) is, that the altar of incense was a higher form of the altar of burnt-offering, and presupposed its existence; and also, that the attendance at the altar of incense was the crowning point of the general duties of the priesthood, and therefore presupposed that the priests had already been installed. No doubt the latter might be said of the lamp, the table of shew-bread, and the altar of burnt-offering; but neither of these was so essentially and exclusively associated with the priesthood as the altar of burnt-offering was. All the rest,—such, for example, as the instructions with regard to the erection of the sanctuary, the construction of the laver, the preparation of the anointing oil and the incense,—were so subordinate to what had been mentioned before, that there is nothing remarkable in their being mentioned last.—A much greater difficulty arises from the introduction of what appears to be an incongruous section, describing a more stringent renewal of the law of the Sabbath (chap. xxxi. 12–17), into the group of laws which treat of the restoration of the sanctuary and priesthood. We explain this in the following manner. As soon as these laws of worship had all been given, Jehovah delivered to Moses the two tables of the law. These tables contained the fundamental commandments of the *covenant*. Among those commandments the law of the Sabbath held a particularly prominent place. The consecration of the Sabbath was the *sign* of the new (Mosaic) covenant (אוֹת ver. 13), just as the rainbow was the sign of the covenant with Noah, and circumcision the sign of the Abrahamic covenant. The violation of this sign was a breach of the covenant, and was immediately punished with death (ver. 14). It was very fitting, therefore, that when Jehovah delivered up the tables, which were the memorial of the covenant, he should lay stress again upon the sign of the covenant and its inviolable character. The words of ver. 13–17, then, we regard as the words, with which Jehovah handed over the tables to Moses; and suppose them to have been occasioned by the event, and to refer to it alone.

(4.) As Jehovah had previously declared the fundamental law to the people without human intervention, so did He now engrave them *Himself* upon the TWO TABLES, for a memorial of the covenant. They were engraven on tables of *stone* to indicate their perpetuity, and their indissoluble validity. The fact that the tables were written on *both sides* (Ex. xxxii. 15), is correctly explained by *Bähr* (Symbolik i. 385) as being occasioned by the importance of the document itself, to which the words of Deut. iv. 2, respecting the whole law most peculiarly applied, namely, that nothing should be added or taken away (compare Rev. xxii. 18, 19). The *dimensions* of the tables were probably the same as those of the ark of the covenant (two cubits and a half long and one cubit and a half broad; cf. Ex. xxxvii. 1), as the only design of the ark was to hold the tables of stone. As the tables of the law were not intended to be exhibited before the eyes of the people, but to be hidden and shut up in a chest (like a costly treasure), both sides could very well be written upon. The design of this was not that the letters might be large and legible at a distance; and therefore the difficulty which has been suggested, as to the possibility of finding room on the two tables for the whole of the decalogue, as given in Ex. xx. and Deut. v., falls at once to the ground.

## THE WORSHIP OF THE CALF.

§ 13. (Ex. xxxii. 1–29; Deut. ix. 7–21.)—At the very time when Jehovah was occupied on the top of the mountain, in giving directions for the organisation of such a system of worship and the erection of such a sanctuary as should be adapted to the call of the people to be different from the heathen, the people themselves were consulting at the foot of the mountain how they should make a god, and organise a system of worship after the manner of the heathen. As Moses had remained on the mountain for forty days and forty nights, the people began to doubt whether he would ever return. It was soon made evident, now, that the groundwork of *Nature* still remained in the nation, seeing that it preferred the worship of Apis to that of Jehovah, and would rather have to do with a visible but dumb

idol than with an invisible God, who had spoken to it from the midst of the thunders of Sinai, and required it to be holy as He was holy. So long as the powerful influence of Moses had been brought to bear upon the people, this unconquered tendency of their nature had not dared to show itself. But when weeks and weeks passed by without Moses returning (1), the people turned to Aaron, who was the *interim* ruler of the community (chap. xxiv. 14) with the stormy demand: "Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, we know not what is become of him." Aaron perceived the evil of this demand (2); but he had not the courage to offer an open resistance. He sought refuge in worldly wisdom. "Break off," he said, "the golden ear-rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them to me." He counted upon the vanity of the women and youth, and their love for golden ornaments, and he hoped that in this way he would excite such opposition in the community itself, as would suffice to save *him* from having to offer a resistance which appeared to be dangerous. But he had entirely miscalculated. He knew but the surface of the human heart, the depths of its natural disposition were beyond his reach. All the people cheerfully broke off the golden ornaments from their ears, for they were about to accomplish an act of pure self-will; and in that case there is no sacrifice which the human heart is not ready to make. Aaron now found that he was caught in the trap which his own sagacity had laid. He collected the ornaments together, made the image of a *bull* (4), built an altar, and caused proclamation to be made to all the people, "To-morrow is the *feast of Jehovah*." We see from this that he wanted to quiet his own conscience, to persuade the people to regard the image of the bull as no other than the God who had brought them out of Egypt, and perhaps to convince the Holy One of Israel Himself that they were not about to be guilty of an act of rebellion. The people, at any rate, did him the pleasure to enter into his theory; for the next day, when they celebrated a festival to the new idol, they shouted

joyfully: "This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt." Not so the Holy One, who had declared His will from Sinai. For whilst the people below were shouting and singing, eating and drinking, dancing and playing around the new deities, the living God said to Moses: "Away, get thee down! For *thy* people, which *thou* broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves; they have turned aside quickly out of the way which *I* commanded them. Behold, I look upon this people, and it is a stiffnecked people. Now, therefore, *let Me alone*, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and I may consume them; so will I make of *thee* a great nation." But Moses knew what his position as mediator required; he knew that it was both his right and duty to say, "*I will not let Thee go.*" He boldly repeated the words "Thou" and "Thy people," and applied them in return to God. "Why," said he, "why, O Jehovah, should Thine anger burn against *Thy* people, which *Thou* broughtest out of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand? Why should the Egyptians say, For mischief did He bring them out, to destroy them in the mountains? Turn from Thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against Thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, Thy servants, to whom Thou swarest by Thine own self, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and will give you all this land for an everlasting possession." And the voice of the mediator prevailed: "Jehovah repented of the evil which He had spoken against His people" (5).

Thus did the mediator address *Jehovah*, when he interceded for the salvation of the people. But a mediator is not a mediator of one. He had also to defend the holiness of Jehovah in the presence of the people; and this he now prepared to do. He came out of the darkness, in which he had conversed with Jehovah for forty days, and hurried with Joshua down the mountain. When they were half-way down, the shouting of the people reached their ears. Joshua thought it was a war-cry. But they soon discerned the golden calf in the camp, and

the people dancing round it in festive circles. The indignation of Moses burned at the sight. He threw down the tables of the law, which Jehovah had given him, and broke them in pieces at the foot of the mountain. The people had broken the covenant itself, and therefore Moses, the messenger of God, broke the memorial of it. He then tore down the idolatrous image, burned it with fire, and crushed it to powder at the brook of Horeb, that the wicked worshippers might be compelled to drink it (6). Aaron was then subjected to examination: "What did the people unto thee, that thou hast brought so great a sin upon them?" Aaron's wisdom had been put to shame, when he attempted to outwit the people; it was now turned into miserable folly, when he tried to defend himself in the presence of judicial wrath: "They gave me the gold, I threw it into the fire, and there came out this calf!" Moses now entered the camp and cried out, "Whoever is on the Lord's side, let him come to me." This would show how many repented of their sin, and were willing to return to the service of Jehovah. All the sons of Levi gathered round him. They were willing to return and obey. But their obedience had to be put to a severe test. They were ordered to go sword in hand through the camp, and put all they met to death; not even a brother or a friend was to be spared. It was a stern but just judgment which befell the sinners; and it was doubly deserved, because they had despised the amnesty offered them (7). There fell that day about three thousand men. By this painful and willing act of obedience, Levi expiated the curse which had hitherto rested upon his house (Gen. xlix. 5–7). It had been incurred by an act of ungodly rage and self-willed revenge; it was now wiped away and turned into a blessing by their obedience in executing the wrath and vengeance of God. In proof of this, Moses called the house of Levi, and consecrated it temporarily to discharge the duties of the priesthood which was to be established in Israel (8).

(1.) We have here another scene of proof and temptation unfolding itself before us. *The people* were tempted, to see how

they would act as a covenant people; and *Moses*, to see how he would act as the mediator of the covenant. *Aaron*, the future high priest, and *Levi*, the future priestly tribe, were also put to the proof. Aaron, the head of the tribe of Levi, and the people did not stand the test; but Moses, the head of the people, and the tribe of Levi came out of it unscathed. For the sake of the strong the weak were spared (Gen. xviii. 22 sqq.); and the unrighteousness of the many was covered on account of the righteousness of the few, which came to light.—The originating cause of the temptation was the fact, that Moses remained so inconceivably long a time upon the mountain. The people fancied that he had either died or disappeared; and now, when left to themselves, they showed how far they were from entering into the covenant with all their heart and soul, and how slightly they were rooted in it. The forty days had been days of temptation for Israel; and if the number forty did not already possess a symbolical importance as a period of temptation, it acquired it now, and henceforth continued to retain it.—By the fall of the people *Moses* was exposed to temptation, in which he showed himself faithful and conscientious in his mediatorial office (see Note 5). And *Aaron*, who was destined to be the high priest of the covenant nation, was exposed to temptation in consequence of the rebellious desire of the people, and proved how unfit he was by nature for such an office. But as the people had received their call to be the chosen nation, not for any merit of their own, but from the mercy of Him who had called them, so was it with Aaron also. It was necessary, however, that his natural weakness and unfitness should be made apparent before he entered upon the office, that he might not be highminded afterwards. The strange anomaly, presented by the priesthood in Israel (which showed so clearly that it was not the perfect and absolute priesthood), was to be brought out at the very first, namely, that the man who offered an atonement for sin was himself a sinner in need of an atonement. At the same time, if we would be just in our estimate and comparison of Moses and Aaron, we must not forget that Moses was already in office, and in possession of the grace of office, and that Aaron was not; and also, that the firmness of Moses when in office had been preceded by weakness and pusillanimity *before* the office was conferred upon him (Ex. iii. 4). —On the temptation of the tribe of Levi, see below, Note 8.

(2.) Israel had just been chosen *above* all the nations of the earth, and exalted to fellowship with that God who is *above* all gods. But its natural disposition soon broke forth, and it began to feel uncomfortable in the possession of such privileges. It would rather have been a nation like other nations, possessing gods like the heathen. Still, as it was Jehovah who had brought it out of Egypt, and fed it with bread from heaven and water out of the rock, it did not wish to give Him up, but rather to draw Him down to the level to which it had fallen itself,—in other words, to shut up the holy, spiritual, and transcendental God, with the power He had so richly displayed, in the realm of Nature alone, that He might be nearer and more completely within its grasp. Jehovah sought to raise up the Israelites to His own holiness; but they were desirous of bringing Him down to their own worldliness. Instead of becoming assimilated to Jehovah in the way of holiness, they found it more convenient to assimilate the supernatural God to their own natural condition. They had still but little notion of the spiritual blessings of salvation; and therefore the spirituality of God appeared to them to be something altogether superfluous. Their minds were still fixed upon temporal blessings; and therefore it was enough for them to have a God who had shown Himself mighty in this lower sphere.—The gods of the heathen were regarded as concrete embodiments of natural powers. Hence any objects, in which the power in question was manifested with peculiar energy, were looked upon as the concentration, embodiment, or representation of these powers of Nature. Physical power was regarded much more than mental; and hence it was chiefly the various objects of the (vegetable and) animal world to which this process of deification extended. The worship of Nature was much more direct and outward, where actual (living) specimens were selected as the objects of worship. It was more mental and ideal, where ideal representations of the same objects were employed, and when there was not only the idea of the incarnation of the Deity in the objects of Nature, but where that incarnation was represented in such a manner as to pave the way for symbols. The latter (higher) form of Nature-worship was the one which Israel chose. See below, Note 4.

(3.) The *manufacture of the golden calf* is thus described in ver. 4: "And he received (the golden ear-rings) at their hand,

וַיִּצֶר אֹתוֹ בַּחֶרֶט, and he made it a molten calf." The middle clause has been translated and interpreted in the most various ways. The word חֶרֶט (from the root חרט = χαράττω, to scratch, engrave, hollow out) is only found in this passage and Is. viii. 1, and in the latter case it denotes undoubtedly a *pencil* for writing (for engraving). From this some have deduced the kindred meaning "chisel," and have rendered the passage before us: He formed (from the root צור, cf. 1 Kings vii. 15) it (viz., the calf) with a chisel. But this meaning is inadmissible, both grammatically and as a question of fact;—grammatically, because אתו can only refer to something that has gone before (the golden ornaments), not to the calf, which is not mentioned till afterwards; and as a matter of fact, because the calf is expressly described as molten, and files, not chisels, are used to polish up metal casts.—*J. D. Michaelis* renders it: He formed it with a pencil; *i.e.*, he made a drawing of it with a pencil. *M. Baumgarten* gives a similar rendering: He formed it with the chisel; *i.e.*, he made a wooden model from which to form the mould.—Others are of opinion that the word חֶרֶט itself means a model (see, for example, the two Arabic versions, Erpenius, Aben-ezra, J. D. Michaelis, and others). But all these renderings, and others beside them, which may be seen in *Rosenmüller's Scholia*, are so forced, that one can hardly feel satisfied with any of them. The most natural of all is that of *Jonathan*, which has been adopted by Bochart (Hieroz. ed. Rosenm. i. 334), Schröder, Rosenmüller, and others. He takes חרט in the sense of חָרִיט (= something hollow, a pocket, a purse), and derives וַיִּצֶר from צרר (to bind, or bind together): "And he bound, *i.e.*, collected them in a pocket." In precisely the same terms is it said of Elisha's servant (2 Kings v. 23): And he tied up (ויצר) the two talents in two purses (חֲרִיטִים).

(4.) On the *Israelitish* CALF-WORSHIP see *Bochart* (Hieroz. i. 339 sqq. ed Rosenm.), *Selden* (*Syntagma* i. 4), *Hengstenberg* (Beitr. ii. 155 sqq.).—In the worship of Nature, the *calf* (represented sometimes as a bull, at other times as a cow) has passed from the very earliest times, and with very general agreement, as an idol or symbol of the generative (or the receptive and reproductive) powers of Nature. The fact that Israel derived this notion from Egypt, and therefore that the Israelitish calf-worship was a copy of the Egyptian, has been first denied in modern

times by *Vatke* (*Religion des alten Testamentes* i. 393 sqq.), who maintains that calf-worship was the primitive Canaanitish symbolism, the oldest historical form of the national religion of the Israelites, which prevailed universally till the division of the kingdom under Rehoboam, and was afterwards perpetuated in the kingdom of Ephraim until its eventual overthrow (consult *Hengstenberg's* reply to this). The principal argument adduced by *Vatke* is, that only *living* animals were considered sacred in Egypt, figures of animals being only employed as masks or in casts. This purely imaginary argument is completely set aside by the authority of *Mela* (i. 9, § 7): *colunt effigies multorum animalium atque ipsa magis animalia;* and of *Strabo* (xvii. p. 805), who says, that wherever images were found in the Egyptian temples, they were in the form of animals, not of men. (See also *Herodotus* ii. 129 sqq., Plut. de Is. et Osir. ii. p. 366, and also *Hengstenberg ut sup.*)—The derivation of the Israelitish calf-worship from the Egyptian is expressly asserted in Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 7, 8, xxiii. 3, 8. And *Hengstenberg* has already called attention to the remarkable agreement between Ex. xxxii. and the description of an Egyptian festival given by *Herodotus* (ii. 60): *αἱ μέν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, αἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι.* Cf. Herodotus iii. 27.

Of course the Moloch-hunters scent the worship of Moloch even here (*cf. Daumer* and *Ghillany*, ll. cc. vol. i. § 15, 4). The three thousand men who were slain by the sword of Levi, were victims to the worship of Nature in a very different sense from that described in the falsified statements of the Biblical record. They were offered by Moses, who was a zealous worshipper of Moloch, as Abraham had been before him, to the image of Moloch which Aaron had set up, to celebrate the giving of the law and the sealing of the covenant with Moloch-Jehovah!!

It is very characteristic of the historical style of *Josephus*, that he makes no mention at all of the golden calf in his Antiquities, but describes the people as shouting for joy (*χαρᾶς δ' ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανείς*), when Moses returned from the mountain after an absence of forty days (Ant. iii. 5, 8).

(5.) In the interview between Jehovah and Moses on the mountain, there is something in *the part performed by Jehovah* which may at first sight be regarded as strange. The principal

point undoubtedly is the *temptation of Moses* in his vocation of mediator, not in order that Jehovah might discover whether Moses would stand firm, as though He could not foresee the issue, but in order that Moses might have an opportunity of exercising his vocation with perfect freedom. If, however, the threat to exterminate Israel on account of its sin, and the offer to make of Moses a great nation, *i.e.*, to transfer all the promises made to the fathers to Moses alone, were merely intended to put Moses to the proof, and try whether he had courage and generosity enough to perform his task as mediator, notwithstanding the greatness of the nation's apostasy, the power of the devouring wrath of God, and the plenitude of His offers to him; and if it was the will of God that Moses should stand this test: it might appear as though neither the threat nor the offer was meant in earnest, and both would in that case appear to be illusory, and, like everything illusory, unworthy of God. But this appearance only lasts so long as we forget that in God justice and mercy are not opposed to each other, and cannot possibly clash, since they are eternally and essentially one in the One holy and perfect Being; and that it is for us only that they are distinguished, since we are obliged to isolate the particular sides of the many-sided, in order to comprehend them.

In Jehovah, the wrath, which would have exterminated the apostate nation, was just as true and earnest as the power of the love, which would see it saved in spite of its rebellion. But they were both united in the eternal counsel of salvation, which was the combined product of the two; for in that counsel wrath was appeased by love, and love sanctified by wrath. Wrath and love were *made one* in the counsel of salvation; but they were not *extinguished*. Yet as they both equally continued to exist in absolute fulness and energy, it was necessary that man should have equal evidence and experience of both; and for this end it was requisite that, *for him*, they should be separated, that is, that they should operate upon him singly. As the Divine *counsel* of salvation was the product of the union of wrath *and* love, the human *consciousness* of salvation could only result from his experiencing alike the ardour of both the wrath and love of God. Though the two are one and eternal in God, yet to man, who lives in time, they must be manifested successively according to the laws of time. When thus distinguished, wrath is naturally and necessarily ex-

perienced first; because sin furnishes the first occasion to the entire movement. It is not till man has experienced wrath, that he feels the need and longing for mercy; and the consciousness of need first paves the way for the reception of mercy.

These two, wrath and mercy, were first of all displayed separately to Moses, the mediator between the sinful nation and the holy God. The wrath of God on account of the sin of the people was made known to him, in order that he might remember his vocation of mediator, and, by appeasing the wrath, open the way for the proclamation of mercy. "Let Me alone," says the wrath, "that I may destroy them, and I will make of *thee* a great nation." This was not appearance and pretence, but thorough earnestness and truth; on one side only, however, of the Divine nature, namely, that of wrath on account of sin. The other not less powerful attribute of the one Divine Being, viz., love, was still silent, waiting till wrath had produced its due results before it appeared at all. But the fact that wrath felt itself fettered even in this isolation, betrayed itself in the words, "Let Me alone." It could not work unrestrained; for by its union with love, the product of which was the plan of salvation, limits were set to its exercise. The counsel of salvation, or Moses the mediator of it, stood between the wrath of God and the sin of man.

In this instance Moses was the only righteous man among the many unrighteous. The wrath, therefore, could not reach *him*. But if free course had been given to the wrath, he alone would have been spared, and a new commencement would have been made with him, as formerly with Abraham. A retrograde movement would have taken place, and Moses would have stood upon the same footing as Abraham. This is indicated in the words, "And I will make of thee a great nation." But we can only admit the abstract, not the concrete possibility of such a result. If Moses had yielded before the wrath of God, which it was his duty as mediator to withstand, and which he was bound to overcome by intercession and by appealing to the counsel of salvation, he would have displayed his unfitness for the high office conferred upon him. In that case, however, it would have been apparent that Jehovah had made a mistake in appointing him mediator—a mistake which would have threatened the whole plan of salvation, as Moses was for the

time being all in all. But such a mistake is inconceivable in the case of God; and, consequently, any misapprehension or neglect of duty in the case of Moses is also inconceivable; for, when God called him to the office He must have foreseen that he would discharge its duties faithfully. From this it is evident that the words, "let Me alone, and I will make of thee a great nation," were intended as means, not as the end: that the purpose they were designed to serve, according to the will of God, and which, from Moses' state of mind, they must inevitably serve, was to furnish Him with an opportunity of making a glorious display of His mediatorial vocation.

The announcement of wrath produced upon Moses the effect which was intended. *He did not let God alone;* on the contrary, he held up before Him His own purpose and promises of salvation, as well as His own glory. Like *Jacob*, he fought and wrestled with the wrath of Jehovah; with Jacob he said, "I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me;" and, like Jacob, he also gained the victory and came forth from the conflict as a second Israel (cf. vol. i. § 80, 4), for "Jehovah repented of the evil which He had said that He would do to His people" (ver. 14).

It looks somewhat at variance with the statement that Jehovah ceased at once from His wrath at the intercession of Moses, when we afterwards read (chap xxxii. 30 sqq.), that Moses still continued anxious and uncertain as to his success in appeasing the wrath of Jehovah, and that Jehovah was still angry, His purposes of wrath but slowly giving place to those of mercy. But this difficulty ceases at once, when we consider that ver. 14 does not contain the words of God but the words of the *writer*, who thereby informs the reader that the intercession of Moses was not without effect. Moses himself did not as yet receive any answer to his intercession, nor any assurance of forgiveness.

(6.) The burning zeal of Moses, and the firmness which he displayed, so powerfully affected the guilty consciences of the people that they let him do as he pleased, and did not even oppose *the steps he took for the destruction of the new god.* In what way Moses had the GOLDEN CALF BURNED WITH FIRE (שׂרף) and pounded (ground טחן) to powder, and then gave it to the people to drink along with the water of the brook of Horeb (Ex. xxxii.

20; *cf.* Deut. ix. 21), is a problem that has never yet been solved. If we are merely to understand that he destroyed the *form* of the calf with the fire and then reduced the *material* to powder (possibly by means of files), and strewed it upon the brook of Horeb, the whole process is simple, natural, and intelligible; but the description is somewhat obscure and wanting in precision. Still, we are not prepared for an unconditional rejection of this hypothesis. The first thing to be accomplished was to destroy the *form* of the idol, for it was that alone which constituted it an idol. And this might be regarded as burning, since it was actually destruction by fire. This may at first have been all that Moses intended to do; and possibly it was not till this was accomplished, that he saw the necessity for destroying the *material* also, as the instrument of sin. Of course, as soon as the gold dust was strewed upon the water, it would sink to the bottom. But even in that case the expression might still be used, "he strewed (it) upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink (it)." For the object of the whole symbolical transaction undoubtedly was, that the curse and uncleanness attaching to the gold, which had been abused for the purposes of sin, should be conveyed to the water, and pass along with the water into the bowels of those who drank it,—not that they should drink the gold itself. It must be admitted that this explanation does not remove the difficulty altogether. And the question may still be entertained, whether it is not preferable to assume that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with some chemical process of calcining gold, *i.e.*, of changing it by the application of heat into a friable metallic oxyde, or with some other process of a similar kind, and that Moses learned it from them. We could not in any case have recourse to so unnatural an explanation as that of *Baumgarten* (i. 1, p. 105); "As there are no natural means of calcining gold, we must suppose the elementary fire to have been miraculously intensified by the glow of the godly zeal which burned in Moses. It presents an analogy to the fire, which will melt the elements of the world on the day of the wrath of God (see 2 Pet. iii. 10)."—*Winer* (Reallex. 1 645) is of opinion, that the principal difficulty is to be found in the words וַיִּשְׂרֹף בָּאֵשׁ, which are not applicable to any chemical decomposition, nor even to the calcination of gold, and, on the other hand, are equally inapplicable to the mere process of melting. "There

remains, therefore, only the mistaken opinion, or at least mistaken expression, of an editor who was not acquainted with the subject." We cannot take advantage of this escape from the difficulty. It is certain, we admit, that the word שׂרף is not the proper term to apply to the fusion of metals; but, as we have already remarked, it was not the process of melting, but the destruction of the form of the calf, which was the main thing referred to here. And, if the Egyptians were really acquainted with any process of calcining metals, we see no difficulty in the assumption that שׂרף was applied as a technical term to that particular process. It is well known how far from appropriate the names given to such processes frequently are: *e.g.*, to cite only one—our "burning lime" and "slaking lime" are perhaps quite as inadequate as the term שׂרף, when applied to the calcination of metals. The word שׂרף is used in Gen. ii. 3 to denote the burning of bricks; and, in this case, the notion of consuming can no more be preserved than in that of burning the gold. The kindred word צרף is the term actually applied to the melting of metals, but this word is first met with in books of a later date.

(7.) The PUNISHMENT inflicted by the command of Moses (ver. 27) has often been described as an act of inhuman cruelty. If there is any ground for such a charge, it not only applies to this particular case, but to the spirit and essence of the whole code of laws, and to the entire course of history of which they formed the guiding principle. The law represents every act of apostasy from Jehovah, every kind of idolatry, and every species of heathen superstition, as a capital crime. If, then, the law itself is not to be condemned for such stringency as this, the command of Moses, which merely carried the spirit of the law, is perfectly justifiable. Such stringency was perfectly justifiable on the part of the law; for it was demanded as well as dictated by the peculiar position and character of the Old Testament theocracy. It was first of all demanded by the fact that the God of Israel was also the King of Israel. Every sinful disregard or violation of the dignity of Jehovah, the one God in Israel, was also a crime against the sole monarchy of the King Jehovah; every religious crime was a state crime as well. When the worship of God, and loyalty to a sovereign, church and state, religion and politics, belong to two different

and independent spheres, however close the relationship in which they stand to each other, the crimes connected with each department must also be kept distinct, and be separately judged and punished. Crimes against the state, being a violation of earthly order, must be followed by earthly punishment; and, in the case of a capital crime, which threatens the existence of the state itself (high treason), by absolute excision from the community, *i.e.*, the punishment of death. Religious crimes, being sins against God, must be left to the judgment of God, and so far as they threaten the existence of the religious community (the Church), be punished by exclusion from that community. But when Church and state are identical, as in the theocracy, absolute exclusion from the religious community is *eo ipso* absolute exclusion from the state, that is, the punishment of death. From this point of view, then, the calf-worship of Israel could only be regarded and punished as an act of treason against the God-king of Israel; and high treason has always been punished by death.—*Secondly*, the severity and exclusiveness, which are sometimes complained of in the Old Testament institutions, were required by the character and design of the Old Testament itself, as the introductory part of the plan of salvation. It bore a strictly legal character, and must, therefore, be upheld by strict laws; for, as the Apostle says, the law was a schoolmaster to bring to Christ (a subject which will be treated of more fully in the next volume).—*Thirdly*, if there was such recklessness in the spirit and character of all antiquity, it must have been because Christianity,—the only thing which could destroy the root of it,—was not yet in existence. If, however, there was such recklessness in the spirit of the age, it must also have been a necessity of the age. If it appeared to every one a natural thing, as being a product of the spirit of the time, and if every one therefore expected it, it must have been required both as a guiding principle, and also for the maintenance of order. The legislation of the Old Testament, which was as far as possible from everything unhistorical and purely ideal, took the circumstances as it found them, and was obliged to do so, since it sought to found and erect its institutions, not in the cloudy regions of merely imaginary circumstances, but on the firm foundation of a concrete reality.

If, however, the foregoing considerations are sufficient to

justify the severe procedure of Moses in general, his ruthlessness and severity had also a mild and considerate side, which has been entirely overlooked by those who make this charge. The course he adopted was of such a nature, as to give to every one time and opportunity to escape the sentence before it began to be executed. The children of Levi saved themselves before the judgment fell; and the harbour of refuge, which was open to them, was equally open to all the rest. For, it is nowhere stated, and there is no ground for the supposition, that the children of Levi opposed the introduction of the worship of the calf, or abstained from taking part in the festival. When Moses called out, "Who is on the Lord's side, let him come hither to me," he addressed not merely the Levites, but all the people. He did not summon to his side those who were innocent of the crime of worshipping the calf—for there were no such persons in the camp—but those who were willing to return to Jehovah, notwithstanding their rebellion against him. Hence, by these words, he offered an amnesty to all without exception; and those who would not attend to his summons, proved by that fact that they still adhered impenitently to their self-chosen worship, and that they despised and rejected the amnesty offered. After this they doubly deserved death. But there are other things connected with these proceedings, of a more special character, which have also excited surprise. Among these are, *first*, that although all who did not obey his summons were equally (doubly) guilty, the punishment was not inflicted upon all, but only upon three thousand men; and that the selection of those who were put to death was not made in a judicial manner, according to their relative guilt, but was left to chance, the first who came in the way of the swords of the avengers being immediately slain. But this again was necessary. All were equally guilty: but for reasons which lie upon the surface, it was sufficient for a portion only to be executed, as the representatives of the whole and the bearers of the common guilt. Under such circumstances the practice of decimation was very frequent in ancient times. The selection was left to chance or to the lot, *i.e.*, to the gods. Thus was it in the present instance; with this difference, however, that Moses knew that the issue was in the hands of the living God. The same thing, which was afterwards done at Taberah (Num. xi. 3), and on the occasion of other similar judgments by the im-

mediate interposition of God, was here accomplished by the swords of the Levites. In the instance referred to, the pestilence seemed to be guided by chance, smiting one here and another there, yet there was certainly something more than chance directing it, namely, the hand of God, without whose will not a hair of the head can fall.—This leads us to the *second* difficulty presented by the conduct of Moses. We find this in the fact that, although the Levites who had received an amnesty were as guilty as the rest, and had been accomplices with them, Moses intrusted the execution of vengeance to the hands of these evil-doers; and, apparently losing sight of all considerations of friendship, relationship, and humanity, made the pardon of the Levites dependent upon this sanguinary act of obedience, from which their natural feelings must instinctively have revolted. Now, all this might certainly have been avoided, if God Himself had executed the judgment by means of His destroying angel. But, as the extermination of the Canaanites was afterwards effected, not by the hand of God, but by the Israelites, to whom the execution of judgment was intrusted by God Himself, in order that a deep and lasting impression might be made upon their minds, of the severe and unsparing punishment which falls upon a nation when the measure of its iniquity is full, and that they might acknowledge in the act itself that they would merit and expect a similar punishment if they fell into the same sin;—so was it on the present occasion: penitent Israel was called upon to inflict punishment upon impenitent Israel, that their own guilt, which had been forgiven, and the mercy which had been shown them on account of their penitence, might be impressed upon their minds in its fullest extent as a warning for future times. Before such considerations and designs all considerations of a sentimental character must give way, as, in fact, sentimentality of every kind is out of place in matters concerning the judgment of God on the impenitent sinner.

The Vulgate, without any other authority, makes the 3000 men who fell on one day 23,000. This false emendation may probably be traceable to Num. iii. 43, where the children of Levi are said to have numbered 23,000 men. The author of the emendation probably thought that each of the 22,273 Levites must necessarily have found a man to slay. But, if so, in the first place, the fact is overlooked, that in Num. iii. 43, all the

children from a month old and all the old men, who could not have engaged in such work as this, are reckoned with the others. Moreover, the entire view of the transaction before us, which has given rise to such a conjecture, is a mistaken one. The text does not say that when Moses called out "come hither to me," only Levites gathered round him. We may be sure that there were many belonging to other tribes who responded to his appeal; but the reporter had not the same reason for mentioning them by name, as the 29th verse shows him to have had in the case of the Levites. Undoubtedly his statement does imply that the tribe of Levi distinguished itself above the rest of the tribes, that it came in a body to profess repentance and obedience, whereas it was more as individuals that members joined them from other tribes. But this view only heightens the difficulty at which the Latin translator stumbled. It vanishes completely, however, when we picture to ourselves the events as they probably occurred. From first to last it is the men who are spoken of, not the women and children,—the representatives of the nation, not the entire nation itself. Moses treats with the elders and the heads of families, as representing both the families and the nation. When Moses called out "come hither to me," *they* divided themselves into two camps; and when he ordered those who had assembled round him to slay any whom they might meet belonging to the opposite party, it is probable that an actual conflict took place between the two parties, in which individuals of Moses' party may have fallen, though there was no necessity to make a special record of the fact. It was sufficient for the Scriptural record to mention, that the men who adhered to Moses gained a complete victory, that 3000 of the opposite party suffered death in one day for their obstinacy and crime, and that this defeat completely deprived them of the power to offer further resistance.

(8.) According to ver. 29, Moses said to the *Levites* who had executed his commands: "Fill to-day your hands for Jehovah, for every one (אִישׁ) is in his son and in his brother, that ye may bring blessings upon yourselves to-day." These words are generally supposed to have been spoken earlier (quite contrary to the order of the text), and are interpreted thus: bring to-day an acceptable offering of obedience to the Lord, each one against his son and his brother, etc. But neither do

the words admit of such an interpretation, nor is there room for the assumption that they were spoken before. This has been correctly pointed out by *M. Baumgarten* (i. 2 p. 107). But his own explanation I cannot subscribe to, in fact I am not even able to comprehend it.—It is evident enough that ver. 29 contains an order to the Levites to offer a sacrifice to Jehovah on that very day. The necessity for such a sacrifice is explained in the words כִּי אִישׁ בִּבְנוֹ וּבְאָחִיו, and the object of it is said to have been לָתֵת עֲלֵיכֶם הַיּוֹם בְּרָכָה. Every sacrifice points to reconciliation, to the renewal of something that has disturbed the relation between God and the worshipper. We might fancy that the sacrifice required of the Levites, on the present occasion had reference to their participation in the worship of the calf, but in that case the words כִּי אִישׁ, etc., would be thoroughly superfluous and unintelligible. These words might be rendered, "for every one is in his son and brother," or, what appears to us still more natural and plain: "for every one (of you) was *against* his son and brother." In either case, however, they refer to the fact that *the* disturbance, which rendered the present sacrifice necessary, arose from the unhesitating manner in which the Levites had risen against their blood-relations. It is true, the act of the Levites was an act of obedience to the will of God; an act intended to vindicate the injured honour of Jehovah. But it had also made a rent in the unity of the congregation, and had placed those who were united by the tie of blood, in hostility one to another. There was in this the disturbance of a natural and divinely appointed relation, intended, no doubt, to remove a much greater disturbance, and restore an infinitely higher and more important relation, but still a disturbance which was very likely to leave behind it conscientious scruples on the one hand, and bitterness of spirit on the other. And *this* was the disturbance, for the removal of which, as it appears to us, the Levites were ordered to fill their hands, that is, to offer sacrifice.

We regard it as altogether a misapprehension, to suppose that Moses summoned the Levites "to consecrate themselves to the priesthood." Moses undoubtedly had already been informed by God (Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9) that Aaron and his sons were selected for the priesthood; but this only related to the family of Aaron, and had nothing to do with the whole body of the Levites. The Levites, who were not set apart to the priesthood,

could not be set apart to it on the present occasion, either by Moses, or by their own voluntary act. At the same time, this act of the tribe of Levi certainly bore some reference to its future appointment to be the κλῆρος of Jehovah, as the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 9) clearly shows. By his untimely and ungodly zeal for the honour of his own house, the forefather of the tribe of Levi had brought a curse upon himself, which still rested upon his tribe (Gen. xlix. 5–7, xxxiv. 25 sqq.); by their well-timed and holy zeal for the honour of the house of God, his descendants had now extinguished the curse and changed it into a blessing. If their ancestor had violated truth, fidelity, and justice, by the vengeance which he took upon the Sichemites from a mistaken regard to blood-relationship, his descendants had now rescued truth, justice, and the covenant, by executing the vengeance of Jehovah upon their own blood-relations. Hence Moses referred to this tribe in the following words (Deut. xxxiii. 9): "Who says of his father and mother, I saw them not; who is ignorant of his brother, and knows nothing of his own sons." The disposition manifested by Levi on this occasion, and his obedience in such difficult circumstances, *viz.*, his readiness to esteem father and mother, friend and brother, but lightly in comparison with Jehovah, was that which qualified the tribe of Levi above every other to serve in the house of Jehovah, and rendered it worthy to be chosen as the lot and inheritance of Jehovah (*cf.* Deut. xxxiii. 9, 10).—The command of Moses to the Levites, who were assembled round him, to avenge the honour of Jehovah on those who persisted in their rebellion, was a temptation intended to prove whether they were fit for their future vocation, namely, to devote themselves entirely to the service of Jehovah.

### NEGOTIATIONS FOR A RENEWAL OF THE BROKEN COVENANT.

§ 14. (Ex. xxxii. 30–xxxiii. 11.)—Moses had no sooner received the first tidings of the apostasy of the people (chap. xxxii. 7, 8), and heard the first threat of their rejection (ver. 9, 10), than he put forth all the power of his mediatorial office to appease the righteous indignation of Jehovah, and avert from his nation the sentence of rejection. His mediation was

not without effect, though the issue was not revealed to him at the time. He was, first of all, to go down and look with his own eyes upon the abomination which the people had committed at the foot of the mountain. He must first learn the extent of the crime, that he might be able to measure the greatness and difficulty of his demand, and the greatness and depth of the mercy of God, which hearkened to his prayer. And, in addition to this, since Moses, as mediator, was not merely the representative of the people with God, but also the representative of God with the people, he must uphold the honour of God in the presence of the people, with the same zeal and firmness with which he had pleaded for the good of the nation in the presence of Jehovah, before his intercession could be crowned with success. The two sides of his mediatorial work are closely related, and stand or fall together. The earnestness with which he pleaded with Jehovah on behalf of the nation, gave him a right, and imposed upon him the duty, to avenge the violated honour of the Lord; and, on the other hand, the execution of his mediatorial *wrath* upon the people, gave a fresh warrant and new force to his mediatorial *intercession* with Jehovah. And, lastly, the people themselves must give signs of sorrow and repentance, before they could be assured of mercy and forgiveness.

In his anxiety to know whether the sin of the people, the full extent of which he had now beheld, admitted of any atonement whatever, Moses ascended the mountain the following morning. "Oh! this people," said he to Jehovah, "have sinned a great sin. But O that Thou wouldest forgive their sin! If not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written" (1). Upon this he received the first reply to his intercession. The anger of God was so far subdued, that the first threat, namely, that the nation should be immediately and utterly exterminated, was withdrawn. The nation, as a nation, was to continue in existence and be the bearer of the promises still: Moses was to conduct the people to Canaan, as heretofore; and Jehovah would send an angel before them, as He had previously promised

(Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq.), to drive all the Canaanites out of the land. But these renewed concessions were couched in very severe terms. For, first of all, the nation, as a whole, was to be preserved, but the individuals of whom it was composed were not to escape the punishment they deserved: "Nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them" (2). Secondly, Jehovah announced that He would certainly send an angel before them, to prepare the way for them to enter into possession of the promised land, but that He Himself would not go up in the midst of them any more (3), "for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way." "When the people heard these evil tidings they mourned, and no man did put on him his ornaments." This was the first sign of genuine and voluntary repentance on the part of the people. And it did not remain unnoticed. A fresh ray of hope burst forth from the words of Jehovah: "Put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee."

But the sentence was not revoked, that Jehovah would no longer dwell in the midst of the apostate nation. Moses took his tent, therefore, pitched it outside the camp, and called it the tent of meeting (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *tent, tabernacle*). It is true, Moses had received instructions, even before the apostasy of the nation, to set up a tent of meeting, that God might dwell in the midst of the people (Ex. xxv. 9), and to make it according to the pattern which had been shown him in the mountain; but the present was by no means the time for carrying these instructions into effect. As the negotiations, however, for the restoration of the broken covenant had been renewed, and there was a prospect of their being crowned with success, Moses set up a temporary tent of meeting, as a substitute for the true sanctuary, until the latter should be erected. And Jehovah consented to this arrangement; for, when Moses went out to the tent the pillar of cloud descended (from the mountain) and stood at the door of the tent, and Jehovah talked with Moses, face to face, as a man talketh with his friend (4). The people also gave a fresh sign of the sincerity of

their repentance by submitting cheerfully to this discipline and humiliation. Whoever had to inquire of Jehovah went out to the tent, that he might obtain an answer through the mediation of Moses. And when Moses went out to the tent, every one went to the door of his tent, looked after him with reverence, and prostrated himself before the sign of the Divine presence (the pillar of cloud), which came down to talk with Moses.

(1.) In reading the words of Moses, "*if not, blot me out of Thy book*," we must, undoubtedly, think of the language of affection, which forgets itself and the entire world in the thought of the one object by which the soul is moved. Hence they are certainly wanting in objective certainty, and in a general and simultaneous consideration of all the circumstances of the case; but with all the greater life, freshness, and directness, and also with the greater boldness and freedom, have the truth, the depth, and the strength of this *one* feeling been embodied in his words. The fact that the justice of God would prevent him from acceding to the wish and request of Moses (ver. 33), does not change nor diminish in the least its objective truth, and depth and force.—Moreover, the desire expressed by Moses was founded in his vocation, and in the post which he occupied, as the leader and mediator of the people. He was so thoroughly absorbed in his vocation, that every thought and imagination, all his hopes and ardent desires were concentrated there. His life and being were so intertwined and blended with it, that it had actually become his life and existence itself. A life without this vocation, or a life apart from it, was to him an inconceivable thought, a contradiction which refuted itself. If God were to do what He had threatened, to give free course to His righteous indignation, and consequently to exterminate the nation at once from the earth, the vocation of Moses would also be brought to an end, life would have no more value in his esteem, for his vocation was his life. If the wrath of Jehovah should slay the people, it would slay Moses as well, for it would put an end to his vocation. But, because, on the one hand, Moses had continued righteous, when the whole nation had fallen into unrighteousness deserving of death, and therefore he would necessarily be preserved from the judgment which threatened the rest; and, because, on the other hand, Moses had

not selected his vocation himself, but had been appointed to it by Jehovah, and therefore it was in accordance with the will and purposes of God that his life should be absorbed in his vocation, Jehovah laid Himself under the necessity to execute the judgment upon the nation in such a way, that whilst the people suffered the punishment they deserved, the vocation and office of Moses, which had respect to the nation, should not be abolished or destroyed, since the life and happiness of Moses were bound up with his office and vocation. But the only way in which this could be effected was, that instead of the sudden and simultaneous infliction of punishment on all the guilty, the individuals who had sinned should be punished one by one; and thus the nation, so far as it embodied the notion of a species, would be preserved, and the continuity of its history sustained. This method of reconciling the discrepancy would also be supported by the fact, that the apostate nation was still the seed of Abraham, to whom the promise, which cannot be broken, had been made, and that the basis for the continuation of its history was already to be found in the children and infants.—Jehovah's reply, accordingly, rejected the conditional request of Moses as inadmissible: "Whoever hath sinned against Me, him will I blot out of My book." At the same time it contained an assurance that the history of Israel should not be broken off: "Go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold Mine angel shall go before thee." On the other hand, it adheres to the necessity for punishing the sin: "Nevertheless, in the day of My visitation, I will visit (punish) their sin."

(2.) "*In the day of My visitation I will visit their sin.*" Is it possible to determine the period of history which constituted the day of visitation, and the manner in which the visitation itself took place? We believe that it is. It *commenced* at the time when the Israelites were at Kadesh (§ 36. 2), and when the judicial sentence was pronounced upon the nation, that the bodies of all those who were twenty years old and upwards should die in the wilderness, and that not one of them should enter the land of promise (Num xiv.); and it extended over the thirty-eight years, during which they wandered about without an object in the wilderness. It was at Kadesh that the measure of their iniquity was filled up. At Sinai they had rejected Jehovah, who led them out of Egypt, and had desired a god

such as they formerly possessed in Egypt; at Kadesh they rejected the land of Jehovah—the land of promise, and wished to return to Egypt (Num. xiv. 3).

(3.) In consequence of the intercession of Moses, Jehovah gave a fresh assurance that the history of Israel should not be broken off. Moses was to lead the people to Canaan; and for the future Jehovah would send *His angel* before them, and drive out the Amorites. This sounds like the promise in Ex. xxiii. 20–23. It might be regarded as simply a repetition of the promise, were it not for the stern and momentous words which follow: "For I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way." With reference to the angel who was promised to accompany them, it was stated in Ex. xxiii. 21: "My name is in him" (שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבּוֹ); in other words, he was to be the medium of the *personal* presence of Jehovah. This angel was to represent Jehovah in such a manner that the personal and essential presence of Jehovah, which cannot be seen by any creature in its own purely divine form of existence, when divested of all material clothing (1 Tim. vi. 15, 16), might be brought to view in him, its representative and pledge (see vol i. § 50. 2). But on this occasion Jehovah declared that He Himself would not go up in the midst of them. The angel, therefore, who was still to lead them, could not be any longer the representative of the personal presence of Jehovah; he was nothing more than every angel naturally is,—a messenger and delegate of God. To punish Israel Jehovah declared that He would withdraw from the angel the שׁמי בקרבו. But the fulfilment of this threat would deprive Israel of the very thing which distinguished it above every other nation (Ex. xxxiii. 16), for the fact of an angel presiding over a nation or kingdom on behalf of God, and guiding its affairs, was not so unparalleled a circumstance that it applied to the chosen people of God alone. Such a mission as this does not belong to the province of the Jehovistic, but rather to that of the Elohistic government, and, therefore, not only could be, but actually was possessed by heathen nations and kingdoms as well (Dan. x. 13–21, xi. 1). The commonwealth of Israel ceased to be a theocracy in consequence; for the maintenance of the theocracy (§ 9. 1) was dependent upon the personal presence of God in the midst of the nation. The announce-

ment, therefore, that Jehovah would no longer dwell in the midst of the nation, was equivalent to an announcement that the theocracy would be brought to an end;—whether temporarily or for ever, whether in the shape of suspension or of abolition, the connection of the words would hardly leave in doubt. Since it was not upon the nation, as such, that the judgment was to fall, but only upon individuals, and in the meantime the outward course of events was to continue as before, nothing more could be intended than a *suspension*, which would last until all the individuals at present composing the nation had been swept away, and a new generation had grown up which had not participated in the apostasy of the fathers. This was what Israel had to expect if this sentence of God was carried into effect. And this was the reason that Israel mourned and complained so bitterly on account of the evil tidings. But we shall soon see that by his unwearied intercession Moses succeeded in procuring another, still milder, sentence from the forgiving mercy of God.

We have already shown (vol. i. § 50. 2) that Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq., when compared with Ex. xxxii. 34, is perfectly irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the Maleach Jehovah was not merely a representative, mediator, and bearer of the personal presence of Jehovah, but was that presence itself, namely, the Logos, the second person of the Trinity. For in the former passage, as well as the latter, Jehovah calls this angel מַלְאָכִי, "My angel," equivalent to מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, and in the former the same task is assigned to him as in the latter (chap. xxxiii. 2), with the simple exception, which indeed is of great importance in other respects, that in the former the name of Jehovah is in him, and in the latter this is no longer the case. In opposition to this *Hengstenberg* says: "The threatening of the Lord becomes unintelligible, and the grief of the people incomprehensible, if by the angel in chap. xxiii. an ordinary angel be understood" (Christology vol. i. p. 119 transl.).—(As if we imagined him to be an ordinary angel, and nothing more; an ordinary angel he was, but with the unusual circumstance, that "the name of Jehovah was in him.") Hengstenberg proceeds: "But everything becomes clear and intelligible if we admit that in chap. xxiii. there is an allusion to the angel of the Lord, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, who is connected with Him by unity of nature, and

who, because the name of God is in Him, is as zealous as He is Himself in inflicting punishment, as well as in bestowing salvation; whilst in chap. xxxii. 34, the allusion is to an inferior angel, who is added to the highest revealer of God as His companion and messenger, and who appears in the book of Daniel under the name of *Gabriel*, while *the* angel of the Lord appears under the name of *Michael*." Then "everything becomes clear and intelligible?" What even the מַלְאָכִי (my angel) in chap xxxii. 34? *Hengstenberg* boldly replies, "Yes, even this;" and notwithstanding *Hofmann's* complete answer (Schriftbeweis i. 156 seq.), he brings forward again the indescribably weak and palpably worthless hypothesis of a Maleach of the Maleach. "In Ex. xxxii. 34, after Israel had sinned in worshipping the calf, their former leader, Jehovah, *i.e.*, the angel of Jehovah, told them that He should be their leader no longer." Then for "Jehovah," the leader of Israel, we may substitute the "Maleach Jehovah?" Very good! But in Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq. the former leader Jehovah, *i.e.*, the angel of Jehovah, says, "Behold I send an angel before thy face," etc, and the angel to be sent is one of whom it is affirmed, "the name of Jehovah is in him." Consequently, as we infer from *Hengstenberg's* premises, this angel, in whom the name of Jehovah dwelt, was the Maleach of the Maleach Jehovah; *ergo*, we have two *Logoi* in the Deity, two uncreated revealers of God, "for the name of God can only dwell in him who is originally of the same nature;" *ergo*, we must expunge the doctrine of the Trinity from our system, and insert in its place, "four persons in one Godhead."—The relation of Gabriel to Michael in the book of Daniel is also very different from *Hengstenberg's* account; but we cannot enter into this question at present.

(4.) The *Ohel-Moëd* which Moses pitched outside the camp has been regarded by many critics as identical with the sanctuary of the same name, which was afterwards constructed by Bezaleel and Oholiab, according to the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount; and upon this supposition they have based the conclusion that our records contain two different and discordant myths respecting the building of the tabernacle. (In reply to this see *Ranke*, vol. ii. p. 61.)

§ 15. (Ex. xxxiii. 12–xxxv. 3.)—So much, then, had Moses

obtained by his intercession, that the covenant was not to be abolished, but merely suspended; and that an angel (not indeed an angel in whom the name of Jehovah was, but still an angel), that is, at any rate a messenger from the heavenly world, should conduct the nation to Canaan, and drive out the Canaanites before them. But Moses was not content with this result. He persisted in the prayer, that the covenant might be perfectly restored, and that the face of God, that is, He Himself, in the angel in whom His name was (§ 14, 3), would undertake the guidance of the people, and take up his abode in the midst of them. And this was also granted. Emboldened by these concessions, Moses desired—as a confirmation of the promise, and a proof that he had found mercy with Jehovah, and also to perfect his mediatorial character—that he might see the *glory* of Jehovah, that is His face as it is, uncovered, without the veil of the cloud, or the mediation of an angel. He asked for what no mortal could possibly bear. His petition, therefore, could not be granted; but Jehovah promised that he should see and feel all that he could bear: "I will cause all my goodness (טוּבִי) to pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of Jehovah before thee." For this purpose Moses was to ascend, the following morning, to the top of the mountain, and station himself in a hole in the rock. Jehovah would then cause His glory to pass by, and keep His hand upon him till the vision was over. He would then be allowed to look after it, that his eye might still catch a ray of the Majesty which had already departed (1). In this unparalleled manifestation of God, Moses received a pledge of the success of his mediatorial intercession,—a fresh seal and elevation of his mediatorial work,—based upon the willingness of Jehovah to restore the covenant in all its completeness. With this, therefore, there would be associated the restoration of the covenant-records, as a pledge *to the people* of the restoration of the covenant; and Moses received instructions to cut two stones like the former, and bring them with him up the mountain (2). Moses went the following morning, furnished with these, to the place

appointed. Jehovah came down in the cloud, and stood beside him. He had asked to look with his bodily eyes upon the unveiled face of God; but it is only in the mirror of the Word, with the inward spiritual eye of faith, that a man can look upon the Divine Being, whose features, as manifested outwardly, are called His face. In the *word*, therefore, Jehovah permitted him to behold His essence; but it was in a word of such comprehensiveness, such depth and fulness, as had never fallen upon human ears before. As He passed by Moses, He proclaimed to him who and what He was: "Jehovah, Jehovah, a merciful and gracious God, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation." Then Moses made haste, and bowed his head to the earth, and worshipped (1). What was here declared to Moses was a far deeper, fuller, and more comprehensive explanation of the name *Jehovah*, a commentary on the words "I am that I am" (Ex. iii. 14), by which He had previously given to His servant, and through him to His people, a deeper insight into the meaning of His name (vol. ii. § 20, 6). It was quite in its right place here; for what it expressed in *words*, was immediately afterwards confirmed in a gracious *deed*, *viz.*, in the renewal of the covenant. To this end Jehovah repeated the most essential portion of the earlier covenant promises (Ex. xxiii. 20 sqq.), and covenant demands (Ex. xxi. 1, xxiii. 19) in the book of the covenant, and commanded Moses to commit these words also to writing as the basis of the renewal of the covenant. He also wrote upon the tables, which Moses had brought with him, the same ten words which had been engraved upon the first tables (2). On this occasion also Moses remained with Jehovah on the mountain forty days and forty nights; and when he came down the skin of his face shone, though he himself was not aware of it. It was the reflection of what Moses had seen on the Mount, of the glory of Jehovah.

Aaron and the princes of the congregation, when they saw it, were afraid to go near him. But, after he had told them all that Jehovah had said and commanded, he put a veil upon his face, which he took off whenever he went before Jehovah (into the tent of meeting, § 14, 4), and put on again when he returned to the camp (3).

(1.) What did Moses desire to see? And what was it which led him to express the desire *at this particular time?* So much is certain, that he desired to see and to learn what he had never seen or learnt before. It must have been something more, then, than is expressed in the words of Ex. xxxiii. 11, "Jehovah talked with him face to face, as a man talketh with his friend." And however little it was possible to grant of his request, this little must have far exceeded all the previous visions of God. Moreover, if it was something so extraordinary that Moses saw it but once in his life, it must have far surpassed what is represented in Num. xii. 8 as the constant form of intercourse between Moses and Jehovah, "with Him I speak mouth to mouth, and let him see, not in figures (visions and dreams, ver. 6), but he looks upon the form of Jehovah (תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה)." Moses calls what he wishes to see the *glory of Jehovah* (כְּבוֹד יְהוָה, ver. 18); and Jehovah Himself also calls it "My glory" (ver. 22), "all my *goodness*" (כָּל־טוּבִי, ver 19), and "my *face*" (פָּנַי, ver. 20). But the *glory* of the Lord dwelt in the pillar of cloud and fire (vol. ii. § 36, 3), and the angel of the Lord, who went before Israel in this particular symbol, is also called the bearer of the *face* of Jehovah (Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15); and, therefore, what Moses desired to see, can have been nothing else than this same face and this same glory, but uncovered and without a cloud, immediately and without angelic representation,—that is to say, the very essence of God, in its purest form of existence, and in its entire majesty and glory. The name טוּב leads to the same conclusion. The corresponding verb and adjective are used to denote the good and beautiful in every form which it can possibly assume; they are applied to the essence and substance, and also to the form and manifestation, to the inward power as well as the outward operation. טוּב, therefore, is employed here to denote the essence and manifestation of God, as the *absolutely good and*

*beautiful*. But if this טוּב was to be seen, it must of necessity manifest itself in a certain form, and hitherto this had been done in the angel who represented it, and who went before Israel in the pillar of cloud and fire. This was the "form of Jehovah" (תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה), mentioned in Num. xii. 8. The *people* looked upon it merely from without, and saw the splendour shining through the pillar of cloud; the *elders*, at the time of the giving of the law (Ex. xxiv. 10) looked upon it from beneath ("and under his feet was as it were a work of transparent sapphire, and as the heaven itself in brilliancy"); *Moses*, again, went into the cloud itself (Ex. xx. 21), and saw the *Temunah* of God, face to face, and spoke with it mouth to mouth (Ex. xxxiii. 11; Num. xii. 6–8). That תְּמוּנָה does not denote the immediate, absolute form of God, but merely a form assumed by Him for the purpose of intercourse with man, is evident also from the etymology of the word. The verb מוּן does not occur in Hebrew. In Arabic it means *mentitus est;* the primary meaning was undoubtedly *to invent*. *Temunah*, therefore, was not a real and essential form, but a form invented or assumed, a likeness of the real form, or a symbol of the ideal. Hence it is used to denote not merely the form in which men picture God to their own mind, or the images by which they represent Him (Ex. xx. 4; Deut. v. 8; vi. 16, 23, 25), but also the form which God assumed in order to manifest Himself to man.

We proceed now to the second question: What was it that led Moses to express such a desire, just at this particular time? —Hitherto there had been one limit to the mediatorial work of Moses, namely, that he had seen and became acquainted with the תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה (the form of Jehovah) alone, and not with כָּל־טוּב יְהוָה (all the goodness of Jehovah). His intercourse had been confined to the covered glory, the representative-face of Jehovah, he had not conversed directly with Himself. His mediatorial office, however, would necessarily be incomplete, so long as he had not enjoyed as close and direct intercourse with Jehovah, on the one hand, as with the people on the other, and so long as he had not seen and known Jehovah in His true and essential form. Instead of this, another mediator had hitherto stood between him and Jehovah;—for it was by an angel that Jehovah had called him, by an angel He had led the people out of Egypt, by the medium of angels He had placed the law

in the hands of Moses ("ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator." Gal. iii. 19, compare Heb. ii. 2, Acts vii. 53, also § 10, 2). It was evident, then, that a merely human mediator did not suffice. Something more was needed to give completeness to the mediation between Jehovah and the people. Another superhuman mediator was still required to carry on the intercourse between the human mediator and Jehovah Himself.—But, on the present occasion, when Jehovah promised to restore the broken covenant, and Moses was therefore recognised again in his mediatorial capacity and confirmed in his office, we can understand that he should be concerned to know whether the limit was absolutely necessary, or whether it was not possible, if only once for all, that he should have a direct sight of God and hold immediate intercourse with Him. The answer was in the negative. Hence the mediation of the Old Testament was never freed from this inevitable limitation; and, it was evident, that however exalted the position of Moses might be, he was not, and could not be, the perfect mediator, and that if ever the design of the covenant was to be secured, it must be by the coming of one still more exalted.

It was quite a correct feeling which led Moses to conclude that he was justified in expecting and asking, now that the covenant was about to be restored, for a higher and more glorious manifestation of Jehovah than had taken place at the conclusion of the covenant before the apostasy. In the thunders of Sinai, the holiness, justice, and majesty of Jehovah had been displayed; but, it was absolutely necessary now, if the breach was to be healed, that His grace, His long-suffering, and His mercy should be brought into exercise as well.—But Moses went too far in his expectations, when he hoped to be able, all at once, to pass the limit which divides immediate perception from the faith which cometh by hearing. And, the fact that, instead of a glorious vision of the goodness and beauty of God, he had still to be satisfied with hearing them proclaimed, brought down his expectations within the proper bounds. At the same time, faith, which is one day to be changed into sight, contains within itself already the germ of that which it is eventually to become, an instalment and pledge of the future payment, is given even here. Faith cannot look upon the essential nature of God, but it sees a reflection of it in the visible traces of His secret action which

are left behind. This was all that could be granted to Moses now; and the promise was made in a manner befitting the peculiar character of his intercourse with God. "I will make all My goodness pass before thee," said Jehovah to him, "and when My glory passes by, I will keep My hand over thee till I have passed by, then will I take away My hand, and thou shalt see My back (אֶת־אֲחֹרָי, that is, the light which remains when the full glory has passed away), but my face (פָּנָי) cannot be seen."—In the description of the occurrence itself, we are not expressly told when this vision of the אַחוֹר יְהוָה actually took place; but the point of time is indicated, with sufficient clearness, in chap. xxxiv. 6, "and Jehovah passed before him." The fact that it is not more particularly described is to be accounted for on the ground that it did not admit of any description, that Moses had no words with which to describe what he saw with his eyes, as there was no analogy in earthly phenomena with which it could be compared.

(2.) *Hitzig*, in his *Ostern und Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog* (*Heidelberg*, 1838, p. 40 sqq.), pretends to have made the discovery that the *second tables of the law* did not contain the ordinary decalogue, that is, the ten words of Ex. xx., but the ten commandments contained in Ex. xxxiv. 12–26, and therefore that there is an evident discrepancy between this account and Deut. x. 4, where it is expressly stated that these two tables contained the same words as the first. *Hengstenberg* (*Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 319 trans.) is perfectly willing to leave him the honour of having been the first to discover this second decalogue. But he has no claim even to the honour of this discovery; for, as early as 1770 (and it is a remarkable thing that this has been overlooked by all who have ever written on the subject) *Goethe* gave expression to a similar view, in a treatise entitled "*zwo wichtige, bisher unerörtete Fragen, zum erstenmal gründlich beantwortet von einem Landgeistlichen in Schwaben.*"[1] *Goethe's* leading idea is the exclusiveness of Judaism. "The Jewish nation," he says, "I regard as a wild, unfruitful stem, which was surrounded by other wild, unfruitful trees. On this stem the Eternal

[1] This youthful work of *Goethe* was published in the forty volume edition of 1840, but some years before this it had been reprinted in *Tholuck's literarischer Anzeiger*. It will be found in vol. xiv. p. 263–270, of the edition referred to.

Gardener grafted the noble twig, Jesus Christ, that by growing thereupon it might ennoble the nature of the stem itself, and that grafts might be taken from it to fertilise all the other trees. The history and doctrines of this nation are certainly exclusive; and the very little of a universal character which may possibly be found in the anticipations of the grand event to occur in the future, is difficult to find and hardly worth the seeking." *Goethe* passes then to his immediate subject, and says, the Lord spake from Sinai, for the most part on general truths, the knowledge of which He presupposed in their case as in that of other nations. The people were terrified, and entreated Moses to speak to the Lord in their stead. Moses then received the laws of the book of the covenant, wrote them down, read them to the people, and so forth. He was then summoned up to the mountain to receive the tables of the law. He went; and after the Lord had given him instructions for the erection of the tabernacle, He gave the tables into his hands. "What was written on them no one knows. The sinful affair of the calf ensued, and Moses broke them to pieces before it was even possible to guess at their contents." After the purification of the penitent people, Moses was ordered to cut two new stones, on which the same words were to be written which stood upon the first. When Moses went up the mountain with these two tables, the Lord announced to him these ten words (chap. xxxiv. 12–26), and ordered him (ver. 27) to write these words upon the tables, for, according to these words, He had made a covenant with him and with Israel. "It was written here in the plainest terms, and the human understanding rejoiced thereat. The tables were witnesses of the covenant with which God had bound Himself, in a peculiar manner, to Israel. How appropriate, then, that we should find laws there, which distinguished Israel from every other nation. . . . How gladly do we cast away the awkward, old, erroneous idea, that the most exclusive of all covenants could be founded upon universal obligations. In short; the preamble of the law (chap. xx.) contains doctrines with which God pre-supposed that His people were acquainted, as men and as Israelites. As men . . . this applies to those of a generally moral character; as Israelites . . the knowledge of one God and the Sabbath." But how did this mistake, on the part of the Church, originate? Answer: "The author

of the book of Deuteronomy was the first to fall into the error. It is probable, and I believe that I have read it somewhere, that this book was compiled from tradition during the Babylonian captivity. The want of arrangement, by which it is characterised, makes this almost certain. Under such circumstances as these a mistake was very natural. The tables were lost along with the ark, there were very few who possessed genuine copies of the sacred books; the ten commandments were dormant and forgotten; the rules of life were written in every one's heart, or at least retained in his memory. And who knows what may have given rise to this clumsy combination." Nearly the same line of argument may now be found in *Hitzig*. But with this exception, the hypothesis in question has met with no approval. *Bertheau* rejects it as decidedly as *Hengstenberg* (l.c.), and even *E. Meier* holds fast to the current belief (*Dekalog*, p. 6–9).

There is no necessity to enter into an elaborate refutation of this hypothesis.—(1) "According to chap xxxiv. 1, the same words were to be written upon the second tables which had already been contained by the first. Now, it would be a very strange thing if these words were not made known till the second tables were prepared. They must certainly be contained in what goes before, and, therefore, ver. 12–26 cannot contain the ten words which were written on the tables" (*Hengstenberg*). —(2) The testimony of the Deuteronomist would still retain its force, even if it really belonged to the period of the captivity; for, if the nation of Israel had a distinct recollection of anything connected with its early history, it would certainly not have forgotten the fundamental law.—(3) The words which were to be, not only the most important in the whole law, but its very foundation, by the fact that they and they alone were spoken by *Jehovah Himself* must necessarily have been engraven upon the tables as being the "testimony to the covenant." "The speaking and writing on the part of God," as *Hengstenberg* says, "answer to each other. The very fact that the author does not consider it necessary to state distinctly that the decalogue, which was proclaimed by Jehovah Himself, was written down, is a proof how completely this was taken for granted; not to mention the circumstance, that for thousands of years before the time of *Hitzig*, it never entered any one's mind to question the fact."—(4) It could only be a thoroughly

false idea of the law of Moses, a misapprehension of its entire character, which could ever lead to the conclusion that the fundamental records of the covenant could not possibly contain, in accordance with their original design, moral precepts of a universal character, which were recognised by the heathen as well, or such commandments as had been binding upon the Israelites before the time of Moses. For the fact is hereby entirely overlooked, that the Sinaitic covenant was simply a repetition, renewal, and extension, of the covenant with Abraham, and that even the moral precepts of a universal character, which are common to heathenism and the Mosaic system, are altogether different in the latter from what they are in the former: the principle, the spirit which inspires them, the root and the soil from which they severally spring, being not only different, but entirely opposed. The one thing which constituted the groundwork and fundamental principle of the religion of the Old Testament, as distinguished from every form of heathenism, namely, the belief in one, personal, holy, and spiritual God, and the one thing which was to be maintained as the inviolable sign of the covenant, and to give a shape to the whole life, in accordance with it, namely, the command to keep the Sabbath holy, must of necessity have been incorporated in the fundamental law and original records, whether they were absolutely new or received by tradition from the fathers. And if, by this means, justice was done to "the most important of the distinguishing doctrines of Hebraism," we cannot see why the leading principles of morality generally should not, or rather, we can see that they necessarily must be included, seeing that the fundamental principles of the entire law is expressly declared to be contained in the words, "I, Jehovah, am holy, therefore, be thou, My nation, holy also."—(5) It is perfectly obvious that Ex. xxxiv. 11–26, contains an abridged repetition, a compendium of the law contained in the book of the law, in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. Moses applies the same terms to the latter as to the former (chap. xxxiv. 27). And, if the laws contained in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. cannot be identical with the words engraved by Jehovah upon the first tables, this must also be the case with the commandments in chap. xxxiv. 11–26. In both instances the writing of Moses presupposes that of God.

Goethe's hypothesis derives a certain plausibility from chap.

xxxiv. 27, 28, and from that alone. Jehovah there says to Moses, "*Write thou* these words, for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel." It is then stated that Moses "was there *with* Jehovah forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water; and *he wrote* upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten words." Everything turns in this case upon the question, who is the subject of וַיִּכְתֹּב. If it be Moses, then, undoubtedly, the expression כְּתָב־לְךָ shuts us up to the conclusion that the words of ver. 11–26 are those which were written upon the tables. But Moses is not the subject of the verb. Not only in Deuteronomy (chap. x. 2 וְאֶכְתֹּב), but in Exodus also (chap. xxxiv. 1 וְאֶכְתֹּב), the writing on the two tables is referred to Jehovah Himself. It is true, *E. Meier* (*Dekalog*, p. 6) makes an emendation here for the purpose of destroying the agreement between this passage and Deuteronomy, and reads וְכָתַבְתָּ (thou hast written); but such arbitrary criticism as this condemns itself. *Bertheau's* criticism (*Sieben Gruppen*, p. 98) is much more correct: "On a careful examination of the contents it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that יהוה is the subject to ויכתב, since ver. 28 contains a palpable reference to ver. 1. . . . Moreover, it is not stated in ver. 27 that Moses was to write 'these words' upon *the two tables;* on the contrary, the analogy of chap. xxiv. 4, 7 would lead us to expect that he wrote them in a book. The name of Jehovah is mentioned just before ויכתב,—not as subject, it is true, but the *vav consequ.*, I might almost say, would lead us to *expect* the subject to be changed. At any rate, no objection can be offered, on philological grounds, to the hypothesis that Jehovah is the subject; and the context renders such an assumption absolutely necessary." (1) To this we may also add, that even the command to Moses in chap. xxxiv. 1, to hew out tables and bring them with him up the mountain, *forces* us, as it were, to expect Jehovah to write upon these, as He had previously done upon the first tables. . . . With such convincing proofs as these we must reject the forced and unnatural interpretation given by *Welte* (*Machmosaisches*, p. 126), who refers the verb ויכתב to Moses, but thinks that it can be reconciled with וכתבתי in Ex. xxxiv. 1, and אכתב in Deut. x. 2, by the simple remark, that what a prophet does in the name and by the command of God, is done by God Himself.

The difference, then, between the first and second tables was simply this: the latter were hewn by Moses, whereas the former were delivered to him (even so far as the material was concerned) by Jehovah Himself; but both were written by the finger of Jehovah. *Hengstenberg* regards this difference as a punishment: "It was a sufficient punishment," he says, "for the nation, that the material had to be provided by Moses." But we question whether we can agree with him in this. We might almost as well, and perhaps with still greater point, explain it with *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 113) as the mark of a higher stage of the covenant, "for the farther the reciprocity extends, the firmer the covenant becomes, and, for this reason, it could only be completed in a person who was both human and divine."

(3.) The *dazzling splendour of Moses' face* was the reflection of the after splendour of the glory of Jehovah which had just passed by. As this was an extraordinary and unparalleled event, it was also extraordinary in its effects;—and, as the sight enjoyed by Moses was related to the restoration of the covenant, the people also received, in the splendour of the face of the mediator, a reflection of what he had witnessed. The distinction between Moses and the people was thus clearly set forth, and he was accredited as the representative of God before the people. The true mediator between God and man must bear the nature of God as well as that of man, that he may equally and perfectly represent the two. Such a mediator as this Moses certainly was not: but the splendour upon his face bore witness to the fact, that an emanation from the Divine nature had passed over to him, and that he had been holding intercourse with God Himself. Although the splendour on Moses' face was a doubly reduced reflection of the glory of Jehovah, it was still too much for the people to bear; and Moses was obliged, at least in private intercourse, to cover his face with a veil. The Apostle Paul regards this covering as a symbol of the covering in which the truths of salvation had come down to the people, who could not grasp or bear them when plainly revealed (2 Cor. iii. 11); which covering, however, in proportion as the people become better able to grasp the truth, grows more and more transparent, until in the fulness of time it can be entirely done away. . . In the *Septuagint*, the words כִּי קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו

(ver. 29), are rendered, in accordance with both the grammar and the fact, ὅτι δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος του προσώπου αὐτοῦ; the *Vulgate*, on the other hand, renders it, to say the least, in an unintelligible manner (*quod cornuta esset facies sua*). *Compare Sal Deyling, de vultu Mosis radiante*, in his *Observationes* iii. p. 81 sqq. The Rationalists have gone so far in the insipidity of their expositors, as to attribute the splendour of Moses' face to the electricity of the mountain. See *Eichhorn's Einleitung* (Ed. 4 vol. iii. p. 280): "When he came back in the evening from the mountain, and those who saw him perceived merely the shining of his face, on account of the rest of his body being covered with clothes; since neither he nor his contemporaries could understand the physical causes, was it not natural that Moses should trace it to, what he was fully convinced of,—his intercourse with God?"

### ERECTION OF THE SANCTUARY.

§ 16. (Exod. xxxv.–xl.)—Now that the covenant was renewed, Moses was able to proceed to the fulfilment of the instructions which he had received, a long time before, with regard to the erection of the sanctuary, a plan of which had been shown him on the Mount. He first called for a voluntary offering of all the requisite materials; and the whole congregation cheerfully contributed golden ornaments, costly cloths and skins, jewels, spices, and so forth. The silver was obtained by means of a tax of half a shekel, which every adult was required to pay (compare Ex. xxx. 15). Moses then summoned the master workmen, whom Jehovah had mentioned to him by name, and who had been specially endowed by the Spirit of God with wisdom and understanding for the work in question. The management of the entire building was committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of Judah; and *Oholiab*, the Danite, was appointed as his colleague. In addition to this, all the men of the congregation, who were skilful in any department of art or handicraft, as well as all the women who could work embroidered cloths and things of that description, offered their assistance. The work was commenced with spirit, and the voluntary contributions accumulated

to such an extent, that Moses was able to restrain the people from giving more. The gold which was used amounted to 29 talents and 730 shekels, the silver to 100 talents and 1775 shekels, and the copper to 70 talents and 2400 shekels (1). At the end of six or seven months the entire work was complete, including the various utensils and the priests' garments; the workmen delivered them over to Moses; and on the first day of the first month of the second year from the departure out of Egypt, the holy place was set up and consecrated by the anointing of the dwelling-place itself, and also of the vessels it contained. The cloud then covered the sanctuary, and the glory of God filled the dwelling (2).

(1.) *De Wette*, *Bohlen*, and others, maintain that the whole account of the tabernacle and its erection is proved to be fictitious, by the fact that it presupposes such an acquaintance with the arts, and the possession of such an abundance of costly materials, as is perfectly inconceivable in the case of a migrating nomad race. See, on the other hand, *Hävernick's Einleitung* i. 2, p. 460 sqq.; *Bährs Symbolik* i. 257 sqq., 273 sqq.; and *Hengstenberg's Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 133 sqq.

The πρῶτον ψεῦδος in this charge is the assumption that the Israelites were a rude, uncultivated, and uncivilised nomad tribe. We have shown the fallacy of this at vol. 2 § 15. So far as the *materials* required for the building are concerned, it can be proved that the Israelites were either in possession of all that was wanted, or, if not, could easily have procured them in the desert itself, or from the trading caravans that were passing through. The most important article of all, the Shittim (Acacia) wood, could be felled in the desert. Gold, silver, and precious stones they had brought with them in great abundance from Egypt (vol. 2 § 35, 4). The *tachash* skins were to be found in the Arabian Gulf. The raw materials for the cloths, the necessary spices, etc., could be purchased from the caravans. There is no reason for astonishment at the quantity of gold and silver that was used. In comparison with the almost incredible wealth in the precious metals which presents itself on every hand in ancient times (see *Bähr* i. 257 sqq.), the quantity used in connection with the tabernacle is a mere bagatelle, in which there

is nothing whatever to surprise. The entire mass of the gold employed was 87,730 shekels (a talent, כִּכָּר, consisting of 3000 shekels). Now, according to the highest valuation, this was not more than 300,000 ducats. Of the silver there were 301,775 shekels (worth not quite 300,000 Prussian thalers, or L.45,000), to which every adult Israelite had contributed *half* a shekel (*Bertheau* values the silver shekel at twenty-one groschen; *zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 49). We must bear in mind that in this case the tax was the same for every Israelite, and therefore that the rich man did not and was not allowed to give more than the poor (Ex. xxx. 15). The free-will offerings, on the other hand, were presented according to the circumstances of the giver. This was intended to show that all the Israelites, whether poor or rich, were under the same obligations in relation to the sanctuary.

It has been thought that there was the stronger ground for maintaining the want of the requisite *artistic skill* on the part of the Israelites, from the fact that even Solomon thought it advisable to intrust the building of the temple to Phœnician workmen. But to this we reply, that in the building of the temple acquaintance with architecture, as an *art*, was required; but in the erection of the tabernacle, as a simple tent, proficiency in the art was not what was wanted, but simply *skill* as carpenters, founders, gold-beaters, weavers, workers in colours, and stone masons. Now *Bähr* and *Hengstenberg* have fully proved that this was to be found, in a very high degree, in Egyptian antiquity; and, it is evident from 1 Chron. iv. 14, 21, 23, for example, that many of the Israelites had made the best use, in this respect, of their sojourn in Egypt.

(2.) When it is stated in chap. xl. 35, that "Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of Jehovah filled the tabernacle," this corresponds entirely to what took place at the dedication of the temple (2 Chron. vii. 2). On this occasion also, the priests, were unable to enter into the house of Jehovah, because the glory of Jehovah had filled it. In both instances it is merely a temporary inability that is alluded to; of course, the priests went in afterwards, and Moses afterwards went with Aaron into the tabernacle (Lev. ix. 22; compare Num. vii. 89). Hence, in both instances, the filling of the house with the glory of Jehovah,

must be regarded as something altogether extraordinary, and of temporary duration. It was in connection with the act of first taking possession of the dwelling, that the glory of the Lord displayed itself in such unabated splendour, that even Moses durst not enter in. At the dedication of the dwelling, Jehovah took possession of the whole; but afterwards the cloud, the vehicle of His glory, withdrew into the Holy of holies, and stationed itself there between the cherubim (Lev. xvi. 2). For this reason no one was permitted to enter here, with the sole exception of the high priest, who entered once a year, though even then not without the enveloping cloud of incense (Lev. xvi. 13), and not till he had offered sacrifice for his own sins and that of his house (Lev. xvi. 3). Further particulars will be given in a subsequent portion of this work.

### THE LAW OF SACRIFICE AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD.

§ 17. (Lev. i.–viii.)—The sanctuary was erected; Jehovah had made His entrance into it; and it was now time for the service to commence. The basis and centre of this service was sacrifice. For this reason the law of sacrifice (Lev. i.–vii.) was promulgated first, and that not merely from the mountain, but also from the sanctuary; for the latter was now the permanent dwelling-place of Jehovah, the place into which His glory had entered, and upon which the pillar of cloud and fire had come down. Another prerequisite of the service of the sanctuary was the institution of a permanent priesthood. The family of Aaron had already been singled out for this office (Ex. xxviii. 1); the manner of their consecration was determined (Ex. xxix.); the priestly dress was selected and prepared (Ex. xxviii., xxix.); and now the consecration and ordination of the priests themselves took place (Lev. viii.). The whole congregation assembled before the door of the sanctuary. Moses then brought Aaron and his sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, and after washing, clothing, and anointing them, offered for them a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a thank-offering. After this he touched their right ears with the blood of the latter, and also the

thumb of the right hand and right foot. The rest of the blood he sprinkled round about the altar. He then filled the hands of Aaron and his sons with the pieces of fat and meat for a wave-offering, and brought the whole ceremony to an end by appointing a sacrificial meal, of which the newly consecrated priests partook.

(1.) We must reserve, till a future period, any further investigation into the law of sacrifice, and also into the dedication of the priests (see, however, my *Mosaisches Opfer*, Mitau, 1842).

§ 18. (Lev. ix., x.)—The consecration of the priests lasted seven days. On the eighth Aaron officiated for the first time as priest. He offered the first sacrifices for his own sins and those of the people; and when the blood had been sprinkled, and the pieces had been waved and arranged upon the altar, Aaron went into the sanctuary by virtue of his priestly character. On this the first occasion, however, Moses accompanied or introduced him. On their return they both blessed the people. The glory of the Lord then appeared to all the people; and fire came out from the Lord and consumed the sacrifice upon the altar. When the people beheld this gracious manifestation on the part of God, they shouted, fell down, and worshipped (1). But this display of mercy on the part of Jehovah was very quickly followed by a manifestation of wrath, which was called forth by an act of the most guilty wilfulness. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the eldest sons of Aaron, despised their priestly vocation, and contemptuously violated the rules laid down with regard to it, by bringing strange fire into the presence of Jehovah, which He had not commanded them (2). But fire came forth immediately from the Lord and consumed them. As Aaron and his other two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, could not touch the corpses without defiling themselves, and thus desecrating and annulling the anointing they had just received, Moses ordered the nearest relations, among those who were not priests, to carry them out of the sanctuary and bury them before the camp. Several new laws were issued in consequence of this event (3).

(1.) The FIRE FROM HEAVEN, which consumed *Aaron's first sacrifice*, was a sign that God was pleased with the sacrifice, as well as with the priest by whom it was offered (*vid.* Gen. iv. 4). The very same thing occurred in connection with the first sacrifice which was offered in the temple of Solomon. We shall hardly be wrong, therefore, in connecting this event with Lev. vi. 9, 12, 13, where instructions are given that the fire on the altar is to be kept constantly burning, and never allowed to go out.—The fire, therefore, with which the sacrifices of Israel were now and ever after consumed, was originally not a common earthly fire, but heavenly and divine. According to the Jewish legends, this sacred fire was kept up without interruption till the time of the Babylonian captivity; and, according to 2 Macc. i. 19, till a later period still. The Talmud and most of the Rabbins reckon it as one of the five things which were wanting in the second temple (*Ignis, Arca, Urim et Tummim, Oleum unctionis, Spiritus sanctitatis*). Compare *J. Buxtorf, hist. de igne sacro*, in his *Exercitationes*, p. 229 sqq., and *S. Bochart, de igne cœlitus in sacrificia delapso*, in his *Hieroz.*, Rosenmüller's edition, i. 375 sqq.

(2.) It is difficult to determine more precisely what was *the crime* of which the two elder sons of Aaron were guilty. *Hofmann* (*Weissagung und Erfüllung*, i. 144) is of opinion, that "it consisted in the performance of an act of worship completely at variance with the law, and entirely distinct from the offering of incense upon the golden altar." But this does not touch the account. We can by no means agree with the same writer when, in a subsequent work (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 360), he explains the crime as consisting in the fact, that without authority they carried their incense into the Holy of Holies, instead of the Holy Place alone. "When Nadab and Abihu," he says, "came into the Holy of Holies, without bringing anything with them but their incense, and without any further reason than their own supposed piety of will, God punished them by a violent death in the sanctuary itself." But in the words, "they offered strange fire before Jehovah," there is not the slightest hint that they carried their incense behind the veil (as in Lev. xvi. 12). The crime consisted simply and solely in the fact that they offered *strange* fire before the Lord,—fire, that is, "which He had not commanded." There are two ways in which this may be inter-

preted. The explanation which most naturally suggests itself, after reading the account, which immediately precedes, of the sacred fire that came down from heaven, and also when we compare Lev. xvi. 12, where the high-priest was directed to kindle the incense with this sacred fire when he went into the Holy of Holies on the great day of atonement, is, that instead of taking the fire from the altar, they kindled their incense with other (common) fire. For it is very probable that this precept had reference to the daily priestly incense, as well as to the yearly incense which the high-priest offered. No doubt, if this view be adopted, it is somewhat strange that among the laws that have hitherto been issued, there was no command relating to this point at all. For this reason it would, perhaps, be better to interpret the expression, "strange fire," as relating to the incense which was burned (an interpretation which the context will certainly allow), and to regard the crime of Aaron's sons as consisting in the violation of the law already given, which forbade the offering of strange incense upon the altar of incense.

(3.) The commandments which follow were based upon the foregoing event. The command to the priests not to uncover their heads or tear their clothes (both signs of mourning) was based upon the fact that their clothes and head-dress formed part of their official costume, and therefore, by laying aside or tearing them, their priestly vocation and character would be affected. As the heads of the priests had been anointed with holy oil, the uncovering of the head, which was required by custom in times of mourning (Lev. xiii. 45), would have been an act of profanation. But whilst it cannot be denied, that there was a connection between the prohibition to partake of strong drink before entering the sanctuary, and the event which had just occurred, it would be going too far to infer from this, that Nadab and Abihu committed the crime in a state of intoxication. "There is a connection, however," as *Baumgarten* says, "between the state of mind in which Nadab and Abihu forced their way into the sanctuary, and a state of intoxication, for it was an act of presumptuous audacity, which was altogether at variance with calmness and moderation;" and in the juxtaposition of the prohibition to drink wine and the command to abstain from the signs of mourning, it was distinctly intimated, as *O. von Gerlach* says, that "whilst nothing from without should depress the

priest, he was not to allow his senses to be taken away by unnatural excitement. His whole attention was to be fixed upon the sacred acts which he was commanded to perform.

## CONTINUATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE SINAITIC LEGISLATION.

§ 19. (Lev. xi.–xxvii.)—After the priests had been consecrated and had entered upon their office, the theocratic legislation was still further continued, and several groups of laws were issued respecting Levitical impurity, marriage, festivals, etc. (1). In the midst of these laws (Lev. xxiv. 10–23) we find an account of the punishment of a blasphemer (2). A man whose father was an Egyptian, and whose mother was an Israelitish woman, named Shelomith, of the tribe of Dan, quarrelled with an Israelite; and whilst they were contending, the former cursed the name of Jehovah. The witnesses of the crime brought the guilty man to Moses, who detained him in custody till he had learned the will of Jehovah with regard to this extraordinary occurrence. Eventually, the blasphemer was led out of the camp in accordance with the Divine command; and after the witnesses had laid their hands upon his head, he was stoned by the whole congregation (4). The anniversary of the Exodus from Egypt occurred at this period, and was celebrated in the manner already prescribed, namely, by the feast of the passover (Ex. xii.). This was the first passover which was kept in commemoration of the redemption of Israel (Num. ix. 1–3).

(1.) The Sinaitic legislation, regarded as a whole, terminates with the promises and threats contained in chap. xxvi., and is closed by the formula in chap. xxvi. 46. But as the law, throughout, bears unmistakeable proofs of having been delivered at successive periods, since it is not arranged systematically, but consists of smaller or larger groups of commandments related to one another, and arranged according to the requirements of the time or of peculiar circumstances, there is nothing to occasion surprise in the fact that, notwithstanding this termination, from

some cause which it was not thought worth while to mention, a further *supplement* was necessary, even during the stay of the Israelites at Sinai. Such, for example, are the legal provisions contained in chap. xxvii., with regard to the performance of voluntary vows. Hence we find the same formula in ver. 34 of this chapter as in chap. xxvi. 46: "These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in Mount Sinai." There is also a proof of the supplementary character of the chapter in the contents themselves, seeing that it merely includes "the free movements of the spirit beyond the limits of the law," in the order of things with which God is well pleased.

(2.) *Bertheau* (Sieben Gruppen, p. 220 sqq.) has attacked the book, on the ground that nothing but misapprehension and the want of skill could have led the author to introduce *the account of the blasphemer*, and, in fact, the whole of the 24th chapter, in so unsuitable a place. But the absolute impossibility of finding even the most remote connection between the laws and narrative contained in chap. xxiv. and the context on either side, or of tracing any progress of thought from one to the other, is the very thing which compels us to seek the reason for this arrangement in the historical order of events alone, and to regard the introduction of chap. xxiv. (ver. 1–9: laws relating to the candlestick and the table of shew-bread; ver. 10–23: account of the blasphemer, and laws to which the occurrence gave rise) between chap. xxiii., which contains laws concerning the festivals, and chap. xxv., which relates to the Sabbatic year and year of jubilee, as occasioned by purely historical circumstances. The writer thought it worth while to notice the incident which gave rise to the laws in vers. 15–22, but we are not informed what it was that occasioned the laws relating to the oil of the candlestick and the shew-bread;—probably because there was nothing in the circumstances that seemed likely to interest the future reader.

(3.) The repetition of the statement, that the blasphemer was the son of an EGYPTIAN father and an Israelitish mother, shows clearly the design of the author to direct attention to the dangers incident to such mixed marriages as these. He leaves us in ignorance as to the inducement to take the name of God in vain. It is probable that the adversary of the half-Israelite

had charged the latter with his Egyptian descent as a disgrace, adding, it may be, that he had no part in the God of Israel and the covenant with Him; and if this were the case, the latter might easily have been carried away by his passion to speak contemptuously of Jehovah, especially if his birth on the father's side had not been without its effect upon the state of his heart in relation to the highest blessings enjoyed by Israel. —We have already observed (vol. ii. § 20, 6) that it was from this passage that the Rabbins derived their prohibition even to utter the name of Jehovah.

(4.) The proper place for treating more minutely of the IMPOSITION OF HANDS will be in connection with the laws of sacrifice, which will come under our notice by and by. At present, therefore, we shall say no more than is necessary to enable us to understand this particular occurrence.—A precisely analogous instance of the imposition of hands we find in the History of Susannah, ver. 34. From this it is evident that the custom was, or became, a very general one in such cases as these.—*Bähr* (*Symbolik* ii. 342) regards it as, on the one hand, "an intimation of the relation in which the hearers stood to the blasphemer, and on the other, a sign of his being given up, or consecrated to death." There is truth undoubtedly in the former, though it ought to have been more fully explained and demonstrated. But we are at a loss to perceive in what way the imposition of hands could have denoted dedication to death. *Hofmann* has overlooked this passage in his discussion of the general meaning of the practice (*Schriftbeweis* ii. 1, p. 155 seq.). At the proper place I intend to show, that his explanation of this symbolical act is no more applicable to the case before us, than to the custom of laying hands upon the head of the sacrificial victim. With reference to the latter, he says, "The meaning of the act is this: he shows that he intends to make use of his power over the life of the animal, and therefore puts it to death as a payment to God." I still hold essentially the same opinion as I have expressed in my *Mosaisches Opfer*, with which *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 280) also agrees. I may be allowed to quote his successful explanation: "According to the sentence of Jehovah," he says, "the whole congregation was to be regarded as participating in the crime of the individual, because every one was a living member of the whole. For this

reason the punishment was committed to the whole congregation. By this punishment, for example, the congregation was to give back to the criminal its share of the guilt, and, having led him out of the camp and put him to death, to wipe off the sin from Israel. That this was the light in which the punishment was viewed is especially apparent, from the fact that the witnesses who heard the blasphemy, and therefore were more immediately concerned than the rest of the congregation (Lev. v. 1), were required to lay their hands upon the head of the sinner, and thus, by their own act and deed, to cast off the guilt which they had involuntarily contracted, and transfer it to the head of the sinner. In this way the outward punishment became a moral act, performed by the whole congregation, and entered into such an inward relation to the crime, that it could really be regarded as an extermination of the sin." In other cases, the elders stood in the breach, as the actual representatives of the congregation. But in circumstances such as the present, it is easy to see why this representation, which would otherwise be so perfectly natural, should be set aside. A sin of this description, whose destructive character was such that it violated or set at nought the very foundation of the entire theocratical commonwealth, involved the whole congregation in the guilt of the criminal with whom it was vitally connected; until, indeed, the sin itself, which proceeded from within itself and infected the whole body, had been rendered nugatory and entirely removed by the destruction of the sinner who was the source of the infection. For all infection, which from its very nature is communicated, and not spontaneous, becomes spontaneous; in other words, assumes the character of participation in guilt, whenever it is tolerated, instead of being most strenuously resisted. But the eye and ear-witnesses are the most directly and most deeply involved in this infection, and the guilt to which it leads; and, therefore, the duty of resistance is primarily and principally binding upon them, and it is they who have to stand in the breach on such an occasion as representatives of the whole congregation. By laying their hands upon the head of the sinner, then, they give back the infection which they have received, to the man from whom it first proceeded. Henceforth he alone has to bear the entire sin, and this is expiated by his death.

The mode of execution which was here employed, namely, that of *stoning*, was one of great importance, seeing that this was the only mode of capital punishment, in which the whole nation could participate in the execution of the sentence.

## PREPARATIONS FOR LEAVING SINAI.

§ 20. (Num. i.–vi.)—The design of the encampment at Sinai was now fulfilled. The covenant was concluded; the law had been given; the sanctuary was erected; the priests were consecrated; the worship had been arranged; and Jehovah dwelt in the midst of His chosen people. It was now time to think of departing, in order that the purpose to which the Israelites had been set apart might be accomplished. The immediate object was to take possession of the promised land. But this could not be done in a peaceable manner, for Canaan was inhabited by powerful and warlike tribes (Ex. xxiii. 23, xxxiv. 11). It must be conquered, therefore; and the conquest of the land was to be connected with the extermination of the inhabitants, for the iniquity of the Amorites was now full (Gen. xv. 16). They had become ripe for judgment, and Israel was to execute it in the name and by the command of Jehovah. It was necessary, therefore, that the Israelites should be organised as an army of Jehovah. To this end a census was taken of those who were fit for war, viz., all the men of twenty years old and upward. The tribe of Levi alone was omitted. For this tribe, which had changed the curse of the patriarch Jacob into a blessing, through its zeal for the honour of God (§ 13, 8), was to be set apart from the rest of the tribes, and spend its life in the service of the sanctuary. Through this separation of an entire tribe, the significant number, twelve, which had been disturbed by the adoption of Joseph's sons (Gen. xlviii.), was once more restored. As the numbering of the tribes was so closely related to the vocation of Israel, it was carried out with fitting pomp and ceremony. Moses and Aaron performed the task themselves, attended by one of the princes from each of the twelve tribes. The result of

the census was the following:—*Reuben*, 46,500; *Simeon*, 59,300; *Gad*, 46,650; *Judah*, 74,600; *Issachar*, 54,400; *Zebulon*, 57,400; *Ephraim*, 40,500; *Manasseh*, 32,200; *Benjamin*, 35,400; *Dan*, 62,700; *Asher*, 41,500; and *Naphtali*, 53,400: in all, 603,550 fighting men (1). Judah was the strongest and most numerous, therefore, of all the tribes. This was to be regarded as the first-fruits of the blessing which the patriarch had pronounced upon the founder of this tribe (Gen. xlix. 8–12); and in accordance with the prophecy, Judah was placed at the head of all the tribes, and the prince of the tribe of Judah, named Nahshon (Nacheshon), was the first of all the princes of Israel.

After this the *Levites* also were numbered. In this tribe there were in all 22,000 males, including the boys of a month old and upwards, and 8580 between thirty and fifty years of age, the period of service (2). Further arrangements were now made, for the purpose of carrying out the instructions already given with reference to the sanctification of all the first-born (vol. ii. § 35, 5). The Levites were to take the place of the first-born of all the tribes,—to be set apart to the service of the sanctuary, as the Lord's own; and their cattle was to be substituted for the first-born of the cattle of the whole congregation. But when the first-born of the whole congregation had been counted, they numbered 22,273. To equalise the two, it was determined that the 273, the number by which the first-born exceeded the Levites, should be redeemed at five shekels each, and the redemption money paid over to the priests (3). As the whole community was to be organised as an army of Jehovah, it was necessary that the order of march and of encampment should be precisely determined. The tabernacle was to stand in the midst of the camp, that the dwelling-place of Jehovah might be literally in the midst of the people. Next to the tabernacle stood the tents of the tribe of *Levi:* those of Moses, and Aaron, and the priests, the sons of the latter, on the east side, immediately before the entrance to the sanctuary; those of the family of the *Kohathites* to the south; those of the *Gershonites* on the west;

and those of the *Merarites* on the north. Three tribes were then stationed on each of the four sides. The principal tribe of the three occupied the centre, and had a banner which was common to all the three. *Judah* was encamped on the front or east side, along with Issachar and Zebulon; *Reuben* on the south, with Simeon and Gad; *Ephraim* on the west, with Manasseh and Benjamin; and *Dan* on the north, with Asher and Naphtali (4). The order of *march* was to be similar to this (5). Judah's banner led the way; then followed Reuben; after this the Levites with the tent; Ephraim came next; and Dan brought up the rear (6). These arrangements were accompanied by a series of laws (chaps v. and vi.), which principally related to the preservation of the holiness of the camp by the removal of material and spiritual impurities (7).

(1.) There is something striking in the fact, that the *census* which was taken now, gave precisely the same result as the poll-tax, which was levied at the commencement of the erection of the tabernacle about half-a-year before (Ex. xxxviii. 24–28, compare § 16). *J. D. Michaelis*, in his *Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*, solves the difficulty in the following manner: In Ex. xxxviii., he says, there is no account of an actual numbering, but every one who was more than twenty years old paid his tax, and was registered accordingly. But on the present occasion Moses received instructions to arrange the lists and sum them up (chap. i., ii.). The names had been given in before, though the actual counting took place now; and therefore Moses did not hesitate, when recording the account of the tax, to insert what were afterwards found to be the actual numbers.—But there is no intimation whatever of the names being registered when the tax was levied, and in itself it does not appear to be at all a probable thing. If the numbers in both instances are founded upon one and the same census, which we also regard as probably the case, we must look for the census in question, not to Ex. xxxviii., but to Num. i. We are shut up to this by the solemnity and formality with which the census in Num. i. was commanded, organised, and carried out. In Ex. xxxviii. we have simply the raising of a tax, and no numbering at all. And as the increase or decrease in the number of the people must

have been very trifling in the brief space of six or seven months, the result might be employed without hesitation in giving the amount which the poll-tax yielded.

We are also struck with the fact, that the amount is given in round hundreds in the case of every tribe excepting Gad, and that in this instance the fifty is inserted. The thought is hereby suggested, that the numbers were taken by tens, if not by fifties. The judicial classification proposed by Jethro (Ex. xviii. 21) was probably taken as the basis; and if so, it would be only in the case of the chiefs that the numbers would be carried beyond fifty. In any case, we prefer the conjecture that there was some such want of precision as this, to the notion expressed by *Baumgarten*, who regards the fact, that in the case of every tribe the result yielded such round numbers as these, as a proof of the special providence of God. In his opinion, since the supposition of any such inaccuracy as this is incompatible with the care and completeness which are apparent throughout, and as it could not possibly apply to the case of the Levites, whose numbers must of necessity be given with precision, "it must be acknowledged that in this natural harmony (*Concinnität*) in the numbers of the Israelites, we have the evident seal of the care with which the increase of the nation was superintended by Jehovah."

(2.) The numbers contained in the various families into which the Levites were divided were as follows:—In the family of *Kohath* there were, in all, 8600 males, of whom 2750 were fit for service; in that of *Gershon* 7500 males, with 2630 fit for service; and in that of *Merari* 6200 males, of whom 3200 were fit for service. If we add these figures together, we shall find that they amount to 22,300, whereas, according to chap. iii. 39, there were not more than 22,000. The simplest solution of the difficulty is to assume that, through the fault of a copyist, an error has crept into one of the numbers. *J. D. Michaelis* (*Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte*) is of opinion that there is an error in the number of the Kohathites in ver. 28; that the original letters were שלש instead of שש; and therefore that the Kohathites numbered not 8600, but 8300. A still more natural explanation is, that the error was caused by some change in the numeral letters, such, for example, as the substitution of ם = 600 for ש = 300, or of ך = 500 for ר = 200, or, again, of ו = 6 for ג = 3. The careful and valuable investigations of *Reinke* into

the statement of numbers in the Old Testament (in his *Beiträgen zur Erklärung des Alten Testamentes*, Münster, 1851), has shown still more convincingly that changes of this kind in the numeral letters, both in the text of the Old Testament and also in the ancient versions, have given rise to a considerable number of errors.

The favourite solution with most of the Rabbins and many modern writers, *viz.*, that the three hundred deducted were the first-born, and therefore could not be reckoned with the rest, is inadmissible. For if the first-born were not to be counted along with the rest, the rule would apply to the particular amounts as well as to the sum total. *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 263) endeavours to commend this hypothesis still further, by the remark that "the silent omission of the 300 first-born was intended in this particular instance to conceal the fact, that there were limits to the assumed holiness of Levi, which were manifested in the inability to redeem Israel, in order that the relation between Levi and Israel might not be disturbed." But such a procedure as this would have produced the very opposite result from that which was designed; for the omission of the first-born from the sum total, whilst they were included in the smaller amounts, would have brought to light the very thing which it was desired to conceal.—Moreover, the disproportion is too great between 300 first-born and the entire number, 22,300; this would give only *one* first-born to *seventy-four* males.

If we compare the number of the tribe of Levi with that of the other tribes, we find a very striking disproportion here. In Manasseh, the smallest of all the tribes, there were 32,200 males above twenty years of age. The entire number of the males contained in this tribe must have amounted, therefore, to about 50,000; whereas in Levi there were not more than 22,000. We accept this as a simple fact, without looking further for the historical causes or design. *Baumgarten's* remark, that "the importance of this tribe rested upon that which was within, and not upon anything outward," really explains nothing. We should be rather inclined to think of the curse in Gen. xlix., were it not that this was altogether precluded by the population of Simeon, on which the same curse had been pronounced.

(3.) It had been already commanded (Ex. xiii.), that all the first-born both of men and cattle should be consecrated to Jehovah.

From the night in which the destroying angel of Jehovah had passed over the houses of the Israelites, all the first-born of men and cattle had been holy to the Lord, and His peculiar property (Num. iii. 12, 13). The former could only become *sui juris*, and the latter the disposable property of their possessors, after Jehovah had appointed a redemption, and the redemption had been paid. This was what took place on the present occasion (ver. 45). In the place of the first-born of men, God chose the Levites, and in the place of the first-born of cattle, the cattle of the Levites. Aaron and his sons did not belong to the Levites; for they had already been separated from their tribe and consecrated to the priesthood. In fact, the Levites were now given to them for a possession, to be their servants in the tabernacle (Num. iii. 6–9, and viii. 19). It is very evident from this that the sanctification of the first-born commanded in Ex. xiii. had nothing whatever to do with the priesthood (vol. ii., § 35, 5). The Levites were not priests, but the property of the priests; and the priests were not appointed in the place of the first-born, but in the stead of the whole nation, which was called, according to Ex. xix. 6, to be a kingdom of priests, but did not feel itself to be ripe and thoroughly qualified (Ex. xx. 19).—In the substitution of the cattle of the Levites for the first-born cattle of the whole congregation, it was not required that the numbers on either side should exactly correspond. But this *was* required in the substitution of the Levites for the first-born sons. The excess of 273, therefore, on the side of the latter, had to be redeemed by the payment of five shekels each, which were handed over to the priests in the sanctuary (ver. 50). But it was not merely the first-born then living who were to be holy to the Lord; all that should be afterwards born were to be the same. Hence the obligation to redeem the first-born continued even after the substitution of the Levites. The necessary instructions with reference to these are given in Num. xviii. 14–18.

It may appear strange, that in a nation containing 603,550 fighting men, there should be only 22,273 first-born. For if there were 600,000 males of twenty years old and upwards, the whole number of males may be estimated at 900,000 at least; in which case there would be only *one* first-born to *forty-two* males. At the first glance this appears thoroughly incredible; for the conclusion to which it seems to lead is, that the number

of boys in every family must have been, on an average, forty-two. *J. D. Michaelis* (Mosaisches Recht ii., § 94) adheres firmly to this, and endeavours to account for it from the prevalence of polygamy among the Israelites!!! But even if we could make up our minds to believe anything so incredible, the difficulty would not be removed; for it is beyond all question that it is not the first-begotten of the fathers, but the first-born of the mothers, who are referred to here (chap. iii. 12). In this case, the existence of polygamy, as may easily be conceived, would only serve to render the difficulty perfectly colossal.—We must inquire, therefore, whether there are no other means of explaining the fact, that on an average there was only one first-born to forty-two males. There are plenty. The *first* is the rarity of polygamy, which lessened the proportion of the first-born. A *second*, the large number of children to whom the Israelitish mothers gave birth. Again, the constantly recurring expression, "Every first-born that openeth the womb," which we find even in Num. iii. 12, warrants the conclusion that the first-born of the father was not reckoned, unless it was at the same time the first-born of the mother, and also to the still more important assumption, that if the first-born was a daughter, any son that might be born afterwards would not be reckoned at all. Now, statistical tables show that the first-born is more frequently a female than a male.—*Lastly*, such of the first-born, as were themselves heads of families, were not reckoned at all as first-born who had to be redeemed, but only their first-born sons. If we carry out the last argument, and bear in mind the early age at which marriage is usually contracted in the East, we shall have to seek the first-born exclusively among those who were under fifteen or sixteen years of age. In this case, the proportion is essentially altered. With a population of 600,000 men above twenty years of age, we may assume that there would be 200,000 under fifteen; if so, the number of the first-born (22,273), in proportion to the whole number of males, would be one in nine. But for the reason mentioned under No. 3, this ratio must be reduced by a half; and the average number of children in a family would be nine, of whom four or five would be sons,—by no means an extravagant number, when we consider how prolific the Hebrew women were.—*M. Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 264) has suggested a totally different and very

peculiar method of solving the difficulty. In his opinion, we are warranted in inferring from Lev. xxvii. 6, that in this instance only such of the first-born were counted, as had been born within the last six years. The passage referred to determines the redemption fee, to be paid by those who have made voluntary personal vows; and the sum to be paid for a boy from a month to five years old is the same as that required here in the case of all the first-born, viz., five shekels, whereas a man between twenty and sixty years old was required to pay fifty shekels. But the command in Num. iii. 40 ran thus: "Number all the first-born of the males *from a month old and upward.*" If there had been any age, then, beyond which the numbering was not to go, it would undoubtedly have been mentioned here. But there is nothing of the kind. And on what could an arbitrary and unmeaning limitation of this kind possibly be founded? The argument adduced by *Baumgarten* in support of his view, namely, that all the first-born of the Israelites who partook of the passover in Egypt had been already redeemed by so doing, has no foundation in anything contained in the Bible. And if this were the case, why should not the boys of three or four years old have eaten of the passover, and thus have been already redeemed?

The reason why the numbering was to commence with the boys of a *month* old is to be found in the fact that, according to the directions contained in the law, the redemption was to take place at the end of the second month.

(4.) In the plan of the camp, care was taken that two things should be secured—first, that the dwelling-place of Jehovah should be as nearly as possible in the *centre* of the camp, and secondly, that the tribes should form themselves into a *square*, the priests and Levites being nearest to the tabernacle, and the others surrounding them. There was evidently a symbolical meaning in both cases. The former represented the presence of Jehovah in the midst of His people; the latter, by pointing to the four quarters of the heavens, as well as from its quadrate form, exhibited the camp as a microcosm. Of course, a perfect square could not be secured in every place of encampment; the nature of the ground would frequently render this impossible. In such cases, all that could be done was to come as near to the plan laid down as the ground would allow.

It was only upon a broad level that the form enjoined could be fully secured.

(5.) When the camp was broken up, the work of the *priests* was to wrap up the furniture of the sanctuary carefully in cloths, and prepare them for being carried away,—a task which they alone could perform, seeing that no one else was allowed to enter the tabernacle, or to look upon the things contained therein. The family of the *Kohathites*, to which Moses and Aaron belonged, and of which Eleazar, the son of Aaron, had been appointed prince, was the most holy; and to his family, therefore, was allotted the duty of bearing upon their shoulders the sacred vessels of the sanctuary. The *Gershonites* attended to the furniture, the curtains, the covering, the carpets, and so forth; and the *Merarites* to the boards, the bolts, and the pillars (compare § 24, 1).

(6.) According to Num. ii. 17 and x. 21, the dwelling-place and its furniture were carried by the Kohathites in the midst of the procession. But it is evident from Num. x. 33 (compare Josh. iii. 3–6), that the *ark of the covenant* was separated from the sanctuary, and carried at the head of the entire procession. This was occasioned by the connection between the ark of the covenant and the pillar of cloud and fire. The lid of the ark, the *Capporeth*, was the throne of Jehovah, who was represented by the pillar of cloud. But the latter went in front as the leader and guide; and this determined the place of the ark.

(7.) On the position of the commands contained in Num. v., vi. see *Ranke's Untersuchungen*, iii. 138 sqq.

§ 21. (Num. vii., viii.)—The princes of the tribes then brought their offerings for the sanctuary, viz., every man an ox; a carriage for every two, to carry the sanctuary on the march that was before them; every man a silver dish worth 130 shekels, and a silver bowl worth 70 shekels, for the altar of burnt-offering, both full of flour mingled with oil for a meat-offering; a golden cup, weighing ten shekels, full of incense; and, lastly, an ox, a ram, and a lamb for a burnt-offering, a goat for a sin-offering, also two bullocks, five he-goats, five rams, and five lambs for a thank-offering. They all brought their offerings on separate days. Nahesson, the prince of the tribe of Judah,

was the first in the series (1). They were free-will offerings, by which the princes of the community displayed their zeal for the dwelling-place of Jehovah, and also, as the representatives of the congregation, consecrated the place, which had already been consecrated by Moses and Aaron as the representatives of God. With this was connected the appointment of the Levites to the service of the sanctuary in place of the whole congregation (§ 20, 3). To this end the Levites were ordered to shave their whole body, to wash their clothes, and to offer sacrifices as their atonement. The elders then laid their hands upon them, as a sign that they were given to the sanctuary as substitutes for the congregation, and they were "waved" before Jehovah, probably in the fore-court of the sanctuary; that is to say, they were conducted backwards and forwards to the four quarters of the heavens, to show that they belonged to the place, to the service of which their life was to be henceforward entirely dedicated (2).

(1). The word בְּיוֹם (*on the day*) in vers. 1 and 10, has led critics to the conclusion that the tenth chapter of Numbers is not in its proper place, but should stand immediately after the account of the erection and dedication of the sanctuary, which we find in Ex. xl. 16. On this *Ranke* observes (ii. 146): "This would be very unfortunate in the case of a section which presents so fine a view of the Sinaitic history. After such extraordinary acts on the part of Jehovah, which might almost all be immediately recognised as acts of mercy, it would naturally be expected that there should be some mark of grateful acknowledgment and cheerful submission on the part of the people. It had been to a very great extent with free-will offerings that the sanctuary had been erected. But what progress the revelation of God had made since then! It affords a peculiar satisfaction to witness in the present section the abundance of the gifts presented to the sanctuary by the whole of the princes of the tribes. For twelve days in succession the princes brought, each on his own appointed day, gifts and sacrifices, and in every case precisely the same; as if each tribe was desirous of showing that it had the same part in the sanctuary as all the rest. By being recorded in the book of the law, these gifts became at the same

time an encouragement to subsequent generations, to imitate the fathers in rendering voluntary service to the house of Jehovah." —At an earlier period, no doubt, the congregation had brought their voluntary offerings in great abundance for erecting and furnishing the dwelling-place of Jehovah (§ 16), but they had done this in consequence of the appeal of Moses and the command of Jehovah (Ex. xxv. 2, xxxv. 5); and even if no one was compelled to contribute, the voluntary character of the offering was still affected by the appeal. But after such displays of mercy on the part of Jehovah, we certainly look for an expression of gratitude in the shape of a perfectly voluntary offering, for which no appeals or instructions were necessary, but which would be the simple impulse of the heart of the giver. We are not deceived in our expectation. This was done by the princes of the congregation. That the expression of gratitude was in its proper place is a fact which no one can deny. It would never have occurred to them to offer carriages and beasts of burden, had it not been for their anticipated departure. And even the twelve days' sacrifices, and gifts for the consecration of the altar, were in their proper place here. On any previous occasion such an offering as this would have been regarded as an officious and reprehensible work of supererogation. So long as Jehovah was issuing instructions and commands respecting the erection of the sanctuary, and the worship to be performed within it, it would have been an act of unseemly haste and forwardness for them to anticipate His instructions by any act of their own.—So far as the expression בְּיוֹם is concerned, there is not much force in the argument which has been based upon it; for the very fact that twelve entire days were so occupied, is a proof that the expression cannot be taken literally. We can subscribe to *Baumgarten's* opinion, therefore, when he says: "The relation in which ביום stands to the account which follows is this: in its inner ground the offering originated in the day of the dedication (by Moses), inasmuch as the sanctuary, when consecrated and filled with the glory of Jehovah, had given pleasure to the Israelites, and excited a disposition to do it honour." With regard to the consecration on the part of the nation, as well as on the part of God, the same commentator writes: "The first consecration which the altar received, when it was anointed by Moses, excited a desire on the part of Israel

to consecrate the place, and the thought was carried into execution as soon as the congregation was organised into a camp of God." The laudable self-restraint and modesty, which we pointed out in the fact that the princes waited for all the instructions of Jehovah with regard to the sanctuary to be completed before they brought their gifts, is apparent also in a manner equally worthy of recognition, in the fact that they confined themselves altogether to a consecration of the altar of burnt-offering, and did not presume to consecrate the furniture of the inner sanctuary, the latter belonging exclusively to the priestly worship, whereas the former was the place where every member of the congregation could offer his gifts to Jehovah.

The six carriages with the twelve oxen were naturally assigned to the Levites, since they were intended for the conveyance of the sanctuary, and were allotted to them according to the service which they had to perform. The Kohathites received none, therefore, because the articles which they had to remove were required to be carried upon their shoulders, on account of their superior holiness. The Gershonites received two wagons and four oxen ; and the Merarites, who had to convey the heaviest and most bulky of the articles, received four wagons and eight oxen (compare § 20, 5).

(2.) We shall enter more minutely into the ceremonies that were performed in connection with the substitution and dedication of the Levites, in our systematic treatment of the general question of the worship of God.—On the injunctions contained in Num. viii. 1–4, see *Ranke*, ii. 153 sqq.—Also with regard to the apparent discrepancy between Num. viii. 24 sqq. and Num. iv. 3, from the one of which the Levitical age of service appears to have been between twenty-five and fifty years of age, and from the other between thirty and fifty, I must refer the reader to a later portion of this work. In the meantime see *Ranke*, *Untersuchungen*, ii. 158 sqq. ; *Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, ii. 321 sqq. ; and *Keil*, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, p. 91.

§ 22. (Num. ix. 1–x. 10.)—In the midst of these proceedings, the anniversary of the departure from Egypt arrived. In accordance with the instructions of Moses, therefore, the congregation celebrated, for the first time, the memorial festival

of the passover, in the manner prescribed by the law (1). But there were certain men in the congregation, who, just at this time, had been defiled by the dead body of a man, and were, therefore, disqualified for partaking of the paschal lamb; and they complained bitterly to Moses that they should be excluded when they had not been to blame. This circumstance furnished the occasion for a legal provision, that any who might be prevented from taking part in the regular passover, by causes which left them free from blame, should be allowed to keep a supplementary feast on the fourteenth day of the *second* month.—Lastly, we have an account of the signals which were to regulate the march through the desert (2).

(1.) It is by no means an easy matter to picture to one's mind the *plan* pursued, in the celebration of this the first memorial-feast of the passover. The difficulty arises from the *small number of priests who could be employed.* There were only three left after the death of Nadab and Abihu, namely, Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar. Now, if we assume that all the lambs were slain at the sanctuary, according to the injunction contained in Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6 (*cf.* Ex. xxiii. 17), and consider further that but a very few hours were set apart for the slaughter of the lambs (vol. ii., § 34, 3), whilst, according to the laws of sacrifice which were then in force, the sprinkling of the blood was, at all events, to be performed by the priests, it might be thought that the number of priests whose services could be obtained would hardly suffice for the work to be done. For if we suppose the people to have numbered about two million souls, and reckon, on an average, one lamb to every fifteen or twenty persons (the proportion laid down in Ex. xii. 4), there must have been from a hundred thousand to a hundred and forty thousand lambs slain, and the blood sprinkled on the altar,—a process for which neither the time allowed, nor the number of the priests, can by any possibility have sufficed.—But are we justified in making such an assumption? It is nowhere stated that, on the occasion of this first festival in commemoration of the Exodus, the lambs were slaughtered at the sanctuary, or that their blood either was, or was to be, sprinkled upon the

altar; nor is there any notice of the services of the priests being required. But does this silence give us a right altogether to deny that the work in question was performed by the priests? In Ex. xxiii. 17 it is commanded, that at the annual feast of the passover, all the men in Israel are to appear before the *face* of Jehovah. In Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, it is expressly forbidden to slay the paschal lambs anywhere else, than at "the *place*, which the Lord shall choose to place His name there." And according to 2 Chr. xxx. 16, and xxxv. 11 (though it is nowhere expressly commanded in the Pentateuch), the blood of all the paschal lambs was sprinkled on the altar by the *priests*. At the same time, there is certainly good ground for questioning, whether the same course was adopted in all respects in connection with the passover at Sinai. Ex. xxiii. 17, and Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, relate particularly to the time, when the Israelites *would be* scattered in the various cities of the promised land, and far removed from the sanctuary; and the passages in the Chronicles refer to the reigns of the last kings, just before the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. These facts might lead us to suppose that the slaughter of the lambs did not take place at the sanctuary till after the Israelites had taken possession of the Holy Land; and the sprinkling of the blood on the part of the priests was probably first introduced at a still later period. To such a supposition, however, there are by no means unimportant objections. For if the slaughter of the lambs was to take place at the sanctuary in the time of Joshua, it is difficult to see why this should not also have been the case in the time of Moses, seeing that the tabernacle was already erected, and the services in connection with it were regularly performed; and if the slaughter of the lamb was necessarily associated with the sanctuary, the sprinkling of the blood appears to have been associated with it as a matter of course, for this alone could give significance to all the rest (and, according to all analogy, it must be done by priestly hands).

Let us look again, however, and a little more closely, at the 16th chapter of Deuteronomy. We have been led away by recent custom, and in what we have already written, have interpreted it as commanding the paschal lamb to be slain in the forecourt of the tabernacle. But there is not a word to that effect. The passage is worded thus: "Thou mayest not sacri-

fice the passover *in one of thy cities*, which Jehovah will give thee; but *at the place* which Jehovah shall choose to place His name in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even." This place is *not* the tabernacle, nor the forecourt of the tabernacle, but the city (or the camp) in the midst of which the tabernacle was erected. The pilgrimage to this place, which is here enjoined, was required by the distance of the cities of the land in which Israel dwelt. By means of this pilgrimage on the part of all the Israelitish men to the city of the sanctuary, the same state of things, which existed when all Israel lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the sanctuary, was to be restored at least three times a-year. Hence it was no violation of the precept in Deut xvi., if every family killed its own lamb in its own house or tent; for, even in this case, the lamb was slain *at the sanctuary*, seeing that the camp, which surrounded the tabernacle on all sides in the same manner as the forecourt (though with a much wider circumference), or the city in the midst of which the tabernacle was erected, was, as it were, a second and larger forecourt, which was also holy, though not in the same degree. It was commanded, it must be remembered, that everything unclean should be removed from the camp.—The large number of lambs to be slain, imperatively demanded that this second and more extensive forecourt should be provided for the slaughter of the paschal lambs; for how could more than a hundred thousand lambs by any possibility be killed in a short space of time within an area of about 4600 square yards, which was the utmost extent of the actual forecourt? We are brought to the conclusion, therefore, that the Mosaic law permitted the lambs to be killed in private houses, provided the houses were within the camp or city, in which the tabernacle was erected. The circumstance which first led to this ceased after the erection of the temple; as the forecourt was then of an incomparably greater extent, and the custom of slaying all the lambs at the temple, which we meet with in 2 Chr. xxx. and xxxv., may have been introduced as soon as the temple was built.

A far greater difficulty presents itself in the supposed sprinkling of the blood by the priests. But what were the actual facts of the case?—When the tabernacle was first instituted, it was commanded that the blood of the lambs should be

smeared on the door-posts of the respective houses (Ex. xii. 7). This command is nowhere expressly revoked or changed. We are of opinion, nevertheless, that the altered circumstances led, as a matter of course, after the erection of the sanctuary, to the sprinkling of the blood on the altar, in the place of smearing it upon the door-posts; and the book of Chronicles shows that this actually was the custom. But the exceptional character of the passover warrants the assumption, that on every occasion, just as on the first celebration, the sprinkling of the blood might be performed by the head of the household himself. If this had not been the case, we should most likely have found some intimation in the passage before us (Num. ix.) of the co-operation of the priests. We are warranted, therefore, in adopting the conclusion, to which many other circumstances point, that on the celebration of the passover the priestly vocation which, according to Ex. xix. 6, originally belonged to all the Israelites, retained its validity as an exceptional case, *for the purpose of keeping in mind the calling* which they had voluntarily declined from a consciousness of their weakness (Ex. xx. 19), the realisation of which was merely postponed, and not suspended altogether, and to the full possession of which they would certainly eventually attain. The outward warrrant for the discharge of this exceptional priestly function, on the occasion of the passover, might possibly be found in the fact that the words of Ex. xx. 19 had not been spoken,—that is to say, the suspension of the priestly calling had not been solicited, or granted, at the time when the passover was first instituted.—It is true that the passages already quoted from the Chronicles prove that, at a later period, it was the custom for the blood to be sprinkled by the priests, even on the occasion of the passover; but this may have been one of the very numerous modifications which were introduced into the worship, in consequence of the erection of the temple.

(2.) The *signals* which regulated the breaking up of the camp, and the march itself, were of two kinds—namely, those which proceeded from Jehovah, and those which were given by Moses or the priests. The former were made by means of the different positions assumed by *the pillar of cloud and fire*. It had come down upon the sanctuary on the occasion of its consecration (Ex. xl. 34 sqq.). When it rose up from the tent, this

was the signal on the part of Jehovah that the camp was to be broken up; and whenever it came down upon any spot, the Israelites saw in this a sign that they were to encamp upon that spot. But as this signal only presented itself to the eye, and could therefore be easily overlooked by many, another signal was added by Moses or the priests, as the mediators between the Shechinah and the nation, which appealed to the ear as well. For this purpose Moses had provided, at the command of Jehovah, two silver trumpets (חֲצֹצְרֹת). When both trumpets were blown (תקע), this was a sign for the whole congregation (*i.e.*, probably all the elders) to assemble at the tabernacle. If only one was blown, it was a summons to the (twelve) princes of the congregation to come to the tabernacle. When a blast was blown with both the trumpets (תְּקַעְתֶּם תְּרוּעָה), this was the signal for the whole congregation to break up the encampment. At the first blast, the tents on the eastern side were struck; at the second, those on the south side, and so forth (§ 20).

## SECTION II.

### ISRAEL IN THE DESERT OF PARAN.

VIDE *J. Rowland's* appendix to *G. Williams'* "Holy City," p. 488 sqq.—*Fr. Tuch Bemerkungen zu Gen. xiv.*, in the "Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. i. Heft. ii., p. 160 sqq. (especially p. 169 sqq.)—*W. Fries*, "über die Lage von Kades und den hiemit zusammenhängenden Theil der Geschichte Israels in der Wüste:" in the "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," 1854, i. p. 50–90.—*Rabbi J. Schwarz* (of Jerusalem), "das heilige Land," Frankfort 1852, p. 347 sqq.—Also the works of *K. v. Raumer*, *Robinson*, *Laborde*, and *K. Ritter*, mentioned at the commencement of § 1. The last-named author has also published a small treatise in *Piper's* "Evangelischer Kalender," 1854, p. 41–55, entitled "die Wandrung des Volkes Israel durch die Wüste zum Jordan."

#### GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

§ 23. The *borders of the biblical desert of Paran* correspond, on the whole, to the boundaries assigned by the modern Bedouins to the *desert of et-Tih* (vol. ii. § 12). It embraces the tract of desert between Egypt, Palestine, and the mountains of Seir, which is separated from the Sinaitic peninsula (in the strictest sense) by the border mountains of et-Tih. This broad, desert tract of table-land is completely surrounded by a fringe of desert on a lower level. The desert of Jifar (or Shur) divides it *on the west* from the Egyptian territory (§ 2, 5), *on the south-west* be-

yond the mountains of er-Rahah, from the Heroopolitan gulf, and *on the north-west* from the Mediterranean. *On the north* it is separated from the mountains of the Amorites, the southern slope of the table-land of Palestine, by the broad valley of Murreh (or the desert of Sin, § 26, 1). *On the east* it falls abruptly into the Arabah, which divides it from the mountains of the Edomites; and *on the south*, on the other side of the mountains of et-Tih, stretches the sandy desert-plain of er-Ramleh, out of which the promontories of the mountains of Serbal and Sinai immediately rise. The old Testament furnishes indisputable proofs that the desert of Paran was quite as extensive as this.

(1.) To *Tuch* belongs the merit of having been the first to throw light upon what is meant in the Old Testament by the *desert of Paran* (see his excellent treatise mentioned above).—Such was the nature of the desert between Egypt, Palestine, and Edom, that it could hardly fail to be regarded as one desert, and called by a common name. This was really the case, then, in ancient as well as modern times. That it was situated between Edom, Midian, and Egypt, is evident from 1 Kings xi. 18. A number of passages may be brought to show that on the north it touched the southern boundary of Palestine (*e.g.* Gen. xxi. 21, compare ver 14; Num. xiii. 4, 18, 27, etc.). That it reached as far as the Elanitic gulf on the south-east, is evident from Gen. xiv. 6, where Chedorlaomer is represented as marching through the mountains of Seir on the eastern side from north to south as far as El-Paran (אֵל־פָּארָן), and then turning round and proceeding in a northerly direction along the western side of the mountains of Seir to Kadesh (on the southern borders of Palestine). This *El-Paran* (= Terebinth-grove of Paran), as *Tuch* has shown (p. 170), cannot be any other than the ancient *Elath* or *Aileh*, at the northern extremity of the Elanitic gulf to which it has given the name. Elath formed the actual gate of Arabia Petræa, and as such is distinguished here by the cognomen *Paran*. It is for this very reason that it is described as situated "at the entrance to the desert" (עַל־הַמִּדְבָּר). The march of the Israelites from Sinai to the southern borders of Palestine, which brought them into the desert of Paran at the end of three

days (Num. x. 12, 33), though they were still in the desert of Paran when they had reached their destination (Num. xiii. 1, 4, 27), confirms the statement as to its extent from north to south. The mountains of et-Tih (which commence immediately at the western shores of the Elanitic gulf, with the promontory of Ras Um Haiyeh, and continue in an uninterrupted curve to the vicinity of the gulf of Suez), along with the mountain chain Jebel er-Rahah, which joins them here and runs parallel to the coast of that gulf, form the southern and south-western boundary of the desert of Paran; and this is rendered the more indisputable by the fact that the table-land enclosed by this mountain chain has just the same character throughout. The desert of et-Tih is certainly divided into two halves by the Jebel el-Oejmeh and the large Wady of el-Arish, which run directly across it from north to south; but that the western half was formerly regarded as belonging to the desert of Paran, just as it does now to that of et-Tih, is evident from the relation in which the desert of Paran stood to the desert of Shur and to Egypt (Gen. xvi. 14, xx. 1, xxi. 21, xxv. 18), as well as to the country of the Amalekites. It is obvious from Gen. xiv. 6, and Deut. i. 1, that the Arabah formed its eastern boundary.

(2.) Notwithstanding the fact that the desert of et-Tih is so completely shut in towards the south by the mountains of et-Tih, it is still questionable whether the ancient desert of Paran did not extend still further southwards, viz., to the promontories of Sinai and Serbal, so as to include the present desert of er-Ramleh. Two things might be adduced in support of this. First, the name of the Wady *Feiran*, which passes round the mountains of Serbal in a northerly direction (§ 5, 3). In this exceedingly fertile valley there are still to be seen the ruins of a city called *Pharan*, which was once a place of some importance. But in spite of the similarity in the names, with so clearly defined a natural boundary as the Jebel et-Tih, we are not at liberty to place the boundaries of the desert of Paran so far south as this; still less can we follow *Raumer* (Zug der Israeliten, p. 38), who supposes that two deserts of the same name occur in Scripture, the one on the one side and the other on the other side of the mountains of et-Tih. It should be mentioned, however, that he has retracted this opinion in the third edition of his Geography of Palestine.

(3.) The second argument which might be adduced to prove that the desert of Paran extended further towards the south, is founded upon Num. x. 12, "the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and the cloud descended in the desert of Paran." According to this, the first halting-place after leaving Sinai (the "place of burning," or "graves of lust"), which was reached in *three* days (Num. x. 33), was in the desert of Paran. But if we turn to Num. xii. 16 ("the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran"), the *third* station from Sinai appears to have been the first which was situated in the desert of Paran. *Tuch* (p. 177) reconciles the two statements in this way. He assigns them to two different authors, both of whom had the same point in their mind (namely, the northern boundary of the desert of Paran), but "the earlier of whom passed over a series of halting-places, whilst the later supplemented chap. xii. 16, and mentioned the fact that the Israelites reached Paran from Chazeroth by crossing the ridge of the mountain." *Ranke* (ii. 198 seq.) and *Hengstenberg* (Balaam) adopt the same view, except that they maintain the unity of authorship notwithstanding. "Before entering more minutely into the details of the march," says *Ranke*, "which he does from chap. x. 33 onwards, the author mentions at the very outset (chap. x. 12) the ultimate destination, viz., Paran on the borders of the promised land." *Hengstenberg* also writes to the same effect: "After the *terminus a quo* (Sinai) and the *terminus ad quem* (Paran) have been given, there follow the particulars of the march: the place of burning, the graves of lust, Chazeroth, and the desert of Paran." But this solution appears to us a forced one. The natural course of the narrative in chap. x. compels us to refer ver. 12 to the first place of encampment. The statement contained in ver. 12 is repeated in ver. 33, after a few parenthetical remarks, and carried out still further. We adhere, therefore, to the view already expressed, that, according to Num. x. 12, the first station was situated within the limits of the desert of Paran. Chapter x. 12 gives us the most southerly, and chap. xiii. 1 the most northerly station in that desert. In this case the desert of Paran must undoubtedly have extended farther towards the south, than the principal chain of the mountains of et-Tih. For, according to Deut. i. 2, the entire distance from Sinai to Kadesh (to which we are brought in Num. xiii. 1, compare ver. 27) was

*eleven* days' journey; and if we divide the road from Sinai to Kadesh (on the southern border of Canaan) into eleven equal parts, the end of the third day's journey (chap. x. 33) will fall at any rate to the south of the Jebel et-Tih. But this need not astonish us, for it is well known that, in addition to the principal chain of these mountains (which runs close up to the sea in the vicinity of Ras Um Haiyeh), there is a side branch towards the south, which not only bears the same name, et-Tih, but which also runs in a south-easterly direction, and approaches the sea-coast. The end of the third day's journey falls within the triangle formed by the two branches of the Jebel et-Tih and the coast (according to the measurement afforded by Deut. i. 2), and we have no hesitation in reckoning this triangle as a portion of the desert of Paran, on the ground of the passage before us (chap. x. 12), for the very same reason that the southern branch of the mountain range is still called Jebel et-Tih.

§ 24. The large tract of desert which, as we have seen, is called in the Old Testament by the common name of the *Desert of Paran*, slopes generally downwards in the direction from south to north, and rises from west to east, until it falls abruptly into the Arabah. In Deut. i. 19 it is most appropriately designated a "great and terrible desert." In general, it consists of table-land, on which bare limestone and sandstone rocks, dazzling chalk and red sand-hills, are almost the sole relief from the parched and barren tracts of sand, interspersed with gravel and black flint-stones. At the same time, so much water falls in the wadys during the rainy season, that a scanty supply of grass and herbs may be found for the support of passing herds. There are also a few wells and fountains with a constant supply of water. The desert is divided into two halves, an eastern and a western, by the *Wady el-Arish* (called in the Old Testament "brook of Egypt," by the Greeks, "Rhinokolura") which runs completely from north to south. Although there are several by no means inconsiderable mountains in the western half, it is distinguished from the eastern by a far greater regularity and flatness in the soil. We need not enter into any minute de-

scription of the western half, as the sojourn of the Israelites was confined exclusively to the eastern. In the latter a large mountain-range, the *Jebel el-Oejmeh*, branches off from the Jebel et-Tih, near to the mouth of the Wady el-Arish, and runs parallel to the latter. The southern portion of this eastern half (about two-thirds of the whole) has throughout a similar character to the western. It consists of barren, sandy table-land, the surface of which is broken by but a very small number of isolated mountains. Its slope towards the north-east is indicated by the large *Wady el-Jerâfeh*, which commences at the foot of the Jebel et-Tih, and runs in a north-easterly direction to the Arabah, where it opens into the Wady el-Jib, through which it pours the waters of the desert into the Dead Sea.—But the last part, the northern third of this eastern half, has a totally different character. There suddenly rises from the plain a strong mountain fastness, of a rhomboid shape and of the same breadth as the Wady el-Jerâfeh, at the point where it joins the Arabah; and this mountain covers the whole of the northern portion of the eastern half of the desert. At the present day it is called, after its inhabitants, the *mountain country of the Azâzimeh*, or simply the *Azâzimat*.

§ 25. The interior of the mountain district of the Azâzimeh, which covers an area of about forty square miles, is still almost entirely a *terra incognita*. The inhospitable character of the district and the rapacity of its dreaded inhabitants have deterred travellers from penetrating further; and it is only quite recently that *Rowlands* has prepared the way for a more thorough investigation of this land, which is so important for biblical geography.—The *Azâzimat* forms a square, or, to speak more exactly, a rhomboid mountain fastness, which rises precipitously, almost perpendicularly, from the surrounding valleys or plains on the south, the east, and the north; and it is only on the western side that it slopes off more gradually towards the Wady el-Arish. As it is completely detached on

every side, and forms a compact mass with its gigantic mountain groups, it presents the most striking contrast to the desert by which it is surrounded, and would be altogether isolated, "were it not that, towards the north-west, instead of terminating abruptly in a corner column, a line of mountains intervenes, and thus prevents entire separation from the Amorite mountains." The *southern boundary wall* of this mountain fortress is formed by a range which rises steeply and in an imposing manner from the desert, and runs in a straight line from west to east, and which towers up to an immense height at both the eastern and western ends. The corner column towards the east, quite close to the Arabah, is called *Jebel el-Mekrah*, and that towards the west *Jebel Araif en-Nakah*. The eastern wall rises with equal abruptness from the Arabah, but is intersected by several defiles, which furnish approaches of more or less difficulty into our mountain fortress. The *northern boundary wall*, *Jebel Halal*, which had remained altogether unknown until very recently, is cut off almost vertically by a broad defile, the *Wady Murreh*, which runs from east to west, and opens into the Arabah. On the other side of this valley, the plateau *er-Rakmah*, the southern rampart of the Palestinian mountains of the Amorites, rises perpendicularly. The Wady Murreh is as much as ten or fifteen miles broad. At the eastern extremity the solitary *mountain of Madurah* (Moddera) rises in the very midst of the valley. To the south of this mountain the principal valley bends in a south-easterly direction towards the Arabah, still bearing the name of Wady Murreh, and to the north of the Madurah a side branch of the valley leads through el-Ghor to the Dead Sea, under the name of *Wady Fikreh*.—When passing through the Wady Murreh, the ascent is constant from the lowest level of the Arabah, and therefore the relative height of the mountain walls, by which it is enclosed on the north and south, is continually diminishing. You proceed westwards, and arrive at length at the *link*, already referred to, by which the south-western corner of the Amoritish pla-

teau of Rakmah is connected with the north-western corner of the Azâzimat. This link is formed by an eminence to the east of Eboda (el-Abdeh), "from which the *Jebel Garrah* and *Jebel Gamar* emerge, the former towards the north-west, and the latter to the south-west, and encircle Eboda in the form of an amphitheatre." The *western wall* of the mountain fortress runs in a straight line from its south-eastern corner (Jebel Araif en-Nakah) to the north-eastern heights, which unite it with the Rakmah, and bears the names of *Jebel Yaled* and *Moyleh* (or Moilahi). It is a lofty mountain range, from three to four hundred feet high, which is intersected by numerous wadys, running parallel to one another from north to south, and all opening into the Wady el-Arish. The road from Sinai to Hebron passes at the foot of this western wall of the Azâzimat, and through the undulating tract of desert land which lies between it and the Wady el-Arish.

(1.) The reason why the northern boundary of the mountain land of the Azâzimeh remained for so long a period unexplored has been satisfactorily explained by *Fries* (p. 66). "So long," he says, "as the plateau of the Amorites was either ascended on the south-eastern side, *viz.*, from the Arabah through the passes near es-Sufah, or skirted on the western side by the road to Hebron above Eboda and Elusa, the whole district from Jebel Madurah westwards towards the Hebron road could only be given hypothetically in the maps; and it was made to appear that the modern mountain-land of Azâzimat was a broad and uninterrupted continuation of the Amoritish mountains, extending as far as the mountains of Araif and Mekrah. But our views have necessarily been changed, since *G. Williams* and *J. Rowlands*, instead of proceeding towards the south-east to the pass of es-Sufah, set out from Arar, and, after travelling to the south-west along hitherto untrodden roads, and crossing several lofty *plateaux*, at length reached a point on the edge of the table-land of Rakmah (the last of the Amoritish mountains towards the south-west), which left no room for doubt as to the northern slope of the Azâzimat, and the fact that the division between this mountain land and the Amoritish mountains

was carried to a very great distance in the direction from east to west."

In October 1842 (according to the account given by *Williams* in his "Holy City," p. 487 sqq.), the two friends made an excursion beyond Hebron, for the purpose of putting to the test on the very spot, the accounts which still wavered as to the southern boundary of Palestine. They went from Arar (Ararah, Aroer) towards the south-west, and ascended from the table-land of Arar, the first mountain rampart, by which it is bounded on the south. They now found themselves upon a still higher plateau, which stretches from east to west, and is called the Wady Rakmah. It answers to the district of the Dhullâm and Saidiyeh on Robinson's map. After going still farther south, they ascended a second mountain-range, from the summit of which a scene presented itself to the view of the most magnificent character. (From statements made by Williams elsewhere, the point at which they now stood was somewhere about the longitude of Beersheba, twenty miles to the south of this place, near 31° north latitude, 32½° longitude.) A gigantic mountain towered above them in savage grandeur, with masses of naked rock, resembling the bastions of some Cyclopean architecture, the end of which it was impossible for the eye to reach towards either the west or the east. It extended also a long way towards the south; and with its rugged, broken, and dazzling masses of chalk, which reflected the burning rays of the sun, it looked like an unapproachable furnace, a most fearful desert without the slightest trace of vegetation. A broad defile, called *Wady Murreh*, ran at the foot of this bulwark towards the east, and after a course of several miles, on reaching the strangely formed mountain of Moddera (Maduṙah), it divided into two parts, the southern branch still retaining the same name and running eastwards to the Arabah, whilst the other was called Wady Fikreh, and ran in a north-easterly direction to the Dead Sea. "This mountain barrier," says *Williams*, "proved to us beyond a doubt, that we were now standing on the southern boundary of the promised land." They were confirmed in their opinion by the statement of the guide, that a few hours' journey towards the south-west would bring them to *Kadesh*.

§ 26. As you pass along the ordinary road to Hebron, on the

western side of the mountainous district of the Azazimeh, the whole of the mountain-slopes between Jebel Araif and Jebel Khalil (or the heights of Hebron) appear to form a continued and unbroken range. But just as the separation of the mountains of the Amorites from the northern wall of the Azazimat, by the Wady Murreh, is concealed by the link which connects the two together to the east of Eboda; so do the projecting ranges of the western wall of the Azazimat keep out of sight an extended desert plain, which runs for many miles into the heart of the Azazimat on the other side of the Jebel Moyleh, and into which several wadys open from the eastern side of the mountain (*e.g.* the Wady Kesaimeh, the Wady Muweilih [Moilahi], and the Wady Retemat). "In the remote background, surrounded by the wilderness, there stands in a state of remarkable isolation the strong rock with its copious spring, —the spot which still bears the ancient name of Kadesh (*Ain Kudés*) (1), and of which *Rowlands* was the discoverer." That this is the *wilderness of Kadesh*, which plays so important a part in the history of the sojourn of the Israelites, is apparently no longer open to dispute (3). From the peculiar configuration of the soil, we may easily understand why this plain, which has a distinct name of its own (*viz.*, Kadésh), should sometimes be regarded as a part of the desert of Paran (et-Tih), and at other times as belonging to that of Zin (the plain of Murreh) (2).

(1.) When *Rowlands* was standing with *Williams* on the southern slope of the table-land of Rakmah, he learned from the Sheikh who acted as their guide, that Kadesh lay towards the south-west on the other side of the plain of Murreh. Circumstances did not permit the travellers to follow up at the time the clue which they had so unexpectedly found to the situation of this important place. But on a second excursion *Rowlands* determined to seek out the spot; and not only succeeded in his immediate object, but was fortunate enough to discover several other important localities. He started from Gaza; and following the road to Khalasa, at the end of the first three hours' journey towards the S.S.E. he came upon the site of

the ancient *Gerar*, in the present Jurf (Torrent) el Jerâr (vol. i. § 63, 1). The next point at which he arrived was *Khalasa* (according to *Robinson*, the same as Elusa), in which he recognised the *Chesil* of the Bible. After a further journey of two hours and a half in a south-westerly direction, he found some ruins, which the Arabs called *Zepâta*. (*Robinson* also visited this spot, but could not discover the name of the ruins.) *Rowlands* could not for a moment doubt that this was the site of the ancient *Zephath* (or *Hormah*, *vid.* Josh. xv. 30 and Judg. i. 17). A few hours' journey to the east of Zepâta, the Sheikh informed him that there was an ancient place called Asluj or Kasluj, and the pronunciation of the word reminded him of *Ziklag* (which was somewhere in the neighbourhood, according to Josh. xv. 31). They proceeded from Zepâta to the south-west, and in a quarter of an hour reached the ancient *Bir Ruhaibeh* (the *Rehoboth* of the Bible; *vid.* vol. i. § 71, 3). Ten hours' journey farther south, five hours to the south of Eboda, they reached Moyleh, the chief place of encampment for the caravans; from which the Moyleh, a mountain in the immediate neighbourhood, takes its name, and in which there was a spring (§ 25). This spring is called Muweilih by Robinson; but the Arabs called it Moilahhi Kadesah, and pointed out at no great distance the Beit Hajar (House of Hagar), a rock in which there were chambers excavated. In this rock *Rowlands* discovered Hagar's well (*Beer-Lachai*), the modern name of which is almost the same as the ancient one, since *Moi* (water) could very easily take the place of *Beer* (a well).[1] It is worthy of note, that Rabbi *Schwarz* (das heilige Land, p. 80) also came to the conclusion, quite independently of Rowlands, that Moilahhi was Hagar's well.

The name, Moilahhi Kadesah, and the expression in Gen. xvi. 14, "between Kadesh and Bered," both pointed to the fact that the Kadesh in question was in the immediate neighbourhood; and the rock and spring were soon discovered in the plain which stretches far to the east, but had hitherto been concealed by the mountain-range of the Jebel Moyle. This plain, which we may confidently set down as the ancient desert of Kadesh, embraces a superficial area of about nine or ten English miles in

[1] It will be seen from this, that we retract the observations which we made rather hastily in vol. i. § 57, 1.

length, and five or six in breadth. The rock with the *Ain Kades* is situated at the north-east of the plain, where it presents the appearance of a solitary promontory of the Jebel Halal (§ 25). It is a bare rock, at the foot of which there issues a copious spring, which falls in beautiful cascades into the bed of a mountain torrent, and after flowing about four hundred paces in a westerly direction, is lost in the sand. "I have discovered Kadesh at last," writes *Rowlands* to *Williams*. "I look with amazement upon the stream from the rock which Moses smote (Num. xx. 11), and the lovely waterfalls in which it descends into the bed of the brook below." According to the data furnished by *Rowlands* (which might, by the by, be more minute), the site of Ain Kades is about twelve English miles to the E.S.E. of Moilahhi, almost due south of Khalasah, near the point at which the longitude of Khalasah intersects the latitude of Ain el-Weibeh (in the Arabah). Ritter's account is decidedly calculated to mislead. He says at xiv. 1085, "The site of Kadesh, therefore, must be on the western slope of the table-land of er-Rakmah, that is to say, near the point at which the names of the Saidiyeh and the Azazimeh meet on Robinson's map;" and again at p. 1082, "somewhere near 31° north lat., and 32½ long." But this was very nearly the spot upon which Rowlands and Williams were standing when they discovered the southern boundary of Palestine from the slope of the Rakmah (§ 25, 1).—There is also an irreconcileable discrepancy between this statement and another of Ritter's (xiv. 1088), to the effect that it was "in the neighbourhood of the double well of Birein on Robinson's map," though the latter is also quite erroneous. *Raumer* (Pal. 448), *Tuch* (186), *Winer* (Real-lexicon, 1, 642), and *Fries*, all agree with the account given above of Rowlands' Ain Kades. To the west of Kadesh, *Rowlands* found the two wells *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh*, which were also called *Kadeirat* and *Kaseimeh* (in *Robinson's* map: Ain el-Kŭdeirat and Wady el-Kŭseimeh). In these he detected the names of the two border towns Addar and Azmon (Num. xxxiv. 4). The correctness of this conclusion is attested by the fact that *Jonathan* calls the Azmon of Num. xxxiv. 4 and Josh. xv. 4, *Kesam*.—Even *Zimmermann's* map, which was not published till 1850, does not contain a single one of the many important discoveries made by *Rowlands*.

(2.) It is greatly to be lamented that *Rowlands* did not carry out his extraordinarily successful researches still more minutely, and to a greater extent. For, however much light the results already obtained have unexpectedly thrown upon this *terra incognita*, there are many questions that force themselves upon us, and which still remain unanswered. For example, he omitted to inquire whether there were not, perhaps, some ruins in the neighbourhood of the Kadesh rock, which might indicate the site of the town mentioned in Num. xx. 14. The country surrounding the plain of Kadesh is also still involved in great obscurity. But what is especially desirable, for the sake of the Biblical history, is a more minute investigation of the plain of Murreh throughout its whole extent, including both the road towards the east, which leads through the Arabah and the mountains of Seir to the country beyond the Jordan, and also the road towards the north to the table-land of Rakmah. For by this means the question might have been definitively settled, as to the relation in which the *wilderness of Zin* stood to that of Kadesh, the way taken by the spies (Num. xiii.), the road by which the Israelites ascended the mountains of the Amorites (Num. xiv. 44), and lastly the route referred to in Num. xx. 17 sqq.

In general, it is true, there can hardly be any question as to the position and extent of the DESERT OF ZIN (צִן). We commend especially the remarks of *Tuch*, who says (p. 181 sqq.): "According to Num. xiii. 26, Kadesh was within the limits of the desert of Paran; but according to chap. xx. 1, and xxvii. 14, it was in the desert of Zin; and in chap. xxxiii. 36 the Israelites are said to have pitched in 'the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh.' From this it clearly follows, that Zin must have formed a part of the still more extensive desert of Paran; and if the spies, who were sent from the desert of Paran (Num. xiii. 3), surveyed the land 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob' (ver. 21), it must have lain close to the southern border of Canaan. But the relative position of the various localities may be seen still more clearly from Num. xxxiv. 3 sqq. and Josh xv. 1 sqq., where the southern boundary of Judah from the Dead Sea to the brook of Egypt on the Mediterranean—that is, from east to west—is said to have started from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, skirted the Scorpion Steps (Maaleh Akrabbim; that is, as *Robin-*

*son* correctly observes, the row of cliffs which runs diagonally across the el-Ghor in the form of an irregular curve, and constitutes the boundary between this valley and the more elevated Arabah), whence it passed along *to Zin* (צִנָּה), and then upwards to the south of Kadesh-Barnea. If we take this according to the literal signification of the words, it is evident that *Zin* comprehended the tract of desert which runs from the Ghor in a westerly direction, winding round the steep walls of the mountains of the Amorites, and is bounded on the south by a range which runs parallel to the northern mountain rampart." Hence it consisted chiefly of the broad valley of Murreh, including the Wady Fikreh and the Delta enclosed within the two. It may also have been used in a still wider sense, namely, as including the plain of Kadesh also, since the rampart which separated this plain from the Wady Murreh cannot have been very high, and the desert has very much the same character as the plain.

In the absence of positive *data*, *Fries* has shown, by acute and happy combinations, that it is at least probable that the road taken by the spies, and also by the Israelites when invading the country of the Amorites (Num. xiii. 22 and xiv. 44),—namely, in a diagonal direction across the valley of Murreh, and thence probably over the connecting link (on the east of Eboda) to the plateau er-Rakmah,—cannot have been one of extraordinary difficulty. "If we bear in mind," he says, "on the one hand, that the Wady Murreh, which at its Madurah stage is already considerably higher than the Arabah, must reach a very high level as it approaches the longitude of Kadesh, and on the other hand, that the plain of Kadesh, judging from the analogy of the neighbouring wadys, must be one stage higher than Moilahhi, which Russegger found by actual measurement to be 1012 feet above the level of the sea, and if we add to this, that the mountain-ranges of the district in question, when seen from Hebron, do not appear to be very lofty; we may certainly assume, without risking very much, that even if there was *no* valley at all which led in a diagonal direction from the Wady Murreh into the plain of Kadesh, the passage across the plateau itself, which is lower here than it is elsewhere, would not be a very arduous one." But even if, contrary to all expectation, the mountain rampart between the plain of Kadesh and the Wady Murreh should be proved to be too difficult a passage, there is nothing in the way

of the assumption, that the spies and the Israelites in Num. xiv. 44 reached the Hebron road through one of the western approaches to the plain of Kadesh, and thus went up to Canaan.

(3.) The positive arguments which may be adduced in favour of the identity of Rowlands' Ain Kades and the Biblical Kadesh, will appear as we proceed further with our researches. They are to a great extent so clear and conclusive in their character, that even before the discoveries of *Rowlands* were published, several scholars (*e.g. Rabbi Schwarz*, *Ewald*, and *K. Ritter*), with more or less assurance, placed Kadesh to the west of the Arabah, in very nearly the same locality in which *Rowlands* actually found it. Since then, *Ewald*, *Tuch*, *Winer*, and *Fries* have taken Rowlands' side; whilst *Ritter*, who could only refer to the discoveries of Rowlands in a supplement to his work (xiv. 1083 sqq.), seems to have been afterwards in perplexity as to the side he should take. *Robinson*, on the contrary, and *K. v. Raumer* adhere to their former opinion, that Kadesh was situated in the Arabah. The former has taken the trouble to enter into a very elaborate refutation of *Rowlands'* views, in his Notes on Biblical Geography (May 1849, p. 377 sqq.), and *Raumer* repeats *Robinson's* arguments with approval in his *Palæstina*, p. 447 sqq. But *Fries* has most conclusively demonstrated the weakness of the refutation, in his excellent treatise on the question before us (p. 73 sqq.). See also *Rabbi Schwarz*, p. 380 sqq.

*Robinson's* first argument is cited by *Raumer* in the following words: "The Israelites were to avoid the land of the Philistines on their way from Egypt to Canaan; but if they had taken the route which Rowlands thinks they did, they would have arrived at Beersheba, which was on the borders of Philistia." This objection rests upon nothing but the following unfounded assumptions: (1.) That the reason assigned in Ex. xiii. 17 ("And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt") was still in force, notwithstanding the fact, that since their passage through the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 14), the nations had been shaken and the Philistines were seized with fear; that Israel was now accustomed to war and victory (Ex. xvii. 8 sqq.), and

had received its highest consecration at Sinai; and that it was now being led, in the second year of its journey through the desert, to make war upon the tribes of Canaan;—(2.) That it was the Philistines alone who were to be dreaded both then and now, and not the Amorites also, who were at least equally strong and quite as used to war;—(3.) That the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites belonged to the Philistines, along with the neighbourhood of Beersheba, which was decidedly not the case;—and (4.) That the Israelites, after leaving Kadesh, *must* of necessity pass by Beersheba, whereas, in fact, if they went up from the plain of Murreh (or desert of Zin) they would leave it to the west.

*Raumer* says still further: "When the Israelites reached Kadesh, Moses addressed them thus: 'Ye are come to the mountain of the Amorites.' But Rowlands' Kadesh is about fifty miles from the mountains of Southern Judea, which begin to rise between Beersheba and Hebron. When *Russegger* went from Sinai to Jerusalem, he caught sight of these mountains for the first time when he was in the Wady Ruhaibeh, and they were then a considerable distance off, though he was not half so far away from them as Rowlands' Kadesh is." But there is no reference whatever to these "mountains of Southern Judea," that is to say, to the heights of Hebron. We need only look at either Raumer's and Robinson's own maps, on both of which the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites reaches as far as the Azazimat, and the only fault is, that there is no space left for the Wady Murreh, which runs between the two. When *Russegger* was at Ruhaibeh, and saw the mountains of Khalil (Hebron) a long way off towards the north, if he could have looked to the east he would have seen the south-western slope of the mountains of the Amorites (the table-land of Rakmah) at no greater distance than an hour and a half's journey.

The appeal to *Jerome* (*Onomasticon*, on *En-Mishpat*, Gen. xiv. 7) is still weaker. Jerome says: "Significat locum apud Petram, qui fons judicii nominatur;" "and therefore," says *Raumer*, "Kadesh must be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of Petra, whereas Rowlands' Kadesh is about fifty (?) miles away." But if this passage is to be taken as conclusive, it follows that *Robinson*, who fixes upon Ain el-Weibeh, and

*Raumer*, who places Kadesh at Ain el-Hasb, are both wrong; for these places are neither of them near enough to Petra for the expression *apud Petram* to be applied to them. But *Jerome's* statement is worth nothing. He knew just as little about the situation of Kadesh as the learned men who have followed him, down to the time of Rowlands. He merely adopted, without any further examination, the rabbinical notion, that En-Zadekeh (En-Zodokatah), four hours' journey to the south-east of Petra, was the same as En-Mishpat. In the next section we shall show that this is quite a mistake.

We have one more argument to answer, which is, apparently at least, of some importance. *Raumer* says, that "Kadesh was close upon the borders of the land of Edom, whereas Rowlands' Kadesh was twenty-five or thirty miles away from the border." At first sight this appears to be a conclusive argument; but when we look close, it is nothing but arguing in a circle. It is pretty generally admitted, that the Arabah, from one end to the other, formed the western boundary of the land of Edom. But on what is this notion founded? Chiefly upon the very assumption which it is now adduced to prove, namely, that Kadesh was situated in the Arabah. But as Kadesh has now been discovered on the west of the Azazimat, it necessarily follows that the boundary of Edom was outside these mountains. Even before the discovery made by Rowlands, several men of note (*e.g. Seetzen*, *Ewald*, and *Ritter*) had emancipated themselves from the yoke of this preconceived opinion, that the Arabah throughout was the boundary of Edom. *Seetzen* found the name *Seir* so common on the *et-Tih plateau*, that he could not resist the temptation to apply this name to the whole of the desert table-land to the west of the Arabah (*Ritter*, xiv. 840); and *Rowlands* found that even to the present day the border plateau by the Wady Murreh is still called "*Serr*." The only ground which can be assigned for excluding the mountainous district of the Azazimeh from the territory of Edom, is the fact that the two are so completely separated by the Arabah. But this mountainous district is quite as completely separated from the country of the Amorites by the Wady Murreh. "If we bear in mind the remarkable and, politically considered, extremely important position which the strong mountain fortress of the Azazimeh occupied, standing out as it does in sharp contrast with the

desert of Petræa,[1] at the northern extremity of which it was situated; and being, therefore, brought into all the closer connection with Canaan and Edom, it cannot but appear to us an inconceivable thing that neither the one nor the other of the two opposing powers, which met together there, should have taken possession of so important a tract of table-land. Of Canaan it certainly never formed a part. In the time of the Amoritish supremacy it did not, as we may infer from Judges i. 36, and also from Num. xxi. 1; nor during the history of Israel, a fact which can only be explained from Deut. ii. 5. And if the Israelites did hold it at a later period, it was in consequence of the splendid victories which they gained, especially over Edom. There is no mention anywhere of a third contemporaneous power, which held the country from the southern tract of desert to the frontier of Canaan, and therefore had resisted the power of Edom; and if we should think of filling up the gap with the Ishmaelitish nomads, or, what would be still more plausible, the predatory hordes of the Amalekites, the question would arise, Why should Edom be always mentioned as the neighbouring country, and never Amalek?" (*Fries*, p. 79 sqq.). The former is the case in every instance in which the southern boundary of Canaan is accurately given (Num. xxxiv. 3, 4; Josh. xv. 1, 2, and 21). The whole of the data given here are absolutely irreconcileable with the supposition that the boundaries of Canaan and Edom did not coincide anywhere else, than at the single point where the north-west corner of Edom touches the south-east corner of Canaan. "More minute details are prefaced by a statement of the common characteristic of the whole of the southern boundary line, *viz.*, that it extended to the borders of Edom (אֶל־גְּבוּל א׳), or along Edom (עַל־יְדֵי א׳)."—The boundary line between Edom and Judah is more precisely described in Josh. xv. 3, where we are told, that after compassing the cliffs of the Scorpions (*Akrabbim*), which cross the Arabah in a diagonal direction, it passed along to the desert of *Zin*: the

[1] "Apart altogether from the question before us, *Robinson* felt obliged to separate the mountains of the Azazimeh, which he has left without a name, from the Tih plateau; and *K. Ritter* also, without any reference to this question, and before he knew anything of Rowlands' discovery, described the Jebel Moyle of the Azazimeh as the 'boundary stone of the dispersion of the nations.'" (*Fries*, p. 81.)

latter, therefore, which unquestionably corresponds to our *Wady Murreh*, formed a boundary line between Canaan and Edom to the west of the Arabah, extending as far as to Kadesh. The same conclusion is forced upon us by Josh. xv. 21 sqq.; "for in this case it is stated of all the separate cities of the tribe of Judah, that the boundary line of Edom lay towards the south." And when Joshua's conquests on this side of the Jordan are described in Josh. xi. 17 and xii. 7, as the whole country "from the bald mountain that goeth up towards Seir, even unto Baal-Gad in the valley of Lebanon, at the foot of Hermon,"—what in the world can "the bald mountain that goeth up to Seir" mean, but the northern mountain rampart of the Azazimat? How thoroughly appropriate, too, is the expression "the bald mountain" to the "gigantic mountain, with its bare masses of rock or chalk," which *Williams* and *Rowlands* saw from the Rakmah plateau (§ 25, 1)! Hitherto the commentators have not known what to do with this "bald mountain." *Keil* (on Josh. xi. 17) supposes it to be the cliffs of Akrabbim; but how inapplicable would the term הָהָר be to such cliffs as these, and how little are they adapted, from their geographical situation, to show the southern limits of the country on this side of the Jordan!

*Raumer* observes still further, "When Edom refused a passage to the Israelites, they turned aside and went to Mount Hor. But if Kadesh was situated where *Rowlands* imagines that he found it, and was also on the western border of Edom, the Israelites, as a single glance at the map will show, must have marched for several days in an easterly direction through the land of Edom, before they could reach Mount Hor." This argument would have some force, if the whole of the desert of et-Tih to the south of the Azazimat, from which it is as completely separated as it possibly can be, must of necessity have formed part of the territory of Edom. But if the dominion of Edom on this side of the Arabah was restricted to the north-eastern mountain fortress (and we can hardly imagine it to have been otherwise), there is no force whatever in *Raumer's* objection. The Israelites retreated through the Wady Retemât, thus leaving the country of Edom altogether, and reached Mount Hor by going round the south-east of the Azazimat.

But another objection to *Rowlands'* discovery may possibly

be founded upon Num. xx. 14 sqq. The Israelites request the king of Edom to allow them *a free passage through his land;* but this is at once refused. By what road did the Israelites think of passing through? *Tuch* supposes the Wady Murreh and Wady Fikreh; but this solution is inadmissible, since both these wadys merely led by the border of Edom, *between* Edom and the Amorites, and therefore could not possibly have led *through* the land. According to the distinct and unequivocal statement of the Bedouins who accompanied *Rowlands*, there was an easy road through broad wadys, which led direct from Kadesh to Mount Hor. The point at which this road enters the Arabah is probably to be looked for opposite to the broad *Wady Ghuweir* of the es-Sherah mountains, in the neighbourhood of Ain el-Weibeh, where the eastern wall of the Azazimat is intersected by numerous wadys, and where *Robinson* went up a very accessible pass called Mirzabah. . . . This broad road, which leads through the heart of the Azazimat, and is continued on the other side of the Arabah in the broad *Wady Ghuweir* of Eastern Edom, passing across Tafileh to Moab, was most probably the route which the Israelites wished to take, and for which they required the consent of Edom. (Compare § 45, 1.)

§ 27. In *Berghaus's* map, Kadesh is placed in the vicinity of Eziongeber, on the Elanitic Gulf, probably on the ground of Num. xxxiii. 35, 36. *L. de Laborde* (Comment. p. 127 sqq.) includes the mountainous district of the Azazimeh in the territory of the Amorites, and transfers Kadesh into the Wady Jerafeh, a day's journey to the north of Eziongeber, and about the same distance to the south-east of Hor. *Robinson*, on the other hand, is convinced that Kadesh is to be sought in Ain el-Weibeh, in the north of the Arabah (1); and *K. v. Raumer* maintains that it must be looked for in a still more northerly part of the Arabah, somewhere near Ain El-Hasb (2). But in opposition to all these views, it can be demonstrated most conclusively, that Kadesh was not situated in the Arabah at all (3). The rabbinical tradition, which connects it with Petra, must be at once rejected (4).

(1) *Robinson* (ii. 582, 610) has employed all his eloquence

to convince his readers that *Ain el-Weibeh* and the ancient Kadesh are one and the same. He says: "We were much struck, while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites on their second arrival at Kadesh (Num. xx.). There was at Kadesh a fountain, called also En-Mishpat (Gen. xiv. 7): this was then either partially dried up or exhausted by the multitude; so that there was no water for the congregation. By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border, and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab, and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to Mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the Arabah to the Red Sea (Num. xx. 14 sqq.). Here, at el-Weibeh, all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering-place in all the Arabah. On the north-west is the mountain by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back. Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, was directly before us; while farther in the south Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object, at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host. . . . Yet the surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights; and all traces of the city and of its very name have disappeared."

(2.) *K. v. Raumer* (Pal. 444), on the contrary, is of opinion that "this fact appears to be irreconcileable with *Robinson's* hypothesis. The Arabs, who acted as his guides, were not acquainted with any direct road from Ain el-Weibeh to the pass of es-Sufah, but were accustomed to proceed along the Arabah as far north as the Wady el-Khurar, and ascend the pass from that point. Should we not seek Kadesh itself also to the north of Ain el-Weibeh—namely, where the road ascends through the Wady el-Khurar to the pass of es-Sufah? Must it not have been situated at a point at which the Israelites would be nearer to this pass than at Ain el-Weibeh, and where the pass itself

would be in sight? Is not *Ain Hasb*, which is near Ain el-Khurar, most likely to have been Kadesh? It is only twelve miles from the pass of Sufah, whereas Ain el-Weibeh is more than twenty miles off. There are no ruins in the latter; and is it not probable that the ruins at Ain Hasb are the remains of Kadesh? The water in the pond there evidently indicates the existence of a spring."

(3.) For a refutation of the hypotheses of *Raumer* and *Robinson* (that of *Laborde* does not stand in need of any), we need only appeal to the two admirable treatises of *Tuch* and *Fries* (especially the latter). There are many passages of the Bible which compel us to look for Kadesh a long way to the west of the Arabah. (1.) The very first passage in which Kadesh is mentioned (Gen. xiv. 7, En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh), is a case in point. "For if we assume," says *Fries*, "that En-Mishpat was situated in the northern part of the Arabah, Chedorlaomer must have been close to the very entrance of the vale of Siddim, and would not have required first of all to pass through the country of the Amorites by Engedi in order to reach the territory of the four kings; still less through the whole of the plain of the Amalekites, which was far away to the west of the Arabah, and to which he is said to have proceeded direct from En-Mishpat. If, in addition to this, we bear in mind the political motives for this expedition, the leading features of which are noticed in Gen. xiv., and which have been discussed in a masterly way by *Dr Tuch*, supposing En-Mishpat to have been either Ain Hasb or Ain el-Weibeh, it would not have been of sufficient importance to be mentioned as the point which Chedor had in view when he left El-Paran (Elath)."—(2.) "Such a supposition is not less at variance with Gen. xvi. 14 (comp. ver. 7), where the situation of the well of Lachai Roi is described. For, whilst the western point mentioned is Bared, which was certainly close by, and is identical with Shur (*i.e.* Jifar), the eastern point selected would be a spot in the Arabah lying far away, and separated from the road to Shur by the whole of the mountainous district of the Azazimat, which is about eighty miles broad."—(3.) "In Gen. xx. 1 we are either met with precisely the same difficulty, or (considering the distance between Gerar and Ain Hasb) a much greater one; not to mention the fact, that the connection between Gen. xix. and xx. 1

would lead us to expect Abraham to fix upon a spot considerably farther removed from the Dead Sea than Ain Hasb, as the eastern boundary of his place of sojourn."—(4.) "If we turn to the passages in which Kadesh is given as one of the points determining the southern boundary of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 2–5, Josh. xv. 2–4, Ezek. xlvii. 19), it is absolutely impossible, especially in the case of Ezek. xlvii. 19, where only three points are given, to suppose that the middle point of the three, *viz.* Kadesh, instead of being in the middle of the line, is to be looked for at Ain el-Hasb or Ain el-Weibeh, in the immediate neighbourhood of Tamar, the most easterly point of the three. And in the other passages also, the disproportion would be immense, if three points were named in a small line drawn diagonally across the Arabah from Akrabbim to Ain Hasb, of not more than ten or twelve miles long; whereas in all the rest of the southern boundary to the opening of the Wady el-Arish, which is about 120 miles, only three, or at the most five points are named."—(5.) "Judg. i. 36 is also a case in point. הַסֶּלַע (*viz.* the rock, which had acquired importance from the circumstance recorded in Num. xx. 8;—*Petra*, which bore the same name, 2 Kings xiv. 7, cannot for a moment be thought of here) answers to our Kadesh, and must of necessity have been situated at a great distance to the west of Akrabbim; since otherwise the boundary line of the Amorites, which is given in this passage, would not be really indicated at all."—(6.) In Num. xx. 23 and xxxiii. 37, where the Israelites start from Kadesh and pass round the territory of the Edomites, Mount Hor is called the border of Edom. But if the whole line from Ain el-Hasb (or Ain el-Weibeh) to Eziongeber formed the western boundary of Edom, it would be an inexplicable, and in fact an unmeaning thing, that this one point should be singled out, when every point in the whole line had just the same claim, and that this alone should be called *the* boundary of Edom. But if Kadesh was situated to the west of the Arabah, so that the whole of the mountainous district to the north-east was included in the territory of Edom, Mount Hor, which stood just at the point where the Arabah first began to form part of the territory of Edom, and where two of the boundary lines of the Edomitish territory met in a right angle, would undoubtedly be a marked and distinguished point in the boundary of the country, forming as it were a strong rocky watch-

tower, which commanded these two boundary lines.—(7.) If the mountainous district of the Azazimeh belonged to the territory of Edom—and this can be proved independently of the Kadesh question (§ 26, 3)—it follows, as a matter of course, that Kadesh could not be situated in the northern Arabah.—(8.) "If, in addition to this, we take into consideration the form of the valley of the Arabah, which runs between lofty mountain walls, and in the northern half especially is hedged in by high and perpendicular walls of rock, and at the north-western extremity leads to the wildest precipice and most inaccessible passes of the Amoritish mountains, it is perfectly incredible that Moses should have contemplated making his attack upon Canaan from this point, and we cannot imagine it possible that the myriads of Israel should have maintained themselves for a whole generation crowded together in such a contracted space, between the elevated desert of Paran and the rocky walls of Eastern Edom, and wandering backwards and forwards between the Dead and Red Seas." (*Fries*, 62 seq.) Since the time of Robinson, indeed, it has become a very common custom to fix upon the pass of *es-Safah*, the very name of which is supposed to be a relic of the ancient name *Zephath* (*i.e. Hormah*, Judg. i. 17 and Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 3), as the point at which Moses intended to enter Canaan, and where the people afterwards made the attempt (Num. xiv. 40 sqq.). But if we consider the unanimous testimony of travellers with regard to this narrow, steep, and most difficult pass, we cannot but pronounce this an impossibility. It was with the greatest toil that *Robinson* himself ascended it (ii. 588). *Schubert* looks upon it as one of the most painful tasks he ever performed (ii. 447), and says, "The pass was so steep, that I frequently felt as if I was gasping for breath in the midst of a furnace." *Tuch* adds to this (p. 184), "*Robinson* (ii. 590) had a similar description given to him of the more easterly pass of es-Sufei; and the steep and dangerous ascents from the Dead Sea to the land of Canaan are still better known. And even if these difficult passes do not present insuperable obstacles in the way of peaceful commerce (the Romans not only placed garrisons in the pass of es-Safah, the direct road to Petra, for the purpose of defence, but made steps which rendered it both easier and safer), we have still good ground for asking whether they were also adapted for a warlike expedition, as

points from which to enter upon the conquest of the land;—these passes, I say, which were not only inaccessible even with the utmost exertions, but which the smallest force would have been sufficient to defend. On this side, Canaan was naturally impregnable; and if Moses had conducted the people hither, and then urged them to commence the conquest of the land from this point, he would have deserved the charges which pusillanimity unjustly brought against him."—Lastly, (9.) With the Arabah so well known as it is, it does at least appear extremely strange, that if a town of such celebrity, as Kadesh has had from the very earliest times, was really situated there, and if the Israelites wandered about in it for thirty-eight years, there should not be the slightest trace left of either the name Kadesh, or the names of the other stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii., with the single exception of Mount Hor.

(4.) The mere fact of the *Rabbinical tradition* with regard to the situation of Kadesh, which *Robinson* has involved in greater obscurity, instead of clearing it up, and which Rabbi *Schwarz* (p. 376 seq., *cf.* § 30, 2) has entirely misunderstood, has been fully explained by *Tuch* (p. 179 seq. note). In the Targums, the Peshito, and the Talmud, Kadesh is always rendered Rekam; and Kadesh-Barnea (Deut. i. 2, 19, etc.) Rekam Geia (רְקֶם גֵּיאָה). This Geia, which is placed in apposition (answering to Barnea), is undoubtedly the same as *el-Ji*, in the neighbourhood of Petra, in the Wady Musa, which is still an important village. *Jerome* refers to this in the Onomasticon as follows: "*Gai* in solitudine usque hodie *Gaia* urbs juxta civitatem *Petra*." From this it is evident that *Rekam* was understood to be Petra, as Josephus states in his Antiquities iv. 4, 7; vii. 1; and in consequence of this, the Jewish tradition identified Kadesh with Petra. All the reasons which we have adduced to show that Kadesh cannot have been situated in the Arabah, apply with tenfold force to the notion that it was situated in the Wady Musa.

§ 28. There were three ways open to the Israelites from Sinai to the southern boundary of Canaan, so far as the nature of the ground was concerned; and from these they had to choose. The most easterly led them along the western shore of the Elanitic Gulf to the Arabah, and then through the Arabah to

the south-eastern border of Canaan. This road is regarded by *Robinson* as the most probable. But, however well adapted the road through the broad valley of the Arabah may appear, the narrow way along the shore of the Elanitic Gulf appears to be quite as little adapted for a mass of people, comprising no less than two million souls. And, in addition to this, as *Raumer* has correctly observed (Palestine, 446), such a supposition is inconsistent with Deut. i. 19, where the Israelites are said to have traversed "the whole of the great and terrible desert," by which we can only understand the desert of et-Tih; and this they would never have touched at all if they had taken the road indicated by *Robinson*. *Raumer* himself, who is obliged to bring them to the pass of es-Safah, as *Robinson* has done, supposes them to have crossed the border mountain of et-Tih, and then to have passed through the Wady el-Jerafeh, at the mouth of which they first entered the Arabah. But, according to our previous investigations, this road cannot possibly have been the one selected by Moses. The fact that Canaan was so inaccessible from this side (through the pass of es-Safah), is sufficient to stamp both these views as inadmissible (§ 27, 3). And if Kadesh, the immediate object of their journey, was situated where *Rowlands* discovered its well-preserved names (§ 26), the Israelites will not have gone near the Arabah on this march. It is true that the procession might have turned round from the most northerly part of the Arabah into the Wady Murreh, and so have reached the plain of Kadesh; but, apart altogether from the fact that this would have been a very round-about way, it would have led them through the heart of the territory of the Edomites (*i. e.*, through the northern part of the Arabah, § 26, 3), and, according to Num. xx. 14 sqq., this was shut against them. There is left, therefore, only the *third* (the most westerly) road, which leads from Horeb to Hebron across the mountains of et-Tih and the large tract of table-land of the same name, by the western foot of the Jebel el-Araïf, and which is taken by most of the travellers to Sinai even at the present day. *Ewald*, *Tuch*, *Winer*, *R. Schwarz*, and *Fries* are all agreed in this.

§ 29. A tolerably complete catalogue of the resting-places of Israel in the desert is given in Num. xxxiii. The first two, reckoning from Sinai, are *the graves of lust* (Kibroth-Taavah) (1), and *Chazeroth* (2). The former of these was reached after a *three days'* march (Num. x. 33); and, according to Num. x. 12, it was situated in the desert of Paran, probably on the other side of the south-eastern arm of the mountains of et-Tih *(vide* § 23, 3). The passing remark in Deut. i. 2, where the journey from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea is said to take eleven days, is of great importance when taken in connection with Num. x. 33; for the route (to Kadesh) taken by the Israelites being known, and the character of the ground being taken into consideration, we are able to determine the situation of Kibroth-Taavah with tolerable certainty. There can be no doubt that the road ran from the plain of er-Rahah (§ 6, 2), through the Wady es-Sheikh (§ 5, 5), to the most northerly point of the arc which it describes, and then turned towards the north-east through the *Wady ez-Zalazah*, which enters it at that point. The latter wady intersects the south-eastern arm of the Jebel et-Tih, and so leads within the limits of the desert of Paran. The end of the first three days' journey, and therefore the site of the graves of lust, must be sought on the other side of this range of mountains, somewhere in the neighbourhood of *el-Ain*. From this point the Hebron road runs almost in a straight line, from south to north, across the principal arm of the Jebel et-Tih, and the table-land of the same name. And, judging from the analogy of the three days' march to the first station, Chazeroth (which was the second resting-place from Sinai) would be somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Bir et-Themed*.

(1.) Even *Raumer* admits (Pal. 442) that, according to Deut. i. 2, the most natural supposition is, that the Israelites took the nearest road to Kadesh, which leads through Wady Zalazah to el-Ain, and takes eleven days. "There are objections, however," he says, "to this supposition. For example, the Israelites left Sinai, and journeyed three days to the resting-place at the *graves*

*of lust.* When there, the wind brought them quails *from the sea* (Num. xi. 31). Does not this seem to indicate a place of encampment by the sea-shore? And so again, when Jehovah promised to give the people flesh in superfluous abundance, Moses exclaimed, 'Shall all the fish *of the sea* be gathered together for them, to suffice them?'—a question which would have sounded very strange in the midst of the desert, at a great distance from the sea, but would be natural enough by the sea-shore." Now, in Deut. i. 1, *Di Zahab* is mentioned along with Chazeroth, as one of the places where Moses spoke to the people; and therefore it must have been one of the resting-places of the Israelites. But Di Zahab is probably the modern *Dahab*, on the western shore of the Elanitic Gulf, in pretty nearly the same latitude as Sinai; consequently, *v. Raumer* thinks himself warranted in fixing upon this place on the sea-coast as identical with "the graves of lust," and *Lengerke* (i. 558) agrees with him. But this is certainly by no means a happy combination. What in the world could induce the Israelites to go directly east, instead of directly north? *Raumer* replies: Possibly to avoid a *second* conflict with the Amalekites, who might have attacked them on their road through the Wady es-Sheikh. But it is not only by no means certain, but extremely improbable, that the Amalekites had their seat in the Sheikh valley; and we cannot help thinking, that after the complete victory which the Israelites gained over Amalek (Ex. xvii. 13), they would not have much to fear from that quarter. But even assuming the correctness of both suppositions, the problem is still not solved; for there would have been no occasion to go so far out of the road as the sea-coast.—The fact that the quails came "from the sea," however, is certainly no proof that the Israelites must necessarily have encamped on the sea-shore; and the question put by Moses (Shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?) would not be so very much out of place, if the graves of lust were in the neighbourhood of el-Ain, *i.e.*, not more than twenty miles from the sea, especially if we bear in mind that, according to Num. xi. 5, the lusting of the people was directly and expressly for *fish*. But lastly, the basis upon which this hypothesis rests is purely imaginary, and therefore the hypothesis itself vanishes altogether. However we may interpret Deut. i. 1, which is certainly difficult and obscure (see

*Hengstenberg*, Dissertation on Balaam, p. 515 sqq. translation, and *Fries*, p. 87 sqq.), in any case, it is not affirmed that Moses addressed the people *in* Di Zahab, and therefore it is not stated that he encamped there with the people. On the contrary, certain prominent points are selected, *between* which the Israelites were encamped, for the purpose of indicating the locality of either the first or second giving of the law.

(2.) The majority of commentators regard it as indisputable that the second resting-place, *Chazeroth*, was the modern *Ain el-Hadherah*, about ten miles from the Gulf. But notwithstanding the great similarity between the two names, we must nevertheless reject the conclusion as inadmissible. We repeat our former question: Why go so far round? The road by Hadherah would lead them direct to the Arabah, but not to the Wady el-Jerafeh, and still less to the Hebron road. And what becomes of the eleven days' journey of Deut. i. 2? When the Israelites reached the graves of lust, they had travelled three of these, and at Chazeroth possibly three more; hence *Chazeroth* would be about half-way from Sinai to Kadesh. But Ain el-Hadherah is about forty miles from Sinai in a north-easterly direction; whereas Raumer's Kadesh (Ain el-Hasb) is about 165 miles from Hadherah, and Rowlands' about 150.—The next halting-place was *Ritmah*. Now there is a wady called Retemât close in the vicinity of Rowlands' Kadesh: and certainly there is as close a resemblance between the two names, if not a much closer one, than between the names Chazeroth and Hadherah. But reckoning the distance, it is absolutely certain that Retemât cannot be Ritmah, if Chazeroth is Hadherah, and *vice versa*. *One* of the two resemblances must be given up as deceptive; and the question is simply, which? We reply: Undoubtedly the latter. For, whatever force there may be in the similarity between the names Chazeroth and Hadherah, it is weakened by the fact that there are no other circumstances to support it; whereas in the case of Retemath and Ritmah, all the circumstances lead to the same conclusion.—Rabbi *Schwarz* was led so far astray by a perfectly analogous resemblance between Chazeroth and *Ain el-Chuteiroth* (called Ain el-Kadeirat by Robinson), that he set them down as one and the same. The supposition was confirmed in his opinion by the fact, that rather more than twenty miles to the S.S.E. of this spring, there was another called

*Ain el-Shahawah*, the name of which was evidently identical with Kibroth-Hataavah (the graves of lust). But the fountain of Kadeirat is in the immediate neighbourhood of Wady Retemât (or Ritmah), and therefore cannot possibly be the same as Chazeroth, which must have been several days' journey from Ritmah.

§ 30. In the *list of stations* given in Num. xxxiii., *Kadesh* is the twenty-first name from Sinai, and therefore there were seventeen stations between Chazeroth and Kadesh. Yet the very next station after Chazeroth, the Wady Retemât or Ritmah, is in the immediate neighbourhood of Kadesh; and in the historical account of the march in Num. xiii., Kadesh is the very next station after Chazeroth (vid. ver. 27). This apparent discrepancy has long ago been reconciled by nearly every writer in a very simple manner,—namely, by appealing to the fact, which is clear enough from other passages, that Israel encamped *at Kadesh twice*—the first time on the way from Sinai to the southern border of Canaan (Num. xiii.), the second time after wandering about for thirty-seven years in the desert of Tih (Num. xx.). This renders the supposition that there were *two places* called Kadesh, as unnecessary as it is inadmissible (2). It is equally erroneous to suppose that the Kadesh, mentioned in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. 36, refers to the first sojourn at Kadesh (Num. xiii.) (3): the reference is rather to the second encampment there, of which we have an account in Num. xx. But the question arises, Which of the stations named in Num. xxxiii. are we to connect with the first encampment at Kadesh, and what can have given rise to the substitution of another name, in this particular instance, for so current and celebrated a name as Kadesh? *K. v. Raumer* fixes upon *Tachath* (Num. xxxiii. 26), and Hengstenberg speaks of *Bne-Jaakan* (Num. xxxiii. 31), as absolutely certain; but both conjectures are equally arbitrary and untenable (4). The correct view undoubtedly is that of *Fries*, that *Rithmah* denotes the first halt at Kadesh. For the Wady Retemât, which answers exactly to the ancient Rithmah, forms the entrance to the plain of Kadesh, which

Rowlands has so recently discovered. The spies probably set out from this wady (Num. xiii. 2), whilst the rest of the people, who awaited their return, spread themselves out in the plain of Kadesh, where they were both protected and concealed (5).

(1.) The assertion that Israel encamped *twice in Kadesh*, is pronounced by *Ewald* (ii. 207) "a perfectly arbitrary assumption, which cannot be defended by a single argument of any worth."—This may be easily explained, when, first of all, with the usual caprice of the critics when dealing with Biblical accounts, everything has been turned upside down, and every argument of any worth has been swept away (car tel est mon bon plaisir).

The fact that the Israelites encamped twice at Kadesh, has been proved by *K. v. Raumer* (Zug der Israeliten, p. 39, and Palæstina, p. 446), *Robinson* (ii. 611), and *Fries* (pp. 53–60). The following are the proofs: — (1.) On the twentieth day of the second month (early in May), in the second year of the Exodus, the people departed from *Sinai* (Num. x. 11). On their arrival at the desert of *Paran*, they sent out spies to Palestine (from *Kadesh-Barnea*, Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19 sqq.; Josh. xiv. 7) at the time of the first grapes (Num. xiii. 21), that is, in August. Forty days afterwards, the spies returned to the camp *at Kadesh* (Num. xiii. 27). The people murmured at the report of the spies; and Jehovah pronounced the sentence upon them, that not they, but their children only, should enter the promised land, and that only after wandering about for forty years in the desert (Num. xiv. 29 sqq.). At the same time they were ordered to turn back, and go into the desert to the Red Sea (Num. xiv. 25; Deut. i. 40). A departure from Kadesh, therefore, evidently did take place. Thirty-seven years and a half elapsed after this, which are passed over by the historian in perfect silence. But in the first month (of the fortieth year, compare Num. xx. 28 with Num. xxxiii. 38) the whole congregation *came—evidently the second time* therefore—to *Kadesh* (Num. xx. 1). — (2.) That there were two arrivals at the southern border of Palestine (*i. e.*, at Kadesh), is apparent from a comparison of the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. with Deut. x. 6, 7. In the latter we have an account of a march of the Israelites, in which the stations *Bne-Jaakan*, *Moserah*, *Gud-*

*godah*, *Jothbatah*, follow in succession. The object of this list is simply to show the spot where Aaron died, *viz.*, at *Moserah*. But, according to Num. xx. 22 sqq., and Num. xxxiii. 38, Aaron died upon Mount *Hor*. This Moserah, therefore, must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. Now, if we turn to Num. xxxiii., we find that the third station from Sinai was *Rithmah*, or Retemath, at the northern extremity of the desert. The twelfth station from this is *Moseroth*, which is evidently the same as Moserah; and then follow *Bne-Jaakan*, *Gidgad*, *Jotbathah*, *Abronah*, *Eziongeber* (at the extreme end of the Elanitic Gulf), *Kadesh*, and *Hor*, where Aaron died. This is the place, therefore, at which the stations mentioned in Deut. x. 6, 7 must be inserted. But as we have already found the same stations, Bne-Jaakan, Moserah, Gudgod, Jothbathah, in Num. xxxiii., it follows that the Israelites must have traversed the whole desert from north to south twice, and must have come on two separate occasions to the southern boundary of Palestine.

But what does *Ewald* do to banish these weighty reasons from the sphere of reality into that of non-existence? "*Nothing further*," he says, "is required, than to remove the encampment at Kadesh and the following one by Mount Hor, recorded in Num. xxxiii. 36–39, a little further back, and place them after vers. 30, 31, *because they do not harmonize with Eziongeber*." ! ! — Moreover, he looks upon the coming to Kadesh, of which an account is given in Num. xx. 1, as a repetition of the previous account in Num. xiii. of the first and only arrival at Kadesh, - - - in spite of all the express and unanswerable testimonies to the contrary! (Comp. § 41, 1.)

(2.) The hypothesis, that there were *two different places* with the same name, may be proved on every ground to be untenable. Some, for example, suppose the Kadesh in the desert of Paran (Num. xiii. 27) to be the same as the *Kadesh-Barnea* in Num. xxxii. 8, and Deut. i. 2, 19; and that in the desert of Zin (Num. xx. 1) to be equivalent to the *Me-Meribah*, or waters of strife (Num. xx. 13),—of which the former was situated in the south of Canaan, the latter in the south of Edom. But "there is one passage in Ezekiel (chap. xlvii. 19) which so completely overthrows this hypothesis, when compared with Num. xxxiv. 4, that it would be quite superfluous to refer to Num.

xiii. 22 compared with chap. xx. 1, or to Deut. x. 6, 7 compared with Num. xxxiii. 30–35, or, lastly, to Num. xxi. 4 compared with Deut. ii. 8, from which passages it evidently follows that the deserts of Zin and Paran were connected, and that on their last departure from Kadesh the Israelites went towards the south, to Eziongeber" (*Fries*, p. 54). Nevertheless, this obsolete view has been reproduced quite lately by Rabbi *Schwarz* (p. 170 seq. 375 sqq.); who seeks to strengthen it by adducing Gen. xiv. 7 and the Rabbinical tradition (*vid.* § 27, 4). In his opinion "En-Mishpat, that is Kadesh," in Gen. xiv. 7, is the same as the waters of Meribah (Num. xx. 13), and the two are identical with *Kadesh in the desert of Zin* (Num. xx. 1), and with the modern Ain el-Sedakah (called by Robinson, Ain el-Usdakah or Zodokatha), which is about ten or twelve miles to the south of Petra. He finds a proof of this in the fact that the names מריבה, משפט and צדקה are synonymous. The second *Kadesh*, or *Kadesh-Barnea*, which was situated in the *desert of Paran*, he removes, on the authority of the Rabbinical tradition, which connects Kadesh-Barnea with Rekam Gaia, into the Wady el-Abyad (to the north-west of the mountainous district of the Azazimeh), to which it is said to have given the name Wady Gaian. But there is not the slighest foundation for any of these combinations. They are at variance with Ezek. xlvii. 19. They are irreconcileable with Gen. xiv. 6, 7; for it was not till the whole of the mountains of Seir had been conquered that Chedorlaomer proceeded from El-Paran (Elath, Ailah) to En-Mishpat, for the purpose of invading the country of the Amorites and Amalekites, whereas the modern Ain el-Zedakah was in the heart of the mountains of Seir. Again, the Rabbinical tradition with regard to Rekam-Gaia has been entirely misunderstood (§ 27, 4); and, lastly, Rithmah, which even *Schwarz* identifies with Retemath, and which he regards as the corresponding station to Kadesh-Barnea in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii., is too far from Wady Abyad to be used interchangeably with it as the name of one and the same station.

(3.) *O. v. Gerlach*, who differs from *Laborde* and agrees with Robinson, with reference to the situation of Kadesh, follows Laborde in this, that in his *Erklärung der heiligen Schrift* (i. 509) he speaks of it as the most natural supposition, "that the stations in the desert, which are given in Num. xxxiii. 16–36,

*all belong to the period, anterior to the return of the spies and the events which occurred at Kadesh-Barnea.* Like the modern Arabs, the people passed quickly (!!) from one fountain and oasis to another, and halted at twenty-one places, before they reached Kadesh on the southern border of Canaan, where they met the spies. From this time forth the sacred history is completely silent with regard to the wanderings in the desert, not even the halting-places being given; and after thirty-eight years we find the people at Kadesh again." It is really inexplicable that a commentator, who is generally so very circumspect, should have been able to adhere to so unfortunate a supposition, which is expressly contradicted on all hands by the Biblical narrative, and even in itself is inconceivable. But our astonishment increases, when we find that *K. Ritter* has also adopted it. In the *Evangelischer Kalender*, 1854, p. 49 seq., he says: "In the meantime (after the spies had been sent out) the people left their camp at Hazeroth (*i.e.*, Ain el-Hadherah), and proceeded northward towards Canaan." They went first of all past seventeen intermediate stations to Eziongeber, at the northern extremity of the Elanitic Gulf, and proceeded thence to Kadesh, "the border station at the northern edge of the desert." The latter portion of the journey "is particularly referred to in Num. xxxiii. 36, but no intermediate encampments are mentioned." . . . "That it cannot have been accomplished in a short space of time, is evident from the fact, that the spies who were sent to Canaan had completed their journey throughout the whole length of Canaan, even beyond the Lebanon to Hamath on the river Orontes, when they met with the Israelites in the eventful camp at Kadesh or Kadesh-Barnea."

We have met with nothing for a long time which has caused us so much astonishment as this hypothesis. (1.) Why should the list in Num. xxxiii. contain the names of so many stations in the short space between Chazeroth (*i.e.*, Ain el-Hadherah) and Eziongeber, and only one single station between Eziongeber and Kadesh, which was twice as far, whether Kadesh was situated on the eastern or western side of the Azazimeh?—(2.) The spies returned in forty days. And are we to understand that these forty days embrace not merely the eighteen stations between Chazeroth and Eziongeber, but the stations whose names are not given in the far longer journey from Eziongeber to

Kadesh ?! As the Israelites were waiting for the return of the spies, and therefore there was no necessity for their hastening to reach the southern border of Canaan, we should not be surprised to find the eighteen stages between el-Hadherah and Eziongeber (a distance of about seventy miles) reduced to the very minimum. What we really find is a want of time. The people pitched their tents eighteen times before they reached Eziongeber; and even if they passed much more quickly over the longer piece of ground between Eziongeber and Kadesh (though we are not acquainted with any good ground for such a supposition), there must have been in all thirty or forty stages between el-Hadherah and Kadesh—and consequently the number of encampments would be almost as great as the number of days which were occupied in the journey. Now, consider for a moment how much time must have been required to pitch all the tents, erect the tabernacle, and perform the numerous other things connected with an encampment. Neither *Gerlach* nor *Ritter* would call a halt for the night a *station*. We believe that at every station at least three days' rest must have been required. —(3.) A comparison of Num. xxxiii. with Deut. x. 6, 7, proves incontrovertibly (*vid.* note 1) that the procession was at Mount Hor (*i.e.*, Moseroth) before it reached Eziongeber; and it is well known that Mount Hor is not situated between el-Hadherah and Eziongeber. . . . Lastly, (4.) *It is stated expressly and repeatedly in the Scriptures themselves* (Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19 sqq.; Josh. xiv. 7), *that Moses did not send out the spies till* AFTER *the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh-Barnea*!!!

(4.) *K. v. Raumer* (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 41) conjectures that the first halt at Kadesh coincided with the station marked *Tachath*, in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. In his opinion, this is rendered probable by the fact that Tachath signifies a lower place (and this would answer to the situation of el-Hasb); and still more so by Deut. i. 2 ("there are eleven days' journey from Horeb to Kadesh-Barnea"), since Tachath is exactly the eleventh station from Sinai. But is it necessary to remind the learned author, with what zeal, and certainly with what justice, he opposed the favourite hypothesis that the days' marches and the stations correspond? However, Raumer laid no stress upon this conjecture, and, so far as we know, never brought it forward again.—*Hengstenberg* claims a great deal more credit

for his discovery that *Bne-Jaakan* is the station in question. This is said to be no mere conjecture or hypothesis, but a well established and unanswerable result of close investigation, which may be held up with triumph, *instar omnium*, in the face of any who take pleasure in foisting contradictions upon the Pentateuch. But on what is this confidence based? On a comparison of Deut. x. 6, 7, and Num. xxxiii. 30–33. In Deut., where there is not the slightest room to doubt that the direction taken by the procession is from north to south, the order in which the names occur is, Bne-Jaakan, Moseroth, Gudgod, and Jotbathah. In the second passage the order is changed into Moseroth, Bne-Jaakan, Gidgad, Jotbathah. This apparent discrepancy can only be explained on the supposition, that on the occasion referred to in Num. xxxiii. 21, the procession turned round; and this completely removes the difficulty. The people, on starting from Sinai, travelled from south to north till they came to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, at which point they turned from north to south again, and naturally arrived first of all at Moseroth (which is omitted on principle, as it had been mentioned before), and then passed on to Gidgad, Jotbathah, etc. Now, we find from the historical account in Num. xiv. 25, that the place at which the procession turned was Kadesh; consequently Bne-Jaakan and Kadesh are one and the same.—This is *Hengstenberg's* account. But he does not touch upon the main difficulty, namely, the reason why the author in Num. xxxiii. should speak of the very same station, first of all (ver. 31), as Bne-Jaakan, and then immediately afterwards (ver. 36) as Kadesh, and why the author of Deuteronomy, who so constantly uses the name Kadesh-Barnea, should employ another name in chap. x. 6. And so long as this is not explained, we can attach no weight whatever to the argument as a whole. The transposition of the names Moseroth and Bne-Jaakan, which is certainly striking, by no means compels us to regard the latter as another name, employed to denote the first halt at Kadesh (*cf.* § 31, 2).

(5.) We append a few remarks in relation to the names of the most northerly station. Beside the simple name *Kadésh*, we find in Num. xxxii. 8, and constantly throughout Deuteronomy, as well as in other parts of the Old Testament, the compound name *Kadésh-Barnea*. According to Num. xx. 13, the place

also received the name *Me-Meribah* (Strife-water), and in Gen. xiv. 7, it occurs under the name of *En-Mishpat* (fountain of judgment or decision). From the last-mentioned name, *Ewald* concludes that in olden time there was an oracle here—a supposition which we have no desire either to contest or defend. The explanatory words, "*that is Kadesh*," which occur in Gen. xiv. 7, are of more importance to us. They seem to imply that En-Mishpat was the original name, and Kadesh a more recent one, which was not in existence in the time of Abraham. [*Lengerke*, on the other hand, explains the names, En-Mishpat and Me-Meribah (erroneously we believe) as synonymous, and therefore regards the use of the former, in Gen. xiv. 7, as a *prolepsis*.] But if the *Kadesh* in Gen. xiv. 7 is a prolepsis, the conjecture is a very natural one, that the place referred to received the name for the first time when the Israelites were sojourning there, as being the place where the holiness of Jehovah was manifested to the people (Num. xviii. 22 sqq.), or to Moses and Aaron (Num. xx. 13 וַיִּקָּדֵשׁ בָּם), by an act of judgment. Possibly this may furnish another explanation of the fact, that in Num. xxxiii. 18 the place is called Ritmah, and not Kadesh; whereas in Num. xxxiii. 36, after the infliction of the judgment, it is not called Ritmah, but Kadesh. The name Kadesh-*Barnea* we regard as a more precise definition of the situation, by the addition of the name of the Edomitish town alluded to in the message sent to the Edomites (Num. xx. 16): "We have come to Kadesh, to the *town* in thy uttermost border."

§ 31. *The stations, whose names occur between Ritmah and Kadesh* (Num. xxxiii. 19–36), undoubtedly refer to the principal quarters occupied by the Israelites (with the tabernacle, the ark of the covenant, and the pillar of cloud) during their thirty-seven years' wandering in the desert. But of all these places, *Ezion-gebęr* (at the northern end of the Elanitic Gulf) and Mount *Hor* (or Mount Seir, to the west of Petra) are the only two which can be set down upon the map with any degree of certainty (1). The apparent discrepancy between Deut. x. 6, 7, and Num. xxxiii. 30–33—in the former of which the Israelites are said to have come first of all to Beeroth-Bne-Jaakan, and after this to

Moserah, Gudgod, and Jotbathah; whereas, according to the other, they came first of all to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, Chor-Gidgad, and Jotbathah,—can be very easily explained, if we simply bear in mind the fact that the journeys described in the two passages are very different in their character (2).

(1.) It is true, there are two other names to be met with in the modern geography of the desert, which strikingly remind us of names which occur in the Bible. Fifteen miles to the south of Wady Retemat, we find a wady *Muzeirah* marked upon the maps, and thirty miles to the south of the latter a Wady *el-Gudhagidh*. But, however unmistakeable the correspondence between these names and the Biblical stations *Moserah* and Chor-ha-*Gidgad* (Gudgod) may be, yet, so far as the situation of these wadys is at present determined, it is impossible that they should coincide with the names in the Bible. When we compare Deut. x. 6 with Num. xx. 22 sqq. and xxxiii. 38, it is evident that Moserah must have been situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Hor, probably in the Arabah, at the foot of the mountain.—In that case, the stations between Moserah and Eziongeber would have to be sought for in the Arabah also. *Hengstenberg* is undoubtedly correct in calling attention, in connection with the name Bne-Jaakan, to the fact, that we find an *Akan* (Gen. xxxvi. 27), or *Jaakan* (1 Chr. i. 42), mentioned among the descendants of Seir the Horite, whose land was taken by the Edomites. The station called Bne-Jaakan, therefore, probably denotes the former possessions of this branch of the Horites, but it does not follow that it *must* of necessity have been situated in the Arabah. If we bear in mind (§ 26, 3) that the territory of the Edomites extended far away beyond the Arabah towards the west, it is very conceivable that the "well of the sons of Jaakan" (*Beeroth Bne-Jaakan*) may have been on this side of the Arabah.

(2.) If we look at the difference between the journey described in Num. xxxiii. 30–33, and the one referred to in Deut. x. 6, 7, there is no difficulty in untying the knot, which seems to be formed by a comparison of these two passages. The journey mentioned in Deut. x. 6, 7, was undertaken with a definite object, namely, to pass round Mount Seir, for the purpose of

entering the promised land. On this occasion, therefore, an unnecessarily circuitous route will have been avoided, and the shortest possible way selected. The order in which the stations occur, therefore, in Deut. x. 6, 7, is to be regarded as answering to their geographical situation, so that Bne-Jaakan must be sought for on the north, or west, or north-west of Moserah. The journey described in Num. xxxiii. 30–33 was of a totally different character. At this time—that is, during the thirty-seven years' rejection—the Israelites had dispersed themselves in larger or smaller parties over the entire desert, and settled down by any meadows and springs which they could find (we shall enter more fully into this question, and prove our assertion, at § 41). On the other hand, the stations whose names occur in Num. xxxiii. 19–36, are the head-quarters, where Moses encamped with the tabernacle, which made a circuit of the whole desert, to visit the various sections of the nation which were scattered over it, and remained some time with each of them. There was no end to be served by always going in a *straight* line; but when circumstances rendered it advisable, the course might be turned towards the east or west, the north or south, without the slightest hesitation. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact, that on one occasion a zigzag course was taken, *viz.*, from Kadesh to Moseroth, and thence to Bne-Jaakan, and that on another occasion, when it was a matter of importance to take the most direct route to a certain point, Bne-Jaakan should come before Moseroth. There is even less difficulty in adopting this explanation, if we assume, as we are certainly warranted in doing, that one or other of the names in question may have been used to denote a wady *in its entire length*, and that the point at which the procession touched the wady may not have been the same on both occasions.

## THE PLACE OF BURNING, AND THE GRAVES OF LUST.

§ 32. (Num. x. 11–xi. 3.)—On the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year after the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, the cloud ascended (§ 22, 2), and the Israelites left *Sinai*, where they had been encamped for almost an entire year (a year all but ten days, *cf.* § 4, 5). They set out in the order (1) already prescribed (*vid.* § 20). The pillar

of cloud was really the guide of the people, as a whole; but this by no means precluded the employment of human counsel and assistance, or even rendered them unnecessary. Hence Moses invited *Hobab*, his brother-in-law (vol. ii. § 19, 7), to accompany them and give his advice, which could not fail to be of great advantage, on account of his accurate acquaintance with the country through which they were about to pass (2).—After a three days' journey, the Israelites reached the desert of Paran, and pitched their tents there, with the prospect of a longer halt. The people, who had been spoiled by their long and comparatively agreeable sojourn at Sinai, no sooner entered the inhospitable desert than they lost all patience, and gave utterance to their discontent. But the fire of the wrath of Jehovah broke forth and consumed the uttermost parts of the camp. Moses immediately interceded with God, and the fire (3) was stayed. In consequence of this circumstance, the place was called *Tabeérah* (תַּבְעֵרָה), or *place of burning* (4).

(1.) According to Num. ii. 17, when the camp broke up, Judah was to lead the van, Reuben was to follow, and after him the Levites with the tent of assembly (§ 20). This was a general and temporary arrangement. Nothing further could be said at that time with reference to the precise manner in which the Levites were to be linked into the procession, since it is only in the chapters which follow (chap. iii. and iv.) that an account is given of the numbering and organisation of the tribe of Levi. But now, on the breaking up of the camp for the first time, the general notice is more fully explained in the account of the arrangements actually made. The ark of the covenant led the way, carried by the Kohathites (§ 20, 6), and the tribe of Judah followed. After Judah came the Gershonites and Merarites, with the external portions of the tabernacle; then the tribe of Reuben; and behind them the rest of the Kohathites, with the sacred vessels (as the real sanctuary; *cf.* § 20, 5). This order of march may possibly at first sight appear strange; but, on a closer inspection, we find it to be very simple and natural. The ark of the covenant, as the abode of the Shechinah, which had undertaken the guidance of the whole procession, necessarily led

the way. But in all other respects, on the march as well as in the camp, the place for the tabernacle was in the midst of the people. The reason why the bearers of the various portions of the building were separated from the bearers of the furniture by the tribe of Reuben, is explained in Num. x. 21 to have been in order that, when they arrived at a new place of encampment, the tabernacle might be erected before the sacred vessels arrived, so that the latter might be put into their places without further delay.

(2.) How HOBAB (vol. ii. § 19, 7) came to meet with Moses here, we are not informed. The assumption, that when his father Reguel (Jethro) visited Moses at Rephidim (Ex. xviii.) Hobab was with him, and had since that time remained with Moses, is certainly by no means a probable one. It is a much more likely supposition, that at the close of their three days' journey, the Israelites came near to the spot where the friendly Midianitish tribe was feeding its flocks (vol. ii. § 19, 6), and that *Hobab*, whose father *Reguel* had probably died in the mean time, paid a visit to Moses, his brother-in-law, or *vice versa*. At first, Hobab declined the invitation of Moses, to join company with the Israelites; and, so far as prudential considerations were concerned, he had certainly good grounds for his refusal. He would have to give up his free, unfettered, nomad life, by which he secured an ample provision for himself and his flocks, and join an immense multitude in a journey through the barren and inhospitable desert, where he would have to endure all sorts of hardships and privations. There can be no doubt, however, that eventually he yielded to the solicitations of Moses. The scriptural account leaves very little room to doubt of this; for, otherwise, the renewed and earnest entreaty on the part of Moses (in vers. 31, 32) would certainly be followed by a second refusal. In fact, it is fully proved by Judg. i. 16, iv. 11, and 1 Sam. xv. 6, where the descendants of Hobab, who are called children of the *Kenite*, the name by which they were distinguished from the rest of the Midianites, are said to have gone up with the Israelites into Canaan, and to have settled among them there, probably without relinquishing their nomadic mode of life.—We may see what it was which ultimately prevailed upon Hobab to yield to the persuasion of Moses, from the words of the latter in vers. 29, 32: "We are journeying to the place of

which Jehovah said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will do thee good; for Jehovah hath spoken good concerning Israel." It was faith in the God of Israel which induced him to consent, and a hope of participating in the blessings which had been promised to Israel.—The advantage which Moses hoped to derive from the company of Hobab is explained by himself in ver. 31: "Leave us not, I pray thee; for thou knowest where we should encamp in the desert, and therefore be *our eye!*" That an accurate knowledge of the country to be traversed, with its mountains, valleys, and wadys, its pasturage, springs, etc., might be very advantageous, and was by no means rendered superfluous by the pillar of cloud, is at once apparent. The pillar of cloud would undoubtedly determine the route to be taken, and the place of encampment (§ 22, 2); but both on the march and when encamping, many difficulties would arise, which could be set at rest at once by one who was well acquainted with the ground.

(3.) At Sinai the Israelites had been sealed as the nation of God, and the covenant of their fathers with Jehovah had been renewed and confirmed. In the law, the nation had received a fresh armament and defence against everything of an ungodly and heathenish character, which might threaten to interfere with its vocation either from without or within; but in spite of this defence, the ungodly elements of their nature very soon broke forth again in the national life. The people had hardly entered the "great and terrible desert," Deut. i. 19, which it had to cross before it could reach the land of promise, the land flowing with milk and honey, when they broke out again with unbelieving complaints. "The fact that no cause or occasion is mentioned, undoubtedly indicates that that state of general inward discontent is intended, which secretly quarrels with everything that occurs. But whilst the murmuring proceeded from the nature of Israel, and therefore was merely the repetition of similar complaints into which the people had broken out before, Jehovah now presented Himself in a totally different light. On the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai, He had borne with great long-suffering and patience the frequent manifestations of the weakness of Israel: now, however, not merely did He hear the first slight whisperings of complaint, but the fire of His wrath broke out immediately, and destroyed the people who thus in-

wardly rebelled. The reason for this difference is evidently to be found in the fact, that the Israelites had now been placed under the law of Jehovah, and had the dwelling-place of Jehovah in the midst of them. It was Moses again who remained faithful and firm; and the stiffnecked nation came so far to its senses, that when the punishment came upon it, it turned to him as the mediator. And the result of the intercession of Moses proved that he still retained his mediatorial character. The fact that the first place in the desert of Paran, at which Israel halted on its journey from Sinai to Canaan, received its name from the destructive *burning* of the wrath of God, was certainly a very bad omen of the future."—(*Baumgarten.*)

As the "fire of Jehovah," which burned among the people, destroyed their outermost tents, we have not to think of the fire as issuing from Jehovah—that is to say, from the dwelling-place of His holiness—in the same sense as in Lev. x. 2. We adopt, on the contrary, the interpretation given by *Rosenmüller:* "The simple meaning appears to be, that the fire commenced among the tents on the outside, no doubt to the terror of the rest. But the flame seems to have burned up the shrubs and bushes, which are very abundant in this part of the desert, and in the midst of which the Israelites had encamped. Such a fire would be difficult to extinguish; and spreading, as it quickly would, in all directions, many tents might be destroyed in a short space of time." This was the first commencement of the fulfilment of the threat contained in Ex. xxxii. 34 (§ 14, 2), which had been hanging over the heads of the people ever since the apostasy at Sinai: "In the time of My visitation I will visit their sin."

(4.) On the probable site of Tabeérah, compare § 29, and § 33, 5.

§ 33. (Num. xi. 4–35.)—Notwithstanding the consecration which the people had received at Sinai, the extent to which the ungodly elements of nature still retained their hold was soon apparent, and that in a most fearful manner. The fire, which had destroyed their outermost tents as a punishment for their discontent, was no sooner extinguished at the intercession of

Moses, than the discontent of the people, which was repressed but not overcome, broke forth again in bitter and reckless murmuring. The lead was taken this time by the multitude of foreigners, who had joined the Israelites when they set out from Egypt (vol. ii. § 35, 7). They no sooner entered the barren desert, than they began to lust after the enjoyments of Egypt, which they had missed so long; and with loud murmurings and lamentations they began to complain of the impossibility of satisfying their wants. The Israelites were influenced by their example, and carried away by the same desires; so that in a very short time there were no bounds to the weeping and lamentation throughout all the tents (1). The anger of Jehovah was kindled once more. *Moses*, with the wrath of God pressing on the one side, and the violence of the people on the other, and called by his mediatorial office to appease them both, was utterly at a loss to know what to do. He was to conduct the Israelites through the desert to the promised land. But it was only as the people of God, only by remaining faithful to their God and the covenant with Him, that they could ever obtain possession. Hence Moses had to uphold the fidelity and obedience of the whole nation to Jehovah; and his experience of the nation, thus far, was enough to convince him that he was unequal to the task. Here, at the very commencement of the great and terrible desert which they had to cross, the whole nation was refractory and in utter confusion. What, then, was the future likely to produce, seeing that the difficulty would be sure to increase? Where could he find flesh enough to satisfy so great a multitude, and appease, if only for a time, the violent longings of the people? How could *he* alone sustain the burden of such a nation as this? He poured out all these complaints to his God; and such was his despondency, that he would gladly have been relieved, by an early death, of the burden he could not sustain (2).—For the twofold complaint of His servant, Jehovah had also a twofold consolation and aid. Moses was directed to select seventy men from the elders and *Shoterim* (vol. ii. § 16),

and to bring them to the tabernacle. Jehovah would then take of the Spirit which was in Moses, and put it upon *them*, that *they* might help him to bear the burden of the people (3). As the desires of the *people* were the source of trouble and anxiety to Moses, they were also to be satisfied. The people were directed to sanctify themselves by the morrow; for Jehovah would then give them flesh, not for one day, nor for two, nor for five, nor for ten, nor for twenty, but for a whole month, until they became disgusted with it (4). Moses, who thought more of the two million eaters than of the omnipotence of God, exclaimed: "Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? Or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?" But Jehovah replied: "Is the hand of Jehovah too short, then? Thou shalt see now whether My word shall come to pass or not."

When Moses brought the elders whom he had chosen to the tabernacle, Jehovah came down in the cloud, and took of the Spirit which was upon Moses and gave it also to them; and when the Spirit came upon them they prophesied. But two of the seventy who had been selected, *Eldad* and *Medad*, had by some accident or other remained in the camp. Nevertheless the Spirit came upon them, and they also prophesied in the camp. This striking phenomenon was at once made known to Moses; and Joshua, in his zeal for the honour of Moses, thought that it ought to be forbidden. But Moses was of a different opinion. "Art thou zealous for *my sake?*" he said: "Would God that all people of Jehovah prophesied, and that Jehovah had put His Spirit upon them!" (3).

As soon as Moses returned with the elders into the camp, the second promise was fulfilled. A wind came forth from Jehovah, and brought *quails* from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, a day's journey on every side, and lying two cubits deep upon the ground. The people immediately set to work to collect them, and continued gathering quails all that day, and throughout the night, and the whole of the following day.

The people had complied but badly with the injunction to sanctify themselves for this gift of God. Greedy and unsanctified as they were, they rushed upon them at once. And the flesh was still between their teeth, when the wrath of Jehovah was kindled against them, and smote the people with very great destruction (4). In consequence of this occurrence, the place was called *Kibroth-Taavah* (קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה, *i.e.*, graves of lust), for there they buried the people that lusted (5).

(1.) The LUSTING OF THE PEOPLE was more especially for animal food. This may appear somewhat surprising, as they had brought their flocks with them from Egypt. But it must be borne in mind, that their flocks were very unequally divided. According to Num. xxxii., it appears to have been only the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, which possessed any considerable quantity. The other tribes may possibly have exchanged their nomad mode of life for agricultural pursuits, even before leaving Egypt (vol. ii. § 15), and therefore have scarcely possessed any flocks at all. Moreover, the consumption of animal food in the desert may have exceeded the supply; and therefore there may have been reason enough for confining it within the narrowest possible limits.—Again, in their desire for animal food, they thought chiefly of the excellent fish which they had formerly obtained in such abundance from the Nile. They complained to Moses: "Who gives us *flesh* to eat? For we remember the *fish* which we did eat in Egypt freely, the *cucumbers* and the *melons*, and the *leeks* (*grass*), and the *onions*, and the *garlic;* but now our palate is dry; there is nothing at all, and our eyes fall upon this *manna* alone."—The articles of produce here mentioned are suggestive of horticulture and agriculture, rather than of the rearing of cattle. It is well known that they are of superior quality in Egypt, and may be obtained even by the poorest in great abundance (*vid. Hengstenberg:* Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 208 sqq., and *Laborde, Comment.*, p. 116 sqq.). The only thing at all surprising is the fact that *grass* (חָצִיר) should be mentioned as an object of desire. As reference is made to the food of man alone, and not to that of cattle, of course it cannot be common grass that is meant. In the Septuagint and Aquila's version, the word is rendered πράσα

(leek); in the Vulgate *porri*, and the latter is the rendering adopted by Onkelos and Saadias, and in the Syriac version. *Rosenmüller* (on this passage), *Gesenius* (Thesaurus), and most of the modern expositors, abide by this rendering; but *Hengstenberg* and *Laborde* have departed from it. The former says: "חָצִיר has etymologically the meaning of food for cattle: its primary signification is not grass, but pasturage, fodder. The first criterion of the correctness of any interpretation, therefore, is that the article of food with which חָצִיר is identified, be, from its very nature, a food of beasts; so that man, as it were, sits down to dinner with them. Now, one of the curiosities of natural history in connection with Egypt, of which travellers make mention, is this, that the common people eat with peculiar relish a kind of fodder resembling clover. This is the so-called *Helbeh* (*Trigonella fœnum Græcum, Linnæus*), of which the modern Egyptians of the lower classes are very fond, and which they regard as a specific for strengthening the stomach, and as a preservative from many diseases." . . . But as the grass-like form of the leek would very naturally lead to its being called חציר, and as it is quite in place by the side of the garlic and the onions, as being a vegetable of a similarly piquant character, and as *all* the ancient translators, who were so well acquainted with the customs of the country, have, without exception, fixed upon the leek, it certainly appears advisable to give the preference to so strongly attested a rendering, rather than to that of *Hengstenberg*.

The longing for the juicy and pungent vegetables of Egypt, is connected with a contemptuous allusion to the heavenly food of the manna, which God had bestowed upon the nation. On this *Baumgarten* has forcibly remarked (i. 2, p. 297): "It was the gift of Jehovah from heaven, with which the Israelites were satiated, and which they treated with contempt, preferring the meat and spices of Egypt. Such is the perversity of human nature, which cannot be content with the quiet enjoyment of what is pure and unmixed, but, from its disorganised state within, longs for the additional charm of something pungent or sour." He then points out the analogy which we find, when we turn to the spirit's food. The sinful nature of man is soon satiated with the pure food of the word of God, and turns with longing desires to the more exciting pleasures of the world.

(2.) "Moses heard the people weep, every one in the door of his tent. And the anger of Jehovah was kindled greatly, and it was evil in the eyes of Moses." It appears to us that those who refer the displeasure of Moses exclusively to the murmuring of the people, and those who refer it to the wrath of Jehovah alone, are equally in the wrong. The whole attitude of Moses shows that his displeasure was excited, not merely by the unrestrained rebellion of the people against Jehovah, but also by the unrestrained wrath of Jehovah against the nation. For the wrath of Jehovah appeared to him to be too regardless of the weakness of the people, and too regardless of himself, the mediator of the people. "Wherefore dost Thou afflict Thy servant," he exclaims, "that Thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? Have I conceived this whole nation, have I brought it forth, that Thou sayest to me, Carry it in thy bosom, as the nurse carries the sucking child, into the land which Thou swearest unto their fathers?" We cannot agree with *Baumgarten*, therefore, who thinks that it was only a spirit of love, and not a spirit of discontent or ill-will, which dictated the words of Moses. Discontent is unmistakeably indicated by his words, and discontent is the offspring of evil. But the wrath of Jehovah did not burn against the evil, which prompted the words of Moses, as it burned against the evil apparent in the words of the people; the discontent of the people being essentially different from that of Moses, and not merely differing in degree. The *ground* of his complaint was a just one; for the shoulders of one man were really not sufficient to bear the burden of the whole nation. Jehovah acknowledged this, by giving him seventy assistants to help him to sustain the burden. The *impulse* was also a laudable one; for it proceeded from his vocation of mediator: Moses had not merely the right, it was also his duty, to make such representations to Jehovah. Nor was there anything essentially evil in the *substance* and *form* of his complaint. He had a right to appeal from the wrath to the mercy of Jehovah. He had also a right to represent to Jehovah that the people had claims upon His mercy, since it was He Himself who had given them such claims. It was not Moses but Jehovah who had conceived and brought forth, and not Moses but Jehovah who had sworn to carry the people as upon eagles' wings to the land of their fathers. At the same time,

Moses neither could, nor wished to dispute the justice of the wrath of God: on the contrary, his whole complaint rested upon an admission of its justice. It was precisely because the wrath of God was just and well-deserved, that he felt himself unequal to the claims of an office which required of him that he should watch over the people, and take care that they did not excite the anger of Jehovah by their obstinacy and rebellion. Still, he did not wish to be entirely released from the office. He merely desired to have the burden lightened, and to be assisted in sustaining it. For his own part, he felt that his office had become so much a part of himself, that office and life were identical. Hence he entreated of Jehovah that He would rather take him away by a sudden death, than suffer him to sink and perish beneath the heavy and undivided burden of his office. "I am not able," he said, "to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me. And if Thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in Thy sight, that I may not see my wretchedness!" His language was bold, as we perceive, but not wanting in the humility which sets forth the boldness of prayer, as a golden setting a costly jewel. At the same time, his language was enveloped in the mist of discontent; it was characterised by impatience, which had not yet learned to be still and quietly wait, and by self-will, which would determine the time and method of the help required according to its own ideas.

That Moses was *a real* mediator and leader of the people, was evident from all he said. The burden of the people was his burden. The wrath which was kindled against the people was felt by him. His office was identical with his life. But it was also evident that *the true* Mediator and perfect Head of the people of God had not yet come. The burden of the people was too heavy for him: he was unable to bear it, and sank beneath the weight. He was not the man who gave utterance to no murmuring under the weight of the mediatorial office, in whose mouth there was no complaint, but who was like a sheep dumb before its shearers.

(3.) Most incredible things have been done by the critics (*e.g.*, *Vater*, *De Wette*, *Hartmann*), in connection with the account of the incorporation of a body of seventy elders. In the first place, the institution alluded to here, is said to be identical

with the judicial organisation which was introduced by the advice of Jethro (Ex. xviii.; *vid.* § 4, 5); and, consequently, the accounts are both set aside as incredible, on account of the discrepancies which they contain. A second discovery, on the other hand, is, that the company of seventy elders, which the account before us states to have been organised for the first time now, is proved by Ex. xxiv. 1, 9 to have been really in existence from time immemorial. With reference to the first discovery of the critics, *Ranke* has written as follows, and much more forcibly than we are able:—"This is excellent!. Moses was overwhelmed with business when Jethro came forward with his advice. From morning till evening he was surrounded by a crowd, waiting for him to settle their legal disputes. To lighten this pressure of business, six hundred chiliarchs, six thousand heptakontarchs, twelve thousand pentekontarchs, and sixty thousand dekadarchs were chosen. But of what use was this army of overseers and judges at the graves of lust? In this case, it was no question of petty disputes among the people. The whole of them, not excepting the leaders, were in a state of rebellion against Jehovah and against Moses; and when the latter, in the bitterness of his disappointment, desired to die, it was not the pressure of business which overwhelmed him, but the unfaithfulness of the redeemed and chosen people. He anticipated the disastrous issue. He felt unable to preserve the people in a state of fidelity towards Jehovah, and therefore, unable to lead them into the promised land. Jehovah now came to his help with the institution, consisting of seventy elders filled with the spirit of prophecy, who could stand side by side with Moses as the chosen servants of Jehovah,—a Divine institution, which confirmed afresh both the election of Moses and the law communicated through him. It was another attempt on the part of Jehovah, to lead His people to their destination, notwithstanding their present display of unbelief; and consequently there is nothing to support the hypothesis, that there is some connection between the account before us and the one narrated before. There is also another question: Whom did the seventy elders represent?—the six hundred chiliarchs?—the sixty thousand dekadarchs?—or the whole of the seventy-eight thousand six hundred leaders? There would certainly be differences enough between these two forms of the same tradi-

tion, and differences of such magnitude, that we should be overwhelmed with astonishment at the sagacity of the critics who discovered the secret identity beneath so thick a covering of complete diversity."

According to Ex. xxiv. 1, 9, Moses chose seventy of the elders of Israel, as he had been directed by God, and conducted them, along with Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, to the mountain of the law, where they saw the God of Israel, and partook of the sacrificial meal connected with the covenant-sacrifice. A year later, Moses again selected seventy men from the elders and *Shoterim*, according to instructions received from God, and brought them to the tabernacle, that the Spirit which was in Moses might be communicated to them also, and that they might be qualified for assisting him in the task of leading, watching, and admonishing the people. Are we warranted (not to say compelled) in regarding the two as identical? Certainly not. In the first instance, a temporary representation was all that was required, under circumstances in which it was impossible that the whole of the elders should be brought together, amounting as they did to several thousands. On the occasion referred to here, a permanent institution was to be organised, and that for a totally different purpose. But, we are told in reply, seventy elders were appointed then, and there are seventy elders here. No doubt. But is it inconceivable that a certain number of elders should have been chosen as a committee for merely temporary purposes, and that a permanent committee should afterwards have been formed, consisting of the same number? Can anything further be reasonably inferred from this, than that in both instances the number seventy possessed either a real or a symbolical importance?

Our first inquiry, therefore, is, why was the number of elders to be chosen fixed at seventy, and that on both occasions? In the eyes of the ancient Hebrews, the number undoubtedly possessed a symbolical worth. Ten was the number which denoted perfection; seven, the seal of the covenant with Jehovah. Seventy, therefore, was the number which combined the two ideas. How suitable, then, was this number on both occasions, if, as we have not the slightest doubt, the symbolical meaning helped to determine the selection! But in addition to the symbolical importance of the number itself, the circum-

stances may have also determined the selection—just as the number of the tribes was determined by the number of the sons of Jacob—and yet retained its symbolical importance (as the arrangement of the camp clearly showed, *vid.* § 38, 5). *Jahn* (*Archäologie*, ii. 1, p. 59) calculates, from Num. xxvi., that the number of *Mishpachoth* was seventy-one, and infers that one elder was chosen for every *Mishpachah*. His calculation, it is true, is not correct; for, in cases where a *Mishpachah* was so strong that several subdivisions were formed, each possessing the rights of an independent *Mishpachah*, he has also reckoned the original *Mishpachah*, which is certainly inadmissible. But notwithstanding this, the numbers very nearly agree, and nothing further was required (*vid.* vol. ii. § 1, 3).

The *purpose* of this college of elders was to support Moses in his office, as the chief and leader of Israel. We may therefore safely assume, that it continued in existence till the conquest of the promised land, but hardly longer. There is, at any rate, no foundation whatever for the boast of the later Jews, that their Sanhedrim (which was certainly an imitation of the college of elders) was founded by Moses, and continued without interruption, with the sole exception of the time of the Captivity.

We are not informed in what way the *communication of the Spirit* to the seventy elders took place,—possibly in a manner somewhat analogous to that described in Acts ii. When it is stated that Jehovah took of the Spirit, which was upon Moses, and put it upon the seventy, it is not meant that the fulness of the Spirit in Moses was diminished thereby. As one candle can kindle many others without losing any of its own light in consequence, so did the Spirit pass from Moses to those who were destined to be his helpers, without involving the slightest loss to Moses himself.

Whether *Eldad* and *Medad* remained in the camp from feelings of modesty, because they did not think themselves worthy of so great an honour, as Jonathan and Jerome suppose, or whether there was some other reason for their absence, it is impossible to determine. Their names were contained in the list of those who had been selected (ver. 26: וְהֵמָּה בַּכְּתֻבִים); and as a proof that the selection which Moses had made was the right one, the same gift was bestowed upon them as upon all

the rest. Joshua, who thought there was something very disorderly in their prophesying, and imagined that the authority of Moses would be weakened in consequence—probably because they had received the gift without any visible intervention on the part of Moses—wanted to prohibit them from exercising it, like the Apostle John in Mark ix. 38. But Moses made just the same reply to Joshua, as Christ to John: "Forbid them not."

The *prophesying* of the elders is not to be regarded as merely a prediction of future events (this by no means exhausts the idea of הִתְנַבֵּא), but as a divinely-inspired utterance in the widest sense of the term, in which a more elevated tone in the language itself, as well as the outward demeanour of the speaker, proved that he forgot himself, was raised above himself, and spoke words of Divine and not merely of human wisdom. It is worthy of remark, that it is expressly stated, that this prophesying only occurred once, and was never repeated again (ver. 25: לֹא יָסָפוּ, which is eroneously rendered in the Vulgate *nec ultra cessaverunt;* also by *Luther*, "*Sie hörten nicht auf;*"[1] but which is correctly given in the Septuagint, *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσέθεντο*). We see at once that their speaking was of an *ecstatic* character,—like the speaking with tongues, which generally followed immediately upon the communication of the Spirit in the apostolic times, and in most instances probably occurred only once, as in the case before us.—Of course, it cannot be inferred from the expression לֹא יָסָפוּ, that the Spirit departed from them after this first striking proof of His presence.

(4.) On the *quails*, see § 3, 1, and *Bochart*, *Hieroz. ed. Rosenmüller*, ii. 648–676. There is nothing surprising in the fact, that the critics should have pronounced this gift of quails as identical with that described in Ex. xvi., and only separated in consequence of the want of critical acumen on the part of the compiler of the Pentateuch records. On the first occasion it was an act of mercy alone: here, it met the heightened murmuring of the people in thirtyfold greater abundance, but was the instrument of judicial punishment as well. So greatly, however, did mercy preponderate even here, that if the people had but sanctified themselves beforehand, as they were expressly instructed to do (ver. 18), they might have averted the

[1] "They did not cease." Our English Version gives the same rendering.

judgment.—The quails fell in such abundance, that those who gathered only a few had *ten omers* full. According to *Bertheau* (*Abhandlung zur Geschichte der Israeliten*, p. 73), an omer was not less than two cubic feet,—a quantity which might certainly be made to suffice for a whole month. The birds were spread out in the camp to dry, for the purpose of preserving them,—of course, after having undergone some previous preparation to prevent decomposition.

In the paragraph above, we have described the fall of quails in the words of the Biblical account. It is difficult, however, to determine what the author meant by the expression "*two cubits above the ground*" (וּכְאַמָּתַיִם עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ). The verb is וַיִּטֹּשׁ: the wind *strewed*, *cast* them (*Sept.*: ἐπέβαλεν) upon the camp two cubits high. This may be understood as meaning that the quails, which were brought by the force of the wind and wearied with flight, fell upon the ground in such immense numbers, that for a whole day's journey round the camp they were lying two cubits deep upon the ground. But it may also mean, that the wind compelled them to fly two cubits above the ground. This meaning may certainly be implied in the Septuagint rendering, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; but, to prevent any misunderstanding, the *Vulgate* supplies *volabantque;* and *Jonathan*, *Philo*, and others have done the same. The Psalmist, however, appears to have understood the passage in the former sense (and this certainly is the most natural interpretation); for he describes the miracle in these terms: "He caused an east wind to blow in the heaven, and by His power He brought in the south wind; He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea, and He let it fall in the midst of their camp, round about their habitations." If we give the preference to this explanation, of course the words are not to be interpreted with strict literality, as meaning that a circle, the diameter of which was two days' journey, was covered with quails, to a uniform depth of two cubits. Such a colossal absurdity as this, none but the most ignorant could think of attributing to our author. The בְּ in באמתים is in itself a sufficient proof that this is not his meaning. We have simply to imagine the quails lying about in such quantities, that in many places they were two cubits deep.

(5.) As only one halting-place is mentioned between the

desert of Sinai and Chazeroth, in the exact list of stations contained in Num. xxxiii., *viz.*, the *graves of lust*, and as no allusion is made in the account before us to any removal from the *place of burning* to the *graves of lust*, there can be no doubt that they are different names of the same station. The name Tabcérah applies to one particular part of the place of encampment, Kibroth-Taavah to the whole locality.

## OCCURRENCES AT CHAZEROTH.

§ 34. (Num. xii.)—The Israelites departed from the graves of lust, and proceeded to Chazeroth (§ 29, 2). A new trial awaited Moses here, and one in which his patience and meekness (1) were once more displayed in a most distinguished manner. Even those who were most closely related to him, and who were connected with him not only by the ties of nature, but also by their appointment as his colleagues in office,—even his sister *Miriam*, and, through her persuasion, his brother Aaron (2), turned against him. They despised him on account of his marriage with a Cushite woman, and maintained that he was not superior to them, since Jehovah spoke through them as well as through him. Moses endured in silence. But Jehovah was not silent; and Miriam and Aaron were summoned to the tabernacle. The pillar of cloud entered into the door of the tabernacle, and Jehovah declared from within that His servant Moses was entrusted with all His house, and that not one of all the prophets was equal to him (4). The cloud then left the tent, and Miriam became leprous, as snow. Aaron, who was greatly alarmed at this judgment of God, and deeply repented of the sin which had occasioned it, entreated Moses to intercede for their sister. Moses cried to the Lord, "O God, heal her!" His prayer was heard; but Miriam was to be shut out for seven days from all intercourse with the people as one unclean, and to pass the time in a solitary place outside the camp. The people remained at Chazeroth till Miriam was restored (5).

(1.) The historian, when relating the glorious manner in which Moses sustained this fresh trial of his patience, breaks out into the laudatory words: "The man Moses was very *meek*, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." As the *self-praise* involved in these words presents considerable difficulties,—on the assumption, that is, that Moses was the author of the entire Pentateuch in its present form,—critics have not been backward in founding an argument upon it against the authenticity of the Pentateuch; and *Hengstenberg* has attempted an elaborate refutation of the argument on psychological grounds (*vid.* Dissertations on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 141 sqq.). His argument amounts essentially to this, that it is only within the limits of Phariseeism or Pelagianism that a man looks upon his actions as implying something meritorious on his own part, and that self-praise is a result of sinful vanity; but where there is a lively consciousness of the grace of God, which enables a man to accomplish great things, an expression of this kind is rather a proof of genuine humility and thorough sincerity. We fully admit the soundness of this argument, and maintain, with *Hengstenberg*, that a humility which, *of necessity*, durst not gratefully and joyfully acknowledge and make known whatever of a great and remarkable character it may have been enabled by God to perform, through peculiar gifts, whether of nature or of grace, is at the best not sure of itself, and in most cases is nothing but vanity in disguise. At the same time, we must confess that *Hengstenberg's* arguments have not set all our difficulties and doubts at rest in this particular instance. We have still the impression, after all, that the words were not written by Moses himself.

*Hengstenberg* says (vol. ii. p. 141): "It is remarkable, at the outset, that in the whole work (namely, the Pentateuch) there is only this one passage which can by any possibility be interpreted as self-praise; for the other passage which is cited, Deut. xxxiv. 10, belongs to the author of the supplement, and not to Moses. The proof, therefore, is changed into the very opposite. It is inconceivable, that in the case of a later author, there should not have been more striking indications of the influence of the reverential love of the nation to its lawgiver. We may see from the supplement, what the entire work would have been under such circumstances as these."—But just because, on the one hand, the

passage in the supplement (Deut. xxxiv. 10 sqq.) was evidently and indisputably not written by Moses, and, on the other hand, the passage before us (Num. xii. 3 sqq.) is perfectly analogous in the style of its praise, we are warranted in conjecturing that it was also the production of some other pen. The rarity of such laudatory passages cannot be adduced, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, as a proof that the Pentateuch was not partially written by another hand. This absence of praise, which is certainly characteristic, is to be accounted for on totally different grounds, which no one has explained so thoroughly and satisfactorily as *Hengstenberg* himself. This is in fact, throughout, the distinctive feature of sacred history, especially of that of the Old Testament, that it never goes out of its way to praise, extol, or glorify the most celebrated of the fathers, the greatest benefactors, or the most splendid heroes. It has continually but one object in view, namely, to praise God, in the record of the sins and transgressions, as well as in that of the more renowned performances, of the men of God. But when we meet with direct commendation, as in the passage before us, and Deut. xxxiv. 10 sqq., it is simply an exception from the rule; the writer having been so completely overpowered by the impression made upon him by the grandeur and rarity of the events recorded, that he was unable to suppress his admiration. This was the case here (Num. xii.), where the meekness of Moses was more strikingly displayed than on any other occasion; and also in Deut. xxxiv., where the historian was taking one more look at the entire and now finished course of this wonderful man. In our opinion, both expressions (the one in Num. xii., as well as that in Deut. xxxiv.) would come well from the mouth of a contemporary of Moses, who survived the great man of God, and still retained the impression made upon him by actions which he himself had witnessed.—That the authorship of every portion of the Pentateuch must be assigned either to Moses himself, or to (younger) contemporaries, has been already maintained (*vid.* vol. i. § 20, 1).

The examples cited by *Hengstenberg*, of analogies to this supposed self-praise, appear to us to bear no resemblance. The passages from the book of Daniel, which are adduced in a similar manner as proofs that it was not the work of Daniel himself (*e.g.* ch. i. 19, 20, v. 11, 12, ix. 23, x. 11), we could very well conceive to have

been written by Daniel himself; just as we believe that Num. xii. 6–8 (considered as the objective testimony of *Jehovah* with regard to him) might very well have proceeded from the pen of Moses.—The words of Christ, "I am meek and lowly in heart," which are cited as analogous, are not to the point, as every one must admit. Christ could say, "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?" without the slightest symptom of vanity or pride, of excitement or passion, being apparent in *His* heart. But Moses was a sinful son of man, like every other; and his patience and meekness, which were certainly wonderful, were not entirely and under all circumstances free from the rust of sinful impatience, excitement, and passion. I will not refer to the incident narrated in Ex. ii. 11 sqq.; but a few days before, he had manifested something like impatience or discontent (§ 26, 2), and on a subsequent occasion his dissatisfaction broke out into evident passion (Num. xx. 11–13, and Ps. cvi. 32, cf. § 44, 4). Notwithstanding all this, it is still true, that the man Moses was meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth; but what I mean is, that he would hardly have thought or said this of himself, since he could not blind his eyes to the fact, that even his meekness was imperfect. I should have thought it a very proper thing, if he had met the presumptuous conduct of Miriam and Aaron, by asserting in the strongest terms that he had accomplished infinitely more than they, through the mercy and call of God; for that would have been something purely objective: just as I regard it as a very natural thing, that *Paul* should have declared, in reply to those who impeached his apostolic call, "I have laboured more than all the other apostles." But to exalt his own meekness, as unparalleled in the history of the world, would be a totally different matter, and would at least be so liable to misinterpretation on his own part and that of his readers, that some precaution would be needed to prevent it. *Paul* would hardly have said of himself, even when provoked to do so by unjust accusations, that he exceeded all other Christian men on the face of the earth in the holiness of his heart. But in the case before us there was nothing at all to provoke Moses to appeal to his *meekness;* for it was not his meekness that Miriam had disputed, but his claim to superiority over them on the ground of his prophetic call.

(2.) That MIRIAM is to be regarded as the leader in the

opposition, is evident from the fact, that her name stands first (before that of Aaron) in ver. 1, as well as from the feminine form of the common predicate וַתְּדַבֵּר (and she said); and it is still further confirmed by the subsequent punishment. Miriam and Aaron do not appear here exclusively, or even primarily, as the brother and sister of Moses, but as his assistants in the guidance of Israel. *Aaron*, at the very outset, was called the "mouth" and "prophet" of Moses, who was to be Aaron's "god" in return (vol. ii. § 20, 8). *Miriam's* part in the duty assigned to Moses is not so clearly stated. That she had some share is evident from Ex. xv. 20, where she stands at the head of the women, and is expressly described as a *prophetess*. In Micah vi. 4, also, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are classed together as the leaders of Israel through the desert.

(3.) The occasion, or rather the excuse for the opposition, offered by the brother and sister, to their brother who was placed above them, was furnished by his marriage with *a Cushite woman*. As we have no account of any such marriage, the most probable conjecture is, that Zipporah, the Midianite, is referred to (vol. ii. § 19, 7). *Cush*, when used as a geographical name, was a very comprehensive term. According to Gen. x., it embraced the countries of the southern zone; that is, all the lands to the south, which fell within the horizon of the Israelites, and which were bounded towards the east by the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, and towards the west by the Nile and the almost unexplored deserts to the west of the Nile. The land of Cush had no boundary towards the south (*Bertheau*, *Paradis*, p. 17). These being the limits within which the use of the name was confined, Miriam and Aaron might have intentionally confounded together the genealogical and geographical application of the word, and so have called their sister-in-law a Cushite or Hamite, for the purpose of giving the strongest possible expression to their contempt. But this view is at variance with the fact, that it is expressly stated in the Biblical account that "he had taken a Cushite woman." This statement compels us to understand the name Cushite in the strict sense of the word. In this case, two things are conceivable,—either that Moses had married the Cushite woman previous to his flight from Egypt (this appears to be the idea embodied in the legend of his marriage with an Ethiopian princess: cf. vol. ii. § 19, 4), or, that he had marrie

her but a short time before, namely, during the sojourn in the wilderness. As the contemptuous speech of Miriam and Aaron seem more in accordance with the latter view, we are inclined to give it the preference. We are consequently disposed to proceed, with the majority of commentators, to the further assumption, that Zipporah had died in the meantime,—for, though the Mosaic law tolerated polygamy, it by no means favoured it. Among the mixed population collected together from foreign nations, which accompanied the Israelites on their departure from Egypt, there might possibly have been some Cushites; or, if this hypothesis be thought objectionable, there is still another left open, viz., that there was a Cushite tribe leading a nomad life in the desert, with which Moses came into contact.

Many interpreters give to this marriage with a Cushite woman a symbolical or typical signification. *Baumgarten*, for example, says (i. 2, p. 303): "Since the marriage of Joseph with the Egyptian woman, and the first marriage of Moses with the Midianitish woman, were not without a meaning, so far as the relation of Israel to the Gentiles was concerned; there is the more reason to believe that the second marriage of Moses with a foreign woman, especially one contracted by him as lawgiver, and under the law, must have had some important design. By his marriage with the Hamite, Moses set forth the fellowship between Israel and the Gentiles, so far as it could possibly take place under the law, and thus actually exemplified in his own person that equality of foreigners with Israel, which the law so constantly demands. But this was a liberty of the spirit which Miriam and Aaron could not comprehend, not to mention the inability of the people to understand it." *O. v. Gerlach* also regards the marriage as typical. He says: "Moses had probably taken a wife from a Cushite tribe, for the purpose of setting forth, by this example, the union of Israel with the most distant heathen at some future day." The latter view, if it be held at all, must at least be differently expressed; for, in its present shape, it is liable to the charge of arbitrary and unhistorical spiritualizing.

At any rate, we see in the reproaches of the brother and sister, a striking example of that carnal exaggeration of the worth of the Israelitish nationality, by which the people have so universally been characterised, and which is the more reprehensible, on

account of its resting simply upon a natural basis, and not upon the spiritual call of Israel. Miriam and Aaron fancied that their family was disgraced by the marriage; and the circumstance also furnished an opportunity for the display of the envy and discontent at their subordinate position, which had probably for a very long time been secretly cherished within their hearts. Jealous as they were for the honour of their family, and attaching so much importance as they did to its purity of blood, they imagined that, now that their brother, of whom they were already envious, had so thoroughly forgotten himself, they had a perfect right to refuse any longer to be subordinate to him.

(4.) In explanation of the proofs which are given by God Himself, of the *superiority and unique character of the prophetic gift possessed by Moses* (ver. 6–8 compared with Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11), we have but little to add to what has already been stated in § 15, 1. The words of Jehovah are as follows: "If there is a prophet among you, I make Myself known to him in vision (בַּמַּרְאָה); I speak to him in a *dream*. Not so My servant Moses: he is entrusted with My whole house; with him I speak *mouth to mouth;* I cause him to see, and *that not in pictures* (בְּחִידוֹת, lit. in riddles; it is very well paraphrased by *Luther*, "through dark words or parables"); he sees the *form* of Jehovah (תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה). Why then are ye not afraid to speak against My servant Moses?" Thus Jehovah makes a difference between the prophetic character of Moses, and that of all the rest of the Israelitish prophets. With the latter, the reception of Divine revelations was something extraordinary. Before they were in a condition to receive them, it was necessary that they should pass out of the sphere of the senses, and that of intelligent consciousness, into a state of supersensual perception. It was only in dreams and (ecstatic) visions that a revelation was made to them; and for that very reason, whatever was revealed—being in the form of imagery, symbols, and parables, and not brought within the range of ordinary perception and thought—needed to be translated into different language before it could be submitted to the senses and the understanding. It was different with Moses. He was in constant communication with Jehovah; he saw the *Temunah* of Jehovah (§ 15, 1); Jehovah spoke to him mouth to mouth ("as a man to his friend," Ex. xxxiii. 11); he received the Divine revelations in clear, intelligent consciousness; and they were made, not in

the imagery of dreams or visions,—not in parables, symbols, and riddles,—but in direct, clear, and intelligible words.

However great, therefore, the difference may have been, between Moses and the other prophets of his nation; it was not an essential difference, but simply one of degree. For even Moses did not see the unveiled glory of Jehovah: he did not look upon His face as it is in itself; he merely saw תְּמוּנַת יְהוָה and not כְּל־טוּבוֹ (§ 15, 1). The revelation in the *Temunah* was indeed a far higher manifestation of God, than the revelation in dreams and visions, through obscure words and parables; but even the former was very far from being the absolute glory of God,—was merely a personal representation of the absolute glory. Hence even this was not the thing itself, but merely a resemblance. The *Temunah* bore the same relation to the actual and absolute form of God, as the חִידוֹת to clear and intelligible words.

The further distinction between Moses and all the other prophets of his nation was, that he was entrusted with Jehovah's *whole* house; *i.e.*, he was the sole head of the Israelitish commonwealth, and therefore the visible representative, mediator, and interpreter of the invisible God-King; and all others, whatever the part they performed, and whatever the powers with which they were endowed by God, were subordinate to him. This is the essential point in the Divine declaration, for it was this which had been disputed by Miriam and Aaron; and all that is said respecting the superiority of Moses as a prophet, merely served to establish this conclusion.

The passage before us is usually understood as contrasting Moses, not only with contemporaneous prophets, but with those of future ages as well, at least under the Old Testament. This view, however, is not absolutely correct. The occasion, and the form of the expression, simply warrant us in thinking of *contemporaneous* prophets. They do not expressly affirm that it could never by any possibility happen, that prophets should arise in the subsequent stages of the covenant-history, equal, or perhaps even superior, to Moses in the points alluded to. When the editor of the Pentateuch states, in chap. xxxiv. 10, that "there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," etc., his words apply simply to the period which had already elapsed, and not at all to the future. So far as it had already been made apparent, or so far at least as subsequent events

proved, that the one thing which distinguished Moses above all his contemporaries (namely, that he was entrusted with the *whole* house of Jehovah), was never to be met with in any single individual again, throughout the whole course of the covenant-history until its completion and close; but that in all its subsequent stages, the government of the theocracy was to be distributed among several *co-ordinate* offices and classes (judges, kings, prophets, and priests):—so far, we say, as this had already been made apparent, it was perfectly justifiable to extend the declaration to the future also. But even if the ancient Israelite was well assured, that previous to the fulfilment of all prophecy no second Moses would arise, who would be one and all in the house of Jehovah; it was nowhere stated that the particular functions, which were combined in Moses, but which were afterwards separated, would never be manifested again in so exalted a form, or even in one more exalted still. If Divine revelation, instead of remaining stationary, was to continue to progress after the time of Moses, the latter was absolutely necessary. A *David* was *superior* to Moses, as the political head of Israel, and an *Isaiah*, as the herald of the word of God to Israel; but both David and Isaiah were *inferior* to Moses, inasmuch as neither of them either did or could combine the two.

We cannot infer from this passage, therefore, that what is stated here of contemporaneous prophets is equally applicable to all the prophets of subsequent ages. At this particular time Moses was the only prophet who saw Jehovah in His תְּמוּנָה, the only one to whom Jehovah did not reveal Himself בְּחִידוֹת; but after his death there may have been others upon whom the same gift was conferred.

(5.) As the laws relating to the purification of lepers (Lev. xiv.) had already been promulgated, there can be no doubt that Miriam submitted to the rites of purification which are there prescribed. This will explain the seven days, during which she was to be excluded from associating with her people (*vid.* Lev. xiv. 9, 10).

## THE SPIES SENT INTO THE PROMISED LAND.

§ 35. (Num. xiii.; Deut. i. 19–25.)—From Chazeroth the people proceeded to *Ritmah* (in the Wady *Retemâth*, which

leads into the plain of *Kadésh; vid.* § 26), and encamped there. They were now at the very gates of the promised land. Another step taken in faith, and the end of all their wanderings would be attained. Moses called upon the people to take the final step (Deut. i. 20). They did not positively refuse; but they desired that spies should first of all be sent, to obtain more definite information respecting the land and its inhabitants. Moses had no objection to offer to this (Deut. i. 23); and by the command of Jehovah (Num. xiii. 2 sqq.), he chose twelve distinguished men, one from each tribe, to carry out this measure of prudence (1). The spies went through the whole land, and returned, after forty days, to the camp at Kadesh. From a valley named *Eshcol*, in the neighbourhood of Hebron, they brought a bunch of grapes, and some specimens of pomegranates and figs, to show the fertility of the country. In the account which they brought back, they spoke highly of the fruitfulness of the land they had explored, and described it as a land flowing with milk and honey; but they laid far greater stress upon the strong fortifications, the warlike inhabitants, the gigantic children of Anak, by the side of whom they felt like grasshoppers. Moreover, it was a land which ate up its inhabitants. Thus they brought back an evil report of the land which they had explored, and declared, "We cannot go up against the people of the land, for they are stronger than we" (2). Two only of the spies—namely, *Joshua*, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and *Caleb*, the Kenizzite, of the tribe of Judah (3)—were of a different opinion. They did all they could to keep up the courage of the people, and advised that they should proceed at once to take possession of the land, trusting in the promises of Jehovah, which were stronger than the children of Anak, with all their fortresses.

(1.) Even *v. Lengerke* admits that there is no discrepancy between the account in Numbers, where the sending of the spies is attributed to a command of God, and that in Deuteronomy, in which it is said to have originated in the wish of the people.—We cannot trace this desire immediately and without reserve, as

is too frequently done, to unbelief, or weakness of faith in the promises of God, with regard to the possession of the land, and in His assurance of its excellence. We have here a perfectly analogous case to the request of Moses to Hobab (§ 32, 2). As in that case, notwithstanding the guidance of God afforded through the pillar of cloud and fire, important service could be rendered by a man acquainted with the different localities in the desert, and the wish to secure that assistance was not weakness of faith, much less unbelief;—so here, a survey of the land to be conquered would afford advantages, from the worth of which the Divine promise did not detract, and of which, in fact, it was their duty to avail themselves; inasmuch as the help of God demands, rather than excludes, the thoughtful, circumspect, and zealous employment of all human resources and powers. *In itself*, therefore, the sending of the spies might have been a proof of strong, quite as well as of weak, faith; but *the issue* undoubtedly laid bare the feelings which generally prevailed. Since the wish of the people, therefore, was certainly justifiable in itself, it "pleased" Moses (Deut. i. 23); and Jehovah also adopted it into his own plans, for which reason it is represented in Numbers as the command of Jehovah. But the pleasure which Moses took in the request was human and short-sighted; and therefore his expectations were disappointed. On the other hand, *Jehovah*, the Searcher of hearts, detected the hidden motive, of which the people themselves were possibly still unconscious, and approved of their desire, as calculated to bring to light this hidden motive, that it might be overcome or judged. If we consider of what importance it was, that the people should not proceed to take possession of the land, in such a state of mind as was brought out in a most fearful degree by the report of the spies; that such a work, to be successful, must be one of cheerful faith; and that the disgrace of failure would fall upon Jehovah and His covenant in the eyes of the heathen: we shall understand at once how it is that the act of Jehovah is described in Num i. 2 seq., not as an indifferent consent to the wishes of the people, but as a *command*, in the strictest sense of the word.

The reason why *the tribe of Levi* did not send a spy, was, evidently, that the duties and prospects of this tribe were totally different from those of all the rest. Levi was not to receive a share of the promised land in the same manner as the other

tribes, and therefore had not to take part in the conquest. The inheritance of Levi was Jehovah (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, xii. 12, xiv. 27, 29), and the sanctuary of Jehovah was the sphere of his labours. We may see, from the incident narrated here, that the reorganisation of the tribes had already been fully effected, so as to restore the significant number twelve, which the separation of the tribe of Levi had interfered with, but which was restored through the division of the tribe of Joseph into two separate tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh (*vid.* Gen. xlviii.).

(2.) *Robinson* (i. 316) passed through the valley which is commonly, and with very good reason, regarded as the ESHCOL of the Old Testament, on his road from Hebron to Jerusalem. "The road passes between the walls of vineyards and olive-yards, the former chiefly in the valley, and the latter on the slopes of the hills, which are in many parts built up in terraces. These vineyards are very fine, and *produce the largest and best grapes in all the country.* The character of the fruit still corresponds to its ancient celebrity; and pomegranates and figs, as well as apricots, quinces, and the like, still grow there in abundance."

The situation of the valley of Eshcol is not minutely described in the passage before us, but the context evidently points to the neighbourhood of Hebron; and in Gen. xiv. 24 we read, that when Abraham started from Hebron in pursuit of the four kings, he was accompanied by his friends Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. Now, *Mamre* gave the name to the Terebinth-grove at Hebron (Gen. xiii. 18), and it is not improbable that the name of the valley is to be traced in the same way to Eshcol.

The BUNCH OF GRAPES, which the spies brought as a specimen of the fruit, was carried by two of them upon a pole. This is generally supposed to have been in consequence of the enormous size of the bunch, which was too large and heavy for one to carry; and this idea has given rise to most absurd exaggerations. The peculiar mode of transport was evidently adopted, not because the bunch of grapes was more than one man could carry on account of its size and weight, but from a wish to bring it to the camp without receiving any injury from pressure.

When the spies reported that the land was flowing with MILK AND HONEY, this was evidently an Oriental and poetical form of expression, meaning nothing more than that the fertility of the

land was such, as to present a most promising field for agriculture, and the rearing of cattle.

The warlike nations by whom the spies reported that the Israelites would be opposed in their efforts to conquer the country, were the *Amalekites*, who dwelt towards the south,—that is, on the southern slope of the highlands of Judea; the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, and *Amorites*, who lived on the mountains of Judah themselves; the *Canaanites* (a collective name), who dwelt in the low country by the sea, and in the plain of the Jordan; and also the *Anakim*, the last remains of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). The unbelieving spies were especially terrified by the aspect of the last named, on account of their gigantic stature.

It is not easy to determine exactly what the spies meant by saying, "The land eateth up the inhabitants thereof." *O. v. Gerlach* paraphrases it in this way: "All the inhabitants of the land are obliged to go constantly armed, on account of their being exposed to incessant attacks from their neighbours, whom they are, nevertheless, unable to resist." *Baumgarten* explains it in a similar manner: "Allusion," he says, "is probably made to the self-exhaustive conflicts of the different tribes by whom the land was inhabited, *viz.*, the aborigines, the Canaanites, and the Philistines; but it is also possible that they had in view the destruction of the beautiful valley of Siddim (Gen. xix.)." The latter event, however, which took place more than 600 years before, can hardly have been intended; and the former does not suit the words. We should be more inclined to think of some general plague, which had pressed heavily upon the country a short time before, and was still fresh in the memory of the people.

(3.) The fact that *Hosea* (הוֹשֵׁעַ), who now, for the first time, received from Moses the name Joshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ) (according to ver. 16 (17) ), is called by the latter name in Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13, and Num. xi. 28, has presented great difficulties to the critics. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 323 sqq. transl.) mentions three ways in which the difficulty may be solved: (1) By supposing a *prolepsis*, of which we have so many examples in the Pentateuch; (2) by assuming that Moses merely renewed the name Joshua on this occasion, on which he was once more to attest his fidelity; and (3) by the hypothesis, that we have something narrated here which occurred a long

time before, either when Hosea first entered the service of Moses, or before the engagement with the Amalekites (Ex. xvii.). *Hengstenberg* himself decides in favour of the third, and *Ranke* (ii. 202) agrees with him. In our opinion, the first is correct. For even if, according to the rules of grammar, the *Vav consec.* in ויקרא (ver. 17), may be referred to the order of thought (instead of the order of time), it is more natural, looking to both the grammatical construction and the circumstances of the case, to refer it to the order of time. In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, on the other hand, it is an objection to our explanation, that there was nothing in the occasion before us, to lead even to a renewal of the sacred name of Joshua, much less, then, to lead to its being given him for the first time. And it can hardly be thought probable, he says, that Moses should have waited (?) till now, before changing the name; when the victory gained by Joshua over the Amalekites had already furnished so good an opportunity. . . . That Moses should have "waited" so long, would certainly have been strange enough. But he did not wait; for it was only now that he first thought of giving Joshua another name. The appointment of the spies, of whom *Joshua* undoubtedly stood at the head (*vid.* Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13), both as being the most distinguished of the whole, and also as the servant of Moses (his *alter ego*), furnished just the occasion required. The alteration in Joshua's name was a *God speed!* which he gave to the spies on their departure. There was something apparently significant in the fact that they had a *Hosea* among them: Moses not only brought this to mind, but strengthened it, by connecting the name of Jehovah, which brings salvation, with that of Hosea, which promised salvation, whilst his previous life was a pledge that "Jehovah is salvation."

Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, is called the Kenizzite (הַקְּנִזִּי) both here and in Josh. xiv. 6, 14. *Bertheau* (*zur Gesch.* p. 16, and *Comm. on Judges*, i. 13), *Ewald* (i. 298), and *v. Lengerke* (i. 204), are of opinion that we have here one of the Kenizzites, who are spoken of in Gen. xv. 19 as belonging to the original inhabitants of Palestine. *Ewald* says: "Of these Kenizzæans (Qenizzäern), one portion was scattered over the southern districts of the land at the time of the conquest of Canaan by Israel, most probably in a few leading families. When, for example, 'Othniel, the

younger brother of Kenaz, who was also his daughter's husband, is called a son of Kenaz (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13, iii. 9), whilst Caleb himself, the son of Jephunneh, bears the cognomen of the Kenizzean, this evidently means nothing more than that Caleb with his retinue had entered into alliance with the Kenizzeans, who were settled in the southern part of Canaan, and was recognised as a member of the tribe, possessing equal rights with the rest. But if these Kenizzeans were subsequently obliged to enter into a dependent relation to his descendants, Kenaz might also be called his grandson (1 Chr. iv. 15). But another part dwelt in Edom, and is introduced there as one of the grandsons of Esau through Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42). It must have sacrificed its independence, therefore, and entered into connection with the kingdom of the Idumeans, just as these Caleb-allies had united with that of the Israelites."—*Sic!* This is the way, then, in which all traditional history is to be turned upside down, and history may be constructed at pleasure. In reply to this, see *Keil on Joshua*, p. 356 transl. The name Kenizzite in Gen. xv. 19, is the name of a tribe; in the other passages it is a patronymic; and the similarity in the names is simply an accident. The name קְנַז was a frequently recurring one in the family of Caleb (on the frequent recurrence of the same names among the Arabs, see *Kosegarten* in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* i. 3, p. 212). Caleb's younger brother, the father of Othniel, was called by this name, and so was also the grandson of Caleb. Judging from appearance, the name, which was peculiarly appropriate in the case of such a family of heroes, had been a very common one even before this time. And the name (from a verb signifying to hunt) was equally suitable to the family of Edom, which was well known as a race of hunters. It cannot surprise us, therefore, that we find it among them.

## REBELLION OF THE PEOPLE AND JUDGMENT OF GOD AT KADESH.

§ 36. (Num. xiv. 1–38; Deut. i. 26–39.)—The report of the spies threw the people into a state of utter despair. They wept the whole night, complained, murmured, and were on the

point of breaking out into open mutiny, and choosing another leader to conduct them back to Egypt. The cheering words of Joshua and Caleb only tended to excite them still further. The prospect of death was all that awaited these heroic men, along with Moses and Aaron; for the people talked of stoning them all. But at this moment the glory of Jehovah appeared in the tabernacle before all the people. Jehovah declared to Moses that He would smite the people with pestilence, and destroy them as one man, and make of him a great nation. But even in this hour of distress, Moses did not forget the duties and privileges of his office. He reminded the Lord of all His promises; appealed to His former manifestations of mercy; called to mind what Jehovah Himself had formerly declared concerning the name of Jehovah (Ex. xxxiv. 6, *cf.* § 15), that He was long-suffering, of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression. He spoke of the rejoicing of Egypt and heathen Canaan, when it should come to their ears; and prayed for mercy and forgiveness for the nation. His request was granted, but only within such limits as the unbelief of the people, which had thus come to a head, imperatively required (*vid.* § 14, 2). The nation, as a nation, was to be preserved; but the individuals were all to suffer the punishment they deserved. The time had now arrived of which Jehovah had spoken, when He said (Ex. xxxii. 34), "At the time of My visitation I will visit their sin." Hence the sentence of rejection on the part of Jehovah did not reach the nation, did not fall upon the seed of Abraham, with which the covenant and the promise still remained; but it embraced all the individuals who had despised and rejected Jehovah and His promises. The sentence ran thus: "All those men, of twenty years old and upwards, who have seen My glory and My miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and who have tempted Me now *ten times* (1), not one of them shall see the land, which I sware unto their fathers: their bodies shall fall in the desert, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, who have followed Me faithfully. After the

number of the days in which ye searched the land, shall ye bear your iniquities, even *forty* years. But your children, which ye said should be a prey, shall enter in and know the land which ye have despised. Therefore, to-morrow turn you, and get you into the desert by the way of the Red Sea." And as a proof how earnestly the threat was meant, the ten spies, whose unbelief had been the primary cause of the unbelief of the people, were smitten with sudden death.

(1.) When it is stated in ver. 22 that the people had *tempted* Jehovah "*now* TEN TIMES," the most natural supposition is, that ten is merely a round and symbolical number, intended to intimate that the measure of iniquity was now full,—*ten* being the number of completion and termination. We adhere to this opinion; for the various attempts that have been made to reckon up exactly *ten* temptations in the course of their history, have never attained their object without force. *Ranke* cites the following passages: 1. Ex. v. 20, 21 (for even then Jehovah had already given signs: *vid.* Ex. iv. 29–31); 2. Ex. xiv. 11, 12; 3. Ex. xv. 22–27; 4. Ex. xvi. 2, 3; 5. Ex. xvi. 20; 6. Ex. xvii. 1–7; 7. Ex. xxxii.; 8. Num. xi. 1–4; 9. Num. xi. 4–35; 10. Num. xiv. But Ex. v. 20, 21 can hardly be thought suitable. *O. v. Gerlach*, therefore, omits this passage. But he substitutes Ex. xvi. 27, a passage which creates even greater difficulties than the one which he has erased.

(2.) The decision, that of those who were *twenty* years old and upwards at the time of the departure from Egypt, not one should enter the promised land, was evidently founded upon the fact, that they had not only been witnesses of all the wonders of God in Egypt and the desert, but were so at a time when they had fully arrived at years of discretion, and therefore their unbelief was the less excusable. When the census was taken in the last year of the wanderings in the desert, it was found, according to Num. xxvi. 64, that with the exception of Caleb and Joshua, every member of this generation was already dead. It appears doubtful, however, whether this was literally the case, both because *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, the sons of Aaron, were invested with the priesthood at the commencement of the second year after the *Exodus* (Lev. x. 6, 7, *vid.* chap. viii.), and

yet Eleazar retained the priesthood, at all events till after the conquest of the Holy Land (Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4, 5, etc.); and also from Josh. xxiv. 7, where a great number of eye-witnesses of the works of God in Egypt are said to have been still alive. But this exception in the case of the sons of Aaron, if such an exception was really made, might possibly be explained on the supposition that the tribe of Levi was not included at all in this sentence of rejection (Num. xiv.). Since the time when this tribe was set apart to the service of the sanctuary, it had ceased to be on an equality with the rest. Levi was no longer *one* of the twelve tribes; and, as we have seen, there was no representative of the house of Levi among the twelve spies. Levi, again, was *not* included in the census mentioned in Num. i.; and it was precisely *this* census which was to determine on whom the sentence of rejection should fall; for it is stated expressly in Num. xiv. 29: "All of you, who have been numbered according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward." Now we may very well suppose that to this exceptional position, which was purely objective, one of a subjective character corresponded. For we may safely assume, that since the worship of the golden calf, when the tribe of Levi distinguished itself so remarkably by its zeal for the glory of Jehovah (§ 13, 8), this tribe, regarded as a whole, had always been found on the side of Jehovah and Moses.—At the same time, we are under no necessity to rely upon the correctness of these remarks. The thing admits of a much more simple explanation. It is true that the period of service prescribed for the *Levites* was from thirty years old to fifty, according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 47; from twenty-five to fifty, according to Deut. viii. 32–36; but there is no rule laid down in any single passage in the Pentateuch with reference to the age of the priests (the first definite rule which we meet with is in 2 Chr. xxxi. 17; and according to this, they were not to be under twenty years of age). Now, we have certainly no right to apply the laws relating to the age of service of the Levites, without reserve, to that of the priests. For the service of the Levites, which included all the laborious work connected with the tabernacle, it was absolutely necessary that they should be full-grown men: this was not so requisite for the infinitely lighter work of the priests. Eleazar therefore may have been only twenty or twenty-two years of age, when

he received his priestly consecration, and not quite twenty when he left Egypt. This assumption is also favoured by Ex. xxiv. 1, where Nadab and Abihu alone are said to have gone up the holy mountain, and not Eleazar and Ithamar. For otherwise the latter would have had equal rights, and would in all respects have been on an equality, with the former.

The second passage, *viz.*, Josh. xxiv. 7, proves nothing at all. To show this, it would probably be sufficient to point to the unity of the nation, regarded as a species; but since we find in Num. xiv. all who were under twenty years of age at the time of the Exodus, expressly exempted from the sentence of rejection, and since these had certainly *eyes* to see, there may have been many *eye-witnesses* of the miracles in Egypt still alive at the period referred to in Josh. xxiv. 7.

(3.) That the number of years of their compulsory sojourn in the desert should have been made to correspond to the number of days, during which the spies remained in the promised land, can only appear strange or trifling to one who has lost all that susceptibility which would enable him to comprehend and appreciate the history of the kingdom of God, as a history, the most minute and outward details of which have all a meaning and are all according to plan; and who forgets that one who has the education of children, must act as a child himself. The Oriental nations of antiquity, including the Israelites, stood upon a very childlike, concrete stand-point in this respect. They looked upon the outward events of life with very different eyes from those with which we, abstract moderns of the West, regard them, and attached an importance to any harmony or discord in their arrangement, for which *we* have no sense whatever. In the present instance, however, the connection between the forty years' wanderings and the forty days spent by the spies in the land, was important and instructive from various points of view. How vividly must it have presented to their minds the contrast between the life in the promised land, which they had despised, and the life in the desert which was inflicted as a punishment!—how forcibly must it have impressed upon them the connection between cause and effect, sin and punishment! Every year that passed, and was deducted from the years of punishment, was a new and solemn appeal to repentance, call ing to mind, as it did, the original cause of rejection.

§ 37. (Num. xiv. 39–45; Deut. i. 40–46.)—The announcement of the sentence made a deep impression upon the people. The magnitude of the loss, which they had sustained through their unbelieving obduracy, now flashed upon them for the first time. So close to the goal, and yet for ever excluded from the possession of the dear and promised land! Sent back, and condemned to pass their whole life in the barren and inhospitable wilderness—their only prospect a grave in the sand! Gladly would they have retrieved their error. In fact, they declared themselves ready to advance, and even persisted in doing so, notwithstanding the earnest prohibition of Moses. "You will not succeed," he said. "Go not up, for Jehovah is not among you" (1). The pillar of cloud did not move, and Moses remained in the camp. But they went up, notwithstanding; and the *Amalekites* and *Amorites* (2) came down from the mountains, and drove them back to *Hormah* (3).

(1.) In their *unbelief* in the force of the Divine promises, the Israelites had refused to enter upon a war with the inhabitants of Canaan, and attack their impregnable fortresses; and in their *unbelief* in the seriousness of the Divine sentence, which had been pronounced upon them in consequence, they now resolved to make up for their neglect, and recover what they had lost by their folly. In the one case, they had too little confidence in God; in the other, too much confidence in themselves. In both instances, they despised and overlooked the truth, that everything depended upon the blessing of God. In the first instance, they contemned God; in the second, they tempted Him. They said, it is true, "We have sinned: behold, here we are!" But this change of mind was no improvement of mind. Their remorse was no repentance. Their hearts remained the same: the only difference being, that instead of showing the one ungodly side, *viz.*, that of unbelieving obstinacy, they showed the other, of proud and insolent self-exaltation. "Such is the superficial character of the old man, that when his sin is pointed out, instead of looking deeply into it and finding out its dark ground, he regards it as an accidental phenomenon: and therefore, although he remains in precisely the same

condition, he immediately sets about reforming his sins."—(*M. Baumgarten.*)

(2.) The critics have lighted upon another discrepancy here: "In Deut. i. 44 the *Amorites* are mentioned, and in Num. xiv. 45, in the very same connection, the *Amalekites*." But there is no necessity to expose the deception practised here, in order to bring out the futility of the objection. In Num. xiv., Amalekites *and* Canaanites are mentioned; in Deut. i., Amorites alone. Now, it is well known that the Amorites were the most powerful of the Canaanitish tribes; and for this reason the two names are used promiscuously in innumerable passages of the Old Testament. The whole difference resolves itself into this, that in the passage in which the historical facts are narrated with greater precision, Amalekites are spoken of along with the Amorites *or* Canaanites, whereas in Deuteronomy the Amorites (*i.e.*, Canaanites), who were incomparably the more important, are mentioned alone.

(3.) On *Hormah*, see § 26, 1, and § 27, 3; but more especially § 45, 2.

§ 38. (Num. xv.)—The sentence of rejection was pronounced on the existing generation of the people; but the covenant was not dissolved, nor was the history of the nation at an end. For, even if the history remained precisely at the same point, so far as the present generation was concerned, yet, for the rising generation, the first step in its onward progress was guaranteed, namely, the possession of the promised land.—That the sentence pronounced upon the existing generation was an irrevocable one, had been made apparent by the futile attempt to penetrate, in spite of it, into the land. And even the promise associated with this rejection was not left without Divine attestation, though it applied to the rising generation. An assurance was given to those who had been rejected, that the rejection was not an absolute one, but was restricted to their exclusion from the promised land, of which they had themselves refused to take possession. This was also implied in the fact, that immediately after the announcement of the sentence, the giving of the law was continued, just as if no further disturbance had arisen from what

had just occurred (1). And whilst, by thus continuing the course of legislation, Jehovah gave to the people a proof that His relation to them was still the same as before, a circumstance which occurred just at this time (2) was sufficient to prove, not only that He was not disposed to relax the severity of His demands, although the course of the nation's history had been interrupted, but also that the people perceived and acknowledged the obligation.

(1.) The fact that Jehovah continued to give the people laws, was a sufficient proof that the rejection was not an absolute one. This becomes still more apparent, if we look at the *form and substance of the laws which were issued now*. The two principal groups are introduced by the words: "When ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you" (ver. 2); and, "When ye come into the land, whither I bring you" (ver. 18). It is also not without significance, that these laws have reference to the *sacrificial worship*. The theocratic worship was so far from being abolished by the sentence of rejection, that additions were made to it at this very time. The third group, on the other hand (ver. 37 sqq.), contained injunctions which were to be carried out immediately, and not merely after they had taken possession of the land. Every Israelite was to wear tassels on his clothes, the object of which is said to have been, to remind him of his duty in relation to the commandments of God. The tassels, with their various shades of blue, hanging from a single knob, by which they were bound together and made one, were to be a symbol of the Divine law, which consisted of many members, but was essentially one. The solemn words with which this group concludes are full of meaning: "I am Jehovah, your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am Jehovah, your God."

(2.) The incident mentioned is the stoning of the *Sabbath-breaker*. An Israelitish man was found gathering sticks on the Sabbath. The persons who had seen him informed Moses, who received a command from Jehovah to have the culprit stoned by the whole congregation. In the circumstance itself, and the punishment inflicted, there is an analogy between this occurrence and the history of the blasphemer (§ 19).

## REBELLION OF THE KORAH FACTION, AND CONFIRMATION OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

§ 39. (Num. xvi.)—Whilst the Israelites were still at Kadesh, a new rebellion broke out. *Korah* the Levite, of the tribe of the Kohathites, combined with the Reubenites, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *On*, to overthrow the existing order of things. On the ground that the whole congregation of Jehovah was holy, and therefore Moses and Aaron had no right to assume any superiority over the others, they wanted to set up a new constitution, and restore the rights of the people, which, they pretended, had been suppressed by the supremacy of Moses. The especial object was, no doubt, to place Korah at the head of a priesthood chosen by a popular election from the various tribes; and possibly also to restore the tribe of Reuben to the rights of the firstborn, of which it had been deprived. The rebels, first of all, succeeded in gaining over two hundred and fifty of the most distinguished men of the congregation to their views. Moses summoned the conspirators to appear the next day at the sanctuary, with censers in their hands, that they might put the common priesthood, to which they laid claim, to an immediate proof, by discharging the priestly function of offering incense. Jehovah could then decide for Himself, who was henceforth to come before Him with priestly authority. It was in vain that he urged upon Korah and the Levites of his party the distinction which had been conferred upon them, their ingratitude, and consequently the magnitude of their guilt. When Dathan and Abiram received the summons, they positively refused to obey, and sent back contemptuous answers and insolent accusations. "Is it not enough," they said, "that thou hast brought us *out of* the land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, that thou makest thyself a ruler over us? Is this bringing us *into* a land flowing with milk and honey, and giving us fruitful fields and vineyards for a possession?"

The day of decision arrived. Korah came, with his attendants, to the sanctuary to offer incense. The whole congregation,

which was already beginning to take his side, also assembled there. And the glory of Jehovah appeared before the eyes of all; but, through the intercession of Moses and Aaron, the wrath and judgment were confined to the leaders and most determined of the rebels. The whole congregation went away to a distance from the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in accordance with the instructions of Moses. "Hereby," said he, "ye shall know whether Jehovah hath sent me: If these men die as every man dieth, Jehovah hath *not* sent me. But if Jehovah perform a miracle, and the earth open her mouth and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, ye shall understand that they have rejected, not me, but Jehovah." He had hardly finished speaking when his words were fulfilled. The earth swallowed up the ringleaders, with everything belonging to them (2); and at the same moment fire issued from Jehovah and consumed the two hundred and fifty men, who had taken upon themselves to offer incense in the sanctuary (3). As a warning for future generations, the copper censers of the sinners were beaten out, and the altar (of burnt-offering) covered with the plates.

(1.) That all this occurred at Kadesh may be inferred with tolerable certainty, not only from the fact that there is no account of their removing first, but still more from the character of the entire narrative. There can be no doubt that, according to the author's plan, all the events which occurred during the thirty-seven years, which intervened between the first and second visits to Kadesh, were to be passed over in silence. When the congregation arrived at Kadesh, it was at the very gate of the promised land, the point to which it was journeying; and when it assembled once more at Kadesh, thirty-seven years afterwards, neither the congregation itself nor the course of its history had made the slightest progress. In the view of the author, therefore, there was no history at all between Kadesh and Kadesh (vid. § 42).—No doubt Jehovah had commanded in Num. xiv. 25: "To-morrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness, to the Red Sea." But instead of obeying this command, they had gone up of their own accord, and made an attempt to invade the

land from which they were now excluded (Num. xiv. 40 sqq.). And we are expressly told in Deut. i. 46, that they remained at Kadesh *a long time*.

(2.) To picture the scene clearly to our minds, it is essential that we should bear in mind, that the family of the Kohathites, to which Korah belonged, had its place in the camp immediately in front of the entrance to the sanctuary, and that the tents of the tribe of Reuben, to which the rest of the ringleaders belonged, were just behind those of the Kohathites. The tents of Korah the Levite, therefore, and of Dathan and Abiram the Reubenites, may have been close together, and neither of them at any great distance from the sanctuary.—Nothing further is said about the third Reubenite, On; possibly, we may infer from this that he repented in time, and so was saved.—In Num. xxvi. 11, we are expressly told that the *sons of Korah* were not smitten by the judgment which fell upon their father. Their descendants (among whom were *Samuel*, and his grandson *Heman* the singer) are mentioned in 1 Chr. vi. 22–28. This exemption cannot be regarded as inexplicable, after what is stated in ver. 27.

(3.) *Stähelin* (*Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*, Berlin 1843, p. 33 sqq.) has made the discovery, that the compiler has mixed up two different legends here in a most unskilful manner. In the original document there was simply an account of the rebellion of the Korahites; but the compiler had also heard of a rebellion of the Reubenites, and here he has confounded the two together. *Stähelin* is not a little proud that *he* has "succeeded in restoring the original account;" and believes that by so doing he has rendered it "very easy to explain the *contradictions*, which we find in the account as we have received it: for example, in ver. 19, Korah is at the tabernacle with incense, whereas, according to ver. 27, he was in his own tent along with the rebels at the very same time; and in ver. 12, they are said to have refused to come to Moses, and to have been swallowed up by the earth in consequence, whereas in vers. 35, 39, 40, they are said to have been destroyed by fire." Whether the "original document" contained merely an account of Korah's mutiny, and said nothing about Dathan and Abiram participating in it, we shall not stop to inquire. But that the "compiler" introduced contradictions into the account in consequence of his "compilations," and that it was any good fortune which enabled

our critic to make the discovery, we most firmly deny. It is *not* stated in ver. 19 that Korah had come to the tabernacle *with incense*. Moreover, it is *not true* that, according to ver. 27, he was *in his own home at the same time*. And *still less* is it true that, in ver. 32, he is said to have been swallowed up by the earth, and in ver. 35, to have been consumed by fire. In ver. 35, Korah is not named at all. It is merely stated that the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense were consumed by fire. In ver. 27, it is simply the tent of Korah that is alluded to; and not only is it not stated that he was in the tent at the time, but, from what follows, it is pretty evident that this was not the case. Korah is *certainly* to be distinguished from the two hundred and fifty men who formed his party. It was the latter alone who came with censers to the sanctuary. Korah himself was the soul of the entire rebellion, and therefore had to be present wherever there was anything of a decisive character to be done. When Moses and Aaron came to the tabernacle, he was there, and excited the whole congregation against them (ver. 19). When Moses went away from the tabernacle to the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Korah will certainly have followed him thither; and as he would be the last to pay any heed to the summons of Moses to the congregation to keep away from their tents, there is good reason to suppose that he was involved in the fatal catastrophe. This supposition is expressly confirmed by Num. xxvi. 10 (a passage to which *Stähelin* has never once referred). We wonder, too, how any man could make so reckless an assertion, as that vers. 19 and 27 are contemporaneous, when ver. 25 comes between.

§ 40. (Num. xvii.)—The judgment on the rebels had filled the people, who were looking on, with horror and alarm. But it had *not* produced horror and alarm at the sin which had led to the punishment. This explains the fact, that discontent and murmuring soon took possession of the hearts of the people, on account of the stroke which had fallen upon the congregation. Moses and Aaron were looked upon as the sole authors of the calamity. "Ye have killed the people of Jehovah," they exclaim. The whole nation was on the point of rising in a fresh and general mutiny; and Moses and Aaron took refuge in the

sanctuary. The glory of Jehovah appeared once more, threatening destruction. "Get you up from among this congregation," said Jehovah to Moses, "that I may consume them as in a moment." The plague immediately broke out. Moses now urged upon Aaron that he should perform as quickly as possible the duties of his office. Aaron ran into the midst of the congregation, and, standing between the living and the dead, offered incense and made an atonement for the people. The plague was stayed immediately; but fourteen thousand seven hundred men had already been carried off.

The true priesthood had thus been attested, not only by the fidelity, but also by the power, of the office. The priesthood, which the Korah faction had assumed in so ungodly a manner, had brought death and destruction upon itself by offering incense; but the divinely ordained priesthood of Aaron averted death and destruction from the congregation by offering incense, and stayed the well-merited judgment which had broken out upon them. But Jehovah did something more than this, for the purpose of attesting the genuineness of the priesthood which He had chosen in the eyes of future generations also. As the censers of the Korah faction were covered by those of the altar of burnt-offering, in the forecourt of the tabernacle (a *negative* proof of the legitimacy of the Aaronic priesthood), so was there now to be placed a *positive* and permanent proof in the sanctuary itself. To this end, every one of the twelve tribes brought a rod of almond-wood, with the name of the prince of the tribe inscribed upon it (1). These rods were deposited in the Holy of Holies, before the ark of the covenant, that Jehovah might show, by a miracle, which of the twelve tribes He had called and fitted for the priesthood. When the rods were taken out on the following day, behold, the rod of the tribe of Levi, on which the name of Aaron was inscribed, had "brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds;" whilst the rest of the eleven rods, on the contrary, had continued barren as before (2). Aaron's rod was then

taken into the Holy of Holies, to remain there before the ark of the covenant, as a permanent memorial of the event (3).

After this occurrence, the supplementary legislation was still further continued (Num. xviii. xix.); in fact, we have first of all a group of laws in chap. xix. respecting the rights and duties of the priesthood, which come in very appropriately in connection with the renewal and confirmation of the previous appointment. The group which follows in chap. xix., with regard to defilement caused by contact with a corpse, is also closely connected with these events; for the plague, which carried off in so sudden a manner no less than fourteen thousand persons, had caused a large number of the living to defile themselves by contact with the corpses.

(1.) The question has frequently been asked, whether twelve or thirteen rods were placed in the Holy of Holies (*vid. Buddei hist. eccl.* V. T. i., p. 508 seq., Ed. iv.). It is true that *twelve* rods are expressly and repeatedly mentioned, but in a connection which leaves room to suppose that Aaron's rod was not reckoned as one of the twelve. But we must call in question the correctness of such a supposition; for the words, "twelve rods, and the rod of Aaron was among them" (ver. 6), are certainly more naturally interpreted as meaning that Aaron's was the twelfth rod. No one would ever have thought of inferring from the words of Scripture that there were thirteen rods, if the existing division of the tribe of Joseph into two tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh) had not suggested the idea. But this point of view is not a correct one. The fact of Levi being reckoned as one of the tribes, and the division of Joseph into two tribes, exclude each other. Whenever Levi was numbered with the rest, Joseph was taken as one tribe. The importance of retaining the number twelve, under all circumstances, rendered this absolutely necessary.

(2.) That the miracle of the budding and blooming rod was a *σημεῖον*, *i.e.*, a miracle representing symbolically the things it was to prove, is at once apparent. The *rod*, severed from the root of the tree, and therefore prevented from deriving a fresh supply of sap from its natural source, could not possibly blossom and bear fruit in a natural way. But this result was produced,

notwithstanding, by means of an extraordinary and supernatural supply of sap. In this there was a clear and expressive symbol of the position and essential character of the priesthood in Israel; both of the priesthood to which the *whole* nation was called (§ 9), but for which it had declared itself as yet unqualified (§ 10, 1), and also of the special (Levitical) priesthood, which took the place of the hitherto undeveloped universal priesthood. That which took place in the priestly rod was the very thing to which Israel had been set apart, and still continued to be set apart. Israel was naturally a nation like all the rest,—cut off along with all the rest of the human family, from the Eternal Fountain of life by the universality of sin,—torn out by the roots from the soil, in which alone a true national life can blossom and bear fruit. But from the saving counsel of God, who chose it out of all nations to be a holy people and a kingdom of priests, and from a fostering revelation by which it was nourished and matured, it constantly received fresh sap of a supernatural kind, by virtue of which it sprouted, flourished, and bore fruit. The relation in which the family of Aaron stood to the other families of Israel, and the priestly character of Aaron to the unpriestly character of the priestly nation, was the same as that in which the nation of Israel stood to the other nations of the earth. Aaron and his sons were no more qualified by nature for the true priesthood than the rest of the nation; but, from the call and election of Jehovah, they received those streams of life by which they were fully qualified. As Israel, through the full enjoyment of Divine revelation, was (or at least could and ought to have been) *the* fruitful nation among the barren nations of the earth;—so was the family of Aaron the one fruitful family among the comparatively barren families of Israel,—not, however, by any merit of its own, but by the call and grace of Jehovah.—It was not without significance that the rods were of *almond-wood*. *W. Neumann* has the following excellent remarks on the subject: "שקד is the almond-tree; so called as being the waking tree (Ezra viii. 29; Prov. viii. 34; Is. xxix. 20), which blossoms in January, and the fruit of which is ripe by March (*Pliny* Nat. hist. 46, 25); the tree *which is awake* when the rest of nature is still deeply sunk in the sleep of death, and which seems to shout to all the rest the call of God, 'Awake'" (Jeremias v. Anathoth, i. 134 sqq., Leipzig 1854).

(3.) It is nowhere affirmed that Aaron's rod, which was carried back into the Holy of Holies, budding and blossoming, to be preserved there as a memorial of the election of Jehovah, continued henceforth to bud and blossom; and we are not warranted in looking for miracles in the Scriptures, where they themselves do not expressly furnish either the warrant or obligation.

### THE THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS' BAN.

§ 41. (Num. xxxiii. 19–36.)—We left the Israelites at *Kadesh* towards the end of the second year; and at *Kadesh* we find them in the first month of the fortieth year (Num. xx. 1). As *Rithmah* (Num. xxxiii. 18) coincides geographically with Kadesh (*vid.* § 30), the seventeen stations whose names occur in Num. xxxiii. 19–36, must have lain between the first and second visits to Kadesh. And as these seventeen stations, the last of which, Eziongeber, is situated at the northern extremity of the Elanitic Gulf, intersect the desert from north to south, we may reckon pretty nearly the same number of intermediate stations, consisting for the most part of the very same places, on the road back from Eziongeber to Kadesh, although no stations at all are named between the two; and the silence of the author must be attributed to the fact that, as the circumstances continued precisely the same, it was not in accordance with his plan to repeat the names of stations which had been visited before. In this case, the number of stations would correspond very nearly to the number of years spent in the desert, and the average stay at each station would be a year. Now, if we call to mind the necessities and circumstances of the people during the period of the thirty-seven years' ban, which rested upon them, we shall soon see that it must have been utterly impossible, even during *this* period, for a close connection to be maintained throughout the *whole* congregation. It was only here and there that the general barrenness of the desert was broken by fertile and watered oases, and *nowhere* did it present a *sufficiently extensive* tract of meadow-land to meet the wants of the cattle of the *whole* congregation. We are therefore forced to the conclusion (to

which many allusions throughout the Bible would otherwise have brought us), that shortly after the sentence of rejection was pronounced, the congregation dispersed, in larger or smaller parties, over the entire desert, and settled down in the oases which presented themselves, until the time arrived when Moses summoned them, at the end of the thirty-seven years of punishment, to meet again at Kadesh. The stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 19–36 would in this case be merely the places selected in succession as the head-quarters, in the midst of which were Moses and the sanctuary. It is not difficult to understand the reason, why the head-quarters did not remain in the same place throughout; for it was absolutely necessary that the scattered parties should be visited by Moses and the sanctuary, to prevent their connection with one another, and more especially their connection with Moses and the sanctuary, from being entirely dissolved during so long a period as thirty-seven years. Hence the stations named in Num. xxxiii. 19–36 must be regarded in the light of a circuit, which was made through the desert by Moses and the tabernacle.

(1.) It will be sufficient simply to record *Hitzig's* opinion, that the sojourn of Israel in the desert did not last longer than four years (*Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philister*, p. 172 sqq.). He arrives at this result by observing, that forty is a round number, and that the length of their stay at the eighteen stations mentioned in the catalogue (Num. xxxiii. 19–35), which are passed over in the history, must be measured by the stay made at the other twenty-five stations. This gives a period of not less than *one* year, and not more than *two*. But the stay in the desert closed altogether before chap. xx. 1, and terminated with the year itself; it embraced the whole of this year, therefore, and what yet remained of the second year, when the Israelites left Hazeroth, that is, not quite ten months. We should thus have four years in all. But in a popular legend *four* could easily become *forty*. That the myth has "violently" exaggerated, is confirmed by the fact, that "in this desert the amount of space is inconsiderable (?!), and that it was to some extent already occupied, so that it could not possibly afford nourishment to a tenth part of the number" (in answer to this, see § i. 3);

"consequently the natural impulse to self-support would very early have excited a desire, and even made it a necessity, to escape from the desert at any cost." Another proof of the exaggerated character of the myth is the fact, that the giants, "who lived at Hebron in the second year of the journey (Num. xiii. 22), are said to have been all three found there (Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 10) no less than forty-five years afterwards (Josh. xiv. 7, 10)." Such empty arguments as these are truly not worth refuting.

GOTHE, however, has acted more foolishly still (*West-östlicher Divan: "Israel in der Wüste"*). The compilation of the Pentateuch is "extremely sad, confused, and incomprehensible," "aiming, as it evidently does, in so trivial a manner to multiply the quantity of religious ceremonies." The journey through the desert, he says, did not occupy quite so long as *two* years; the eighteen stations in Num. xxxiii. 19–35 are pure inventions, intended to give some colour to the fable, which is served up, of a forty years' sojourn in the desert.—The reader would probably like to see a brief sketch of the leading ideas of this remarkable treatise. Any further criticism we must beg to be spared.—According to *Göthe*, Moses was of a wild character, shut up in himself, muddy in his brains, extremely contracted, quite unable to think; and the careful training which he received at the Egyptian court was entirely thrown away upon him. Under all circumstances, he continued just what he was—boorish, powerful, reserved, incapable of sympathy, not born for thought and meditation, unable to project a sensible plan, unskilful in everything he took in hand, etc., etc. When Pharaoh had refused the application of Moses that he would let the people go, some land plagues accidentally came in to favour his enterprise, and he and his people immediately broke through all their obligations. "Under the pretence of celebrating a general festival, they obtained vessels of gold and silver from their neighbours; and at the very moment, when the Egyptians believed the Israelites to be partaking of a harmless meal, an inverted Sicilian vesper was in hand. The foreigner murdered the native, the guest the host; and, under the influence of a cruel policy, they slew none but the first-born, in order that, in a country where primogeniture has so many privileges, the selfish feelings of the younger might be excited, and their immediate revenge avoided

by a rapid flight. The scheme was successful; the murderers were thrust out instead of being punished. It was not till some time afterwards that the king collected an army; but his horsemen and scythe-chariots fought at a great disadvantage on a marshy soil with the light-armed rear." Under the difficulties of a journey through the desert, Moses was always at a loss how to satisfy his discontented followers. He felt that he was "born to act and govern, but nature had refused him the necessary materials for so dangerous an occupation." He imagined that, as ruler, he ought to trouble himself about the smallest trifles. "It was Jethro who first suggested the plan, which he ought to have thought of himself, of classifying the people and appointing inferior officers." The only road that any reasonable man would have thought of taking from Sinai to Palestine, was the one which goes along the east of the land of the Edomites, and passes through the cultivated country of the Midianites and Moabites to the Jordan. But Moses was blockhead enough to listen to the crafty Midianite, who persuaded him to lead the people right across the desert, from one corner to the other. "Unfortunately, Moses possessed even less military than administrative talent." Hence he was altogether at a loss what to do, when there was a division of opinion at Kadesh. He first of all gave orders for the attack; and then afterwards, even he discovered that there were dangers in an attack from this side. He then applied for a free passage through the Edomites' country; but the Edomites were too wise for this, and gave him a direct refusal. The Israelites were now compelled to turn back, and take the route which a very little reflection would have induced their leader to decide upon when first they set out from Sinai. Henceforth everything went well. "In the meantime Miriam had died, and Aaron had disappeared, shortly after their opposition to Moses." The Midianites were exterminated, and the country to the east of the Jordan conquered. But instead of hurrying forwards in their course of victory, laws were given and fresh arrangements made, in precisely the old style. "In the midst of all this work, Moses himself disappeared, just in the same way in which Aaron had disappeared before; and we are very much mistaken if Joshua and Caleb were not glad to see the government of a man of contracted mind, which they had borne for so many years, brought to an end, and to send him after the many whom he had been

the means of sending before him, in order that they might put an end to the whole matter, and go seriously to work to take possession of the whole of the right bank of the Jordan, and the country which it bounded." Two years are amply sufficient for everything that the historical account contains. And the artificial chronology of the Old Testament is sufficient to explain how it was that, in the hands of a confused compiler, the two grew into forty. It was necessary that the whole should admit of being divided into definite periods of forty-nine years each (or jubilee periods); and, in order to bring out these mystical epochs, many historical numbers had to be altered. "And where would it be possible to find a better opportunity for interpolating the thirty-eight years, which were wanting in one of the cycles, than in an epoch involved in such deep obscurity?" "Moreover, forty is a round and sacred number, for which the editor had, no doubt, a peculiar liking. But, in order that the interpolated years might not appear to be altogether visionary, he drew from his own resources a whole series of stations, as the last of which he gave Eziongeber, on the Red Sea, from a misinterpretation of Num. xiv. 25 ('To-morrow turn you, and get you into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea')."

In Josh. v. 6 the forty years are altered into two-and-forty in the Vatican codex of the Septuagint, evidently from an idea that the forty years were to be reckoned from the sentence pronounced at Kadesh, and not from the exodus from Egypt.

(2.) We have already proved, in opposition to *Ewald*, that there were *two* separate encampments at Kadesh (*vid.* § 30, 1). —As we observed before, he will not admit that the Israelites came more than once to Kadesh. Yet even he acknowledges that the places, which are mentioned in the catalogue, between Rithmah (*i.e.*, Kadesh) and Kadesh, have reference to the thirty-seven years during which the ban rested upon Israel. But, according to his explanation, these seventeen stations merely point out the southern line of the space over which the people scattered themselves, whilst Moses remained at Kadesh with the sanctuary and a small portion of the people. But this explanation is as wide of the mark as it possibly can be. It was not by the separate parties which were scattered over the desert in search of pasture, that the Israel who was condemned to wander in the desert was represented, but by Moses and the sanctuary;

and "the constantly recurring expressions, 'they broke up,' and 'they encamped,' are inseparably connected with the pillar of cloud and the tabernacle."

This question has been most fully discussed in all its bearings by Tuch (in the treatise already referred to at § 23). He says: "There is doubtless some difficulty connected with the statement, that in the last year of the wanderings of the Israelites, when they had made up their minds to cross the Jordan and enter Canaan from the east, they were summoned back from *Eziongeber* to the southern border of Canaan, which they had left thirty-seven years before; especially as the only result was, that after the failure of negotiations with the king of Edom, which might have been carried on from a point much farther to the south, they were led southwards once more, into the neighbourhood of *Eziongeber*, and eventually started thence on their journey to the land on the east of the Jordan. But we shall not find anything to astonish us, if we consider, in the first place, that Israel did not come twice from the south to Kadesh in full marching order—that, in fact, in a certain sense it had never left Kadesh, and during the thirty-seven years this place had formed the northern boundary, and principal point in that portion of the desert over which it was scattered, the southern boundary being on the Elanitic Gulf; and, secondly, that it was a matter of great importance, in connection with the general training of the Israelites, that at the close of the period of the curse inflicted by God, they should assemble together in the very same spot in which the sentence was first pronounced."

We shall reserve any further discussion of this second reason till § 44, 1; but, in the meantime, we may add, that when the Israelites resolved to pass through the land of the Edomites, they could not have had any ground for doubting the success of their negotiations, seeing that they could hardly have expected from a brother-nation so unbrotherly a refusal as they actually received. If they had had any reason to fear, that they might possibly receive a negative reply to their modest request; then, and then only, it might have been advisable to carry on the negotiations from Eziongeber, when they would have been in a position, in case of refusal, to skirt the country of the Edomites without going very far round, or even with very little difficulty to force a passage through the country on the eastern side of the

mountains; whereas from Kadesh it would be impossible to force a passage, and to skirt the country would take them an enormous way round. If, on the other hand, the Israelites had every reason to anticipate an affirmative reply from the Edomites; then, from a regard to the Edomites themselves, they would prefer to commence the march from Kadesh rather than from Eziongeber, as a line drawn through the country from the former (from west to east) would be much shorter than from the latter (from south to north).

There is nothing irreconcileable in the two statements, that, on the one hand, Israel had never left Kadesh, and on the other, came to Kadesh a second time. The great mass of the people scattered themselves in smaller or larger groups about the peninsula, for the purpose of seeking sustenance; but if any considerable portion of the nation remained at Kadesh, after the dispersion of the others, then Kadesh would still be to a certain extent the place of encampment and rendezvous. At the same time, repeated departures and encampments might be spoken of, as in Num. xxxiii. 19–36, if the head-quarters, with Moses at the head and the sanctuary in the midst, made the circuit of the desert in the thirty-seven years, for the purpose of visiting the different parties which were dispersed about in search of food, and making with each a certain stay.

With this explanation, all the separate notices, which are scattered throughout the Pentateuch, become clear and intelligible. And there is also no difficulty in explaining how it is, that in the historical account in Num. xiii.–xx., there is no notice of any formal departure from Kadesh, as in the case of all the previous stations, for no departure ever took place in the same sense as before.—This will also explain the otherwise singular expression in Deut. i. 46, "So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according unto the days that ye abode there," as well as the words which immediately follow in Deut. ii. 1, "Then *we* turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea." The change of subject does not appear to be merely accidental and unmeaning. In Deut. i. 46, the second person ("ye") is employed, because only a portion of the congregation continued the whole time in Kadesh, and Moses and the tabernacle did not remain constantly there. In chap. ii. 1, the first person ("we") is used, on account of the whole congregation

being now assembled once more at Kadesh, and departing thence *as a body* to the Red Sea, for the purpose of proceeding round the mountains of Seir.—Moreover, "the commencement and close of this intermediate period are brought into connection with each other, by the characteristic expression כָּל־הָעֵדָה ("all the congregation," Num. xiii. 26, and xx. 1). This express reference, which we meet with nowhere else, to the fact that the *whole* congregation was at Kadesh on these two occasions, appears to lead to the conclusion, that the congregation was dispersed during the intermediate period. "In precisely the same manner we find the same expression כל־העדה (all the congregation) employed in Num. xx. 22, for the purpose of distinguishing the later visit to Mount Hor from the earlier one mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 30 (Moseroth, *i.e.*, Hor; *vid.* § 30, 1), and of showing that the *whole* nation had now for the first time taken its departure from Kadesh" (*Fries*, p. 53).—Lastly, no other view than this—namely, that the people were scattered over the whole desert, and therefore did not continue in uninterrupted communication with Moses and the sanctuary—will explain the statement made in Ex. xx. 25, 26, where the description given of the idolatrous practices of the Israelites cannot possibly be understood as referring to any other period than to these thirty-seven years (*vid.* § 43, 2).

We close these remarks with a passing quotation of the words of the excellent author, whose thorough investigation has so essentially, and in so many respects, facilitated the solution of the difficult question respecting Kadesh. "As the Israelites knew that they were to remain in the desert for the period of an entire generation, the thought forces itself upon us, that a nation containing three (? two) millions of men, possessing considerable flocks and herds, and limited to an area of about 130 miles long and 50 miles broad, would not be likely to prepare for perpetually travelling about, but would rather distribute itself about the district assigned it, and make arrangements for temporary settlements, in which to wait for the period when it would again assemble as a body in one spot, and proceed to its final destination. But we can easily understand why, at this point of time, when there was no reason for anticipating a refusal on the part of Edom, instead of that portion of the nation, which was in Kadesh and the northern district, proceeding to Eziongeber, the

other portion which was in Eziongeber and the southern district, should proceed to Kadesh, in which, as K. Ritter says, all the desert roads meet together" (*vid. Fries*, p. 56).

§ 42.—The period of the thirty-seven years' ban, which lies between the first and second encampments at Kadesh, has *not* been included in the formal history of the theocracy (Num. 13 sqq.). The cause of this omission is hardly to be sought in the fact, that nothing occurred, during the whole of these thirty-seven years, either worth recording, or that would have been recorded under other circumstances. Nor is it to be discovered merely in the fact, that the existing generation was under the ban of rejection; for the rejection was not an absolute one, but merely relative: even the *rejected* generation was only excluded from the possession of the land, and *not* from the covenant with Jehovah, and the blessings of His salvation. How far the rejection was from being the sole ground of the silence, is evident from the fact, that the history does not break off immediately after the rejection, but embraces several events, as well as several groups of laws, which belong to the period subsequent to the rejection. Moreover, the period of rejection was *not* completed, when the whole congregation assembled once more at Kadesh, in the first month of the fortieth year; and yet the thread of the history is resumed at this point (Num. xx. 1). It is apparent, therefore, that there must have been other considerations, which determined what should be omitted from the sacred records, and how much they should preserve. So far as the sacred records were concerned, there was *no history* between the first and second encampments at Kadesh. But, whatever happened *while* the first encampment lasted, and whatever occurred *after* the second encampment had taken place, was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded. If we endeavour to ascertain the causes, of what appears at first sight to be a somewhat strange and arbitrary limitation of the history, there are two points of view from which it admits of explanation. *In the first place*, so far as the wanderings in the desert are concerned, nothing of

a stationary (or retrograde) character was regarded as forming part of the history to be recorded, but only that which was *progressive*. (Allusion has already been made to this in § 39, 1.) From Sinai to Kadesh the Israelites were moving forwards. At Kadesh they were on the very borders of Canaan: only one step further, and their feet would stand upon the holy land of the pilgrimage of their fathers, which was destined to be their own inheritance. But during the thirty-seven years, about which the scriptural records are silent, the history of Israel did not advance a single step towards its immediate object, the conquest of the promised land. On the contrary, for thirty-seven years it remained perfectly still. It was very different in the fortieth year, when they were journeying from Kadesh to the plains of Moab. The events which took place during this year were not of a stationary character, but steadily progressive, and brought them nearer and nearer to the end in view. Under the unfavourable circumstances of the times, their *nearest* way from Kadesh to Canaan was round Mount Seir, through the plains of Moab, and across the Jordan. Even the journey from Kadesh to the Red Sea, which was a retrograde movement geographically considered, was a progressive movement so far as the history was concerned.—*In the second place*, the thirty-seven years were not only stationary in their character—years of detention, and therefore without a history,—but they were also years of dispersion. The congregation had lost its unity, had ceased to be one compact body; its organisation was broken up, and its members were isolated the one from the other. In order to procure its daily sustenance, Israel had been obliged to scatter itself far and wide in the desert, one family settling here, and another there. But it was only Israel as a *whole*, the combination of all the component parts, the *whole congregation*, with the ark of the covenant and the pillar of cloud in the midst, which came within the scope of the sacred records;—not the scattered and isolated fragments, the solitary and disconnected members.

§ 43. (Deut. viii. 2–6; Josh. v. 4–9; Ezek. xx. 10–26; Amos v. 25, 26.)—But even if the direct history is silent respecting these thirty-seven years, there are occasional allusions in other portions of the Holy Scriptures, which throw a few rays of light upon the obscurity of this period. In the exhortations of the Deuteronomist, for example (particularly in Deut. viii.), reference is repeatedly made to it; and even the later prophets make very instructive remarks with regard to it. The Deuteronomist addresses the Israelites, who are now arrived in the plains of Moab, in such words as these: "Remember *all* the way which Jehovah, thy God, hath led you these forty years in the desert; to humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandment, or no. And so He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna. . . . Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years (1). See, therefore, that as a man traineth up his son, so Jehovah traineth thee." According to this, the whole forty years, including the thirty-seven years of detention, may be regarded in the same light, as years of training and temptation, of humiliation and blessing, of natural wants and supernatural assistance. And here again we also see, that we are not warranted in making so broad a distinction throughout, as is commonly made, between the three years of progress and the thirty-seven years of detention. The relation in which Jehovah stood to the nation was not altered by the sentence of detention; and the people continued essentially the same in their relation to Jehovah, always ready to despair, constantly murmuring, easily excited to rebellion; but always rising again after their fall, and penitent after their sin. And the prophet *Jeremiah* could just as truly say, with reference to one side of the national character at this time, "Thus saith Jehovah: I remember the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, how thou wentest after Me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown; Israel was holiness unto Jehovah, the first-fruits of His increase" (chap. ii. 2, 3), as the

prophet *Ezekiel*, with regard to the other side, "But the house of Israel rebelled against Me in the wilderness. . . . Then I said that I would pour out My fury upon them in the wilderness to consume them; nevertheless I withdrew My hand, and wrought for My name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth. I lifted up my Mine hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them; . . . because they despised My judgments, and walked not in My statutes, but polluted My Sabbaths, for their eyes were after their fathers' idols" (chap. xx.).—This is how the prophet speaks of the whole forty years in the desert, and therefore of the generation of the fathers as well as of that of the sons (2). —On the other hand, what the prophet *Amos* says with reference to star-worship, on the part of the Israelites, does not relate to Israel in the desert. It is true the passage in question appears to say, that the sacrificial rites prescribed by the law were not maintained in their full extent—and, in fact, they could hardly have been carried out under the peculiar circumstances of the life in the desert, especially during the period of the thirty-seven years' dispersion. But Amos does not charge Israel with any sin. On the contrary, he simply calls attention to the fact, that notwithstanding all this, the time of their sojourn in the desert was richer than any other in glorious manifestations of the grace of Jehovah (3).—That the *circumcision* of those who were born in the desert was frequently neglected, is evident from Josh. v. 4–9; and it stands to reason that the annual celebration of the *Passover* cannot have taken place (4).

(1.) The history of the exposition of Deut. viii. 4 and xxix. 5 (*cf.* Neh. ix. 21) furnishes one of the most striking examples, of the extent to which a merely literal exegesis of the Scriptures may go astray. A whole series of both Jewish and Christian commentators interpret these passages, without the least hesitation, as meaning that the clothes and shoes of the Israelitish children grew with their growth, and remained for the whole of

the forty years not in the least the worse for wear. Thus, for example, *Justin* says (Dial. c. Tryph. c. 131): "The strings of whose sandals never broke; nor did the sandals themselves get old, nor their clothes wear out, *but those of the children* grew with their growth (*συνηύξανε*)." In *A. Pfeiffer* (*dub. vexata*, p. 305) the *Decisio* runs as follows: "By a remarkable miracle, not only did the clothes of the Israelites in desert never get old, but they grew with the growth of the Israelites themselves, so as to fit both boys and men in succession." *Pfeiffer* also quotes a Rabbinical saying with approbation: "Go and learn from the snail, whose shell grows with its body." Other Rabbins suppose the angels of God to have acted as tailors to the Israelites, while they were in the desert; and interpret Ezek. xvi. 10–13 as containing a literal allusion to the fact.—Without going to such an absurd length as this, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Grotius*, and even *Deyling* (*De miraculosa vestium Israel. conservatione in deserto; Obss.* ii. 242 sqq.), abide by the literal explanation, that through the blessing of God, the clothes and shoes never wore out; so that those who grew to manhood were able to hand them over, as good as new, to the rising generation. By thus assuming a succession of wearers, these commentators, at least, escaped the fatal notion that the clothes and shoes grew with the bodies of the wearers.—When first *Is. Peyrerius*, the "infelicissimus fabulae Præadamiticæ auctor," denied that the clothes and shoes of the Israelites were miraculously preserved for forty years, and maintained, that "the meaning of the Mosaic account was nothing more than this, that the Jews were never in want of anything during the whole of the forty years that they were in the desert, but had so abundant a supply of everything, especially of wool from their flocks, of cloth, of skins, and of leather, that they were never without materials from which to make their clothes,"—*Deyling*, who is usually so very temperate, protested most vehemently against such "*petulantia et impietas*." Nevertheless, the opinion expressed by Peyrerius became gradually the prevailing one. We find it advocated, for example, by *Clericus*, *Buddeus*, and *Lilienthal* (ix. 260 sqq.). The last of the three, however, thinks it necessary to point, not only to the flocks possessed by the Israelites, from which they could obtain both wool and leather in great abundance, but also to the fact, that every Israelite

must certainly have brought some clothes and shoes with him out of Egypt; that they asked the Egyptians for clothes, and obtained them (Ex. iii. 22, xii. 35); that they would no doubt take off the clothes of the Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea, and afterwards washed on shore (Ex. xiv. 30); and lastly, that they took the booty of the conquered Amalekites, including, according to Josephus, a quantity of clothes.

(2.) *Ezekiel* (chap. xx. 10–26) makes a distinction between the two generations in the desert, the fathers and the children, though only so far as the time is concerned; for all that he says in vers. 10–17 of the generation of the fathers, he repeats almost word for word, in vers. 18–26, of the generation of the children. The prophet makes no allusion whatever to the fact, that in the children there had grown up a race, of strong and living faith, and differing essentially from the generation of their fathers. And even the Pentateuch does not say that this was the case. According to the Pentateuch, the Israel of the fortieth year, as Num. xx. 2 sqq. and xxi. 5 plainly show, was in general the same discontented, murmuring, God-tempting race, as the Israel of the first and second years.

The greatest difficulty arises from the words of the prophet in vers. 23–26. After saying of the *fathers* in ver. 15, "I lifted up My hand unto them in the wilderness" (because they walked not in My statutes, and polluted My Sabbaths, and their heart went after their idols), "that I might not bring them into the land which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey;" He speaks of the sons in such terms as these: "I lifted up Mine hand unto them in the wilderness, to scatter them among the nations, and disperse them among the lands; because they had not executed My judgments, but had despised My statutes, and had polluted My Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols. . . . *And I also gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments, whereby they (should) not live; and I polluted them through their gifts, in that they offered all the first-born*, that I might destroy them, that they might know that I am Jehovah."

The majority of commentators understand ver. 23 to be a prediction and threat of their *future* banishment from the promised land (in the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities). I must however regard this explanation as inadmissible. If ver.

15, with its threatening to the fathers, undoubtedly relates to their exclusion from possessing the promised land, which took effect immediately, the threatening contained in ver. 23 must also be understood as relating to the immediate future, that is, to the years of their sojourn in the desert. This is placed beyond all doubt by the words of Jehovah: "I lifted up My hand unto them *in the wilderness*," etc. And this explanation is in perfect harmony with the history given in the Pentateuch, which, as we have shown above, presupposes the splitting up of the congregation into a number of smaller parties, and their dispersion over the great desert. Undoubtedly there is something striking in the expression which the prophet employs: "I will scatter them among the nations, and disperse them among the lands,"—an expression which immediately suggests the thought of the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, to which it is much more applicable than to the sojourn in the desert. But undoubtedly the prophet wishes to recall the latter to mind. It is evidently his intention, to represent the thirty-seven years' dispersion in the desert, as a type of the Assyrian and Babylonian dispersion. And, in fact, they may both be looked at from precisely the same point of view. In both we have punishment for the unbelief and disobedience of the nation; in both, exclusion from the land of promise; and in both, division and dispersion. The expressions, "among the lands," and "among the nations," are more applicable to the Assyrio-Babylonian exile, and it was from this that the prophet borrowed them; but in order that he might show how unmistakeable a parallel existed between the two periods, he transferred them to the exile in the desert. And they may be appropriately used, even with reference to this, though possibly in not quite so natural a way; for the large and wide-spread desert, to the uttermost ends of which the people dispersed themselves, was not altogether uninhabited. There were certain Amalekitish, Midianitish, and possibly other tribes, who led a nomad life in the desert itself; and it was surrounded by the most diverse nations—Egyptians, Philistines, Amalekites, Amorites, Edomites, and Midianites.

But confessedly the most difficult passage of all is vers. 25, 26: "*But I also gave them statutes that were not good*, and *judgments, whereby they* (should) *not live; and I polluted them through their own gifts*," etc. (See the commentaries on this

passage; also *S. Deyling*, *De statutis non bonis*, in his *Obss. ss.* ii. 300 sqq.; *Vitringa*, *Obss. ss.* i. 261 sqq.; *Hacspan*, *Notæ philol.*, ii. 837 sqq.; *Lilienthal*, *gute Sache*, iii. § 111–119; and others.) —The Manicheans made use of this passage to justify their rejection of the Old Testament. The following explanations have been given of the "statutes that were not good." (i.) *Human traditions*, to which God gave them up. *Jerome*, for example, says there were "the commentaries of men; a large mass of errors and superstitions, in which there was no light, no life, and no salvation: possibly the constitutions of the Talmud and other similar trifles, which prevailed among the later Jews, and by which they were blinded and led astray." *Hacspan*, *Grotius*, *J. H. Michaelis*, *Maurer*, and others, give a similar explanation. But there is not the slightest indication of anything of this kind previous to the captivity.—(ii.) *The laws*, which they were to receive from their enemies, into whose hands God subsequently gave them up. This is *D. Kimchi's* explanation.—(iii.) The *threats and denunciations of punishment*, which were announced to them by Moses in the name of God, and which took effect immediately. *Glassius*, *Lilienthal*, *Rosenmüller*, and others, adopt this interpretation. But *threats* are one thing; statutes and judgments are something very different.—(iv.) *The law generally*, as contrasted with the *Gospel;* or else the *ceremonial law*, as contrasted with the *moral law*. *Ambrosius*, *Augustine*, and others, adopt the former view; *Marsham*, *Spencer*, and others, the latter. *Spencer's* interpretation is the following: "I gave laws to the Israelites, who had recently been delivered from their bondage in Egypt—laws adapted not for slaves, but for freeborn men; such as were commended by their own native goodness, and would promote the well-being of those who obeyed them. But because they transgressed these laws, on account of their being new, and not in harmony with their previous habits, and were perpetually turning to idolatry; at length I gave them other laws, which, though not essentially good, acted as a yoke to break the stiffneckedness of the people, and take away from them every opportunity and all possibility of returning to the manners and customs of Egypt." But both of these explanations must be most decidedly rejected. The prophet, in this case, would not only be at variance with the Pentateuch (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 47, "For it is not a vain word for you, but it is your life"),

but he would most thoroughly contradict himself; for in vers. 11, 13, and 21, he speaks distinctly of the statutes and judgments of the Mosaic law, as being of such a character that the man who did them would *live by them*. And to think of only the moral law in this connection, would be perfectly absurd, apart from all other considerations, for the simple reason, that in every instance the desecration of the Sabbath is distinctly mentioned. And it shows just as grievous a misapprehension to appeal, as some do, in confirmation of this opinion, to the remarks made by the Apostle Paul as to the obligation to observe the ceremonial law.—(v.) *Heathen*, or *idolatrous customs*, to which Jehovah gave them up as a punishment for their sins,—in the sense of Rom. i. 24, 25. This is the view entertained by *Calvin*, *Vitringa*, *Hävernick*, and others.—(vi.) The *laws of worship*, which were *given by Jehovah*, but misinterpreted and perverted by the people in a godless and heathen manner. This is *Umbreit's* explanation. The last two are essentially one, seeing that they both of them bring against the Israelites the charge of carrying on heathen worship in the desert, and both perceive in this a proof of the judicial will of God. *Hävernick* traces an analogy between the expression, "I gave them statutes," and two expressions in the New Testament, *viz.*, Acts vii. 42, "God gave them up to worship the host of heaven," and Rom. i. 26, "God also gave them up unto vile affections." But *Hitzig* has very properly objected to this, that the passages would be parallel, if the words of Ezekiel were, "*I gave them up to such statutes*," and not otherwise; for in that case some other than Jehovah might have given them the statutes. But the same objection does not apply to the third passage adduced by *Hävernick* as analogous, *viz.*, 2 Thess. ii. 11, "For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie;" to which we might add Ps. cix. 17, "As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him; as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him." But these analogies may be appealed to, as favouring *Umbreit's* explanation quite as much as *Hävernick's*. And we prefer *Umbreit's; in the first place*, because the analogy of the calf-worship at Sinai shows, that at this time the idolatrous tendencies of the Israelites did not lead them to give themselves up directly to heathenism, but rather to retain the name and forms of the worship of Jehovah, whilst they gave it a heathenish nature;

and, *in the second place*, because the prophet himself explains what he says by citing an example, which evidently points to a law of the theocracy (Ex. xiii. 12, 13), namely, the untheocratical offering of the first-born. The offering of all the first-born of man and beast was commanded by Jehovah Himself. It was good in itself, and subservient to the well-being of the citizen of the theocracy, whenever he carried it out in the sense and manner required by God. But it was not good, and instead of promoting life and salvation, it polluted and corrupted him, when it was practised in a heathen sense and in a heathen manner. Now the prophet distinctly tells us that the latter was the case in the desert. But even when abused in this ungodly manner, the statute itself still continued to be one given by Jehovah; and, still more than this, even the fact that it was misinterpreted and abused, and that it afterwards polluted and corrupted, was to be traced to Jehovah, so far as it was a realisation of His determination to punish Israel.

The information which we obtain from the prophet's words, respecting the religious condition of Israel in the desert, is in general this, that they either despised the statutes of Jehovah, or else abused them, so as to render them heathenish in their character. Two special examples are given: viz., *first*, the desecration of the Sabbaths of Jehovah—a neglect of the times appointed for the Sabbath and for religious worship, which could hardly take place without the whole of the worship of the theocracy being neglected; and *secondly*, a false and ungodly, that is, heathenish observance, of the command to sanctify all the first-born. With regard to the latter, it is still questionable, *how far* this abuse to heathenish ends proceeded. The prophet says that Israel was polluted, through offering *all* the first-born. The law, in Ex. xiii. 12, 13, did not command that *all* the first-born should be sacrificed, but only the first-born of clean beasts: those of men were to be redeemed, and those of unclean beasts either put to death (without sacrificing) or redeemed. The crime of the Israelites probably consisted in the fact, that they actually sacrificed the first-born, as was the case in connection with heathen worship. In fact, the dedication of the first-born, in the manner practised in connection with the worship of Moloch, is as good as expressly mentioned, seeing that the word employed by the prophet (הַעֲבִיר, *i.e.*, to cause to pass through, *sc.* the fire;

*cf.* ver. 31) was a technical term peculiar to the Moloch worship.[1]

It is by no means incredible, or improbable, that during the time when the Israelites were scattered about in the desert, and isolated from the sanctuary, particular instances may have occurred of human sacrifices (the offering of the first-born). If we only consider the magic power of the Nature-worship of that time, the tendency of the Israelites to give way to it, the deep religious element which pervaded a worship characterised by human sacrifices, notwithstanding the fearful cruelty connected with it (vol. i. § 65, 1), the force of temptation, and the example of the heathen round about (think of Serbal, for instance, § 5, 4) —we shall not think it incomprehensible, that there should have been so thorough a perversion of the religious feeling on the part of the Israelites; especially if we bear in mind, that the greater part of the nation was scattered about and left to itself, and not only isolated from the tabernacle, but deprived, in consequence, of the instructions, warnings, and exhortations of Moses, the revelations and chastisements of Jehovah, and, in fact, of the whole spiritual support furnished by the worship of the sanctuary.

But the words of the prophet are not to be strained unreasonably, so as to be made to mean that the evils referred to were usually, and in fact invariably, associated with the religious worship of this period. Ample justice will be done to the words of the prophet, if we merely suppose him to mean that there were cases of this kind, of more or less frequent occurrence, not that they were by any means universal, or even the general rule. The tone of the prophet's address is that of denunciation; and, under such circumstances, it is neither expected nor required that the state of things on all sides should be fully described, and that if there was anything good, anything noble, any fidelity or truth at all, it should be carefully recorded side by side with the moral

[1] This is certainly incorrect. The term הַעֲבִיר is no doubt employed on many occasions in connection with the dedication of children to Moloch, and in two or three instances בָּאֵשׁ is added, to show that children so dedicated passed through the fire. But the word הַעֲבַרְתָּ occurs as early as Ex. xiii. 12, in connection, not with the worship of Moloch, but the worship of Jehovah ("And thou shalt set apart—הַעֲבַרְתָּ, cause to pass over—to the Lord all that openeth the matrix, etc.").—*Tr.*

and religious transgressions and sins. From an address, the purport of which is to administer only a severe rebuke, we naturally expect to obtain merely a one-sided, faulty picture of the period to which it refers. And we repeat what we have already said, that the love-song of Jeremiah, with reference to the bridal condition of Israel in the desert (Jer. ii. 2, 3), may stand side by side with the denunciations of Ezekiel (*vid.* § 1, 2).

(3.) For the interpretation of the very difficult passage, Amos v. 25–27, of which the excellent and learned *Selden* was obliged to admit, "in loco isto Amos prophetæ obscuro me tam coecutire sentio, ut nihil omnino videam," consult not only the commentators, such as *Rosenmüller*, *Hitzig*, *Maurer*, *Ewald*, *Umbreit*, and *G. Baur*, but also *Braun* (Selecta ss., p. 477 sqq.), *Vitringa* (Observv. ss., 1, 241 sqq.), *Witsius* (Miscellanea ss., 1, 608 sqq.), *Deyling* (Observv. ss., ii. 444 sqq.), *Lilienthal* (Gute Sache, iii. 327 sqq.), *Spencer* (de legg. Hebr., iii. c. 3, 1), *N. G. Schröder* (de tabernaculo Mosis et stellæ Dei Rempha, Marp. 1745), *Jablonsky* (Remphan Ægyptiorum Deus, Opusc. ii. p. 1 sqq.), *J. D. Michaelis* (Supplem. ad Lex. p. 1226 sqq.), *Gesenius* (Thesaurus, p. 669), *Vatke* (bibl. Theol. i. 190 sqq.), *Hengstenberg* (Beitr. ii. 108 sqq.), *Movers* (Phönizier, i. 289 sqq.), *Winer* (Reallex. s. v. Saturn), *E. Meier* (Studien und Kritiken, 1843, p. 1030 sqq.), *Fr. Düsterdieck* (Studien und Kritiken, 1849, p. 908 sqq.).

This passage has recently acquired even greater importance than it possessed before, from the fact that *Vatke* and others have taken it as the basis of an entirely new religious history of the Israelitish nation. *Vatke*, for example, seeks to prove that the Pentateuch contains the priests' legend, in which the early history is altered to suit private ends. In the prophets, on the other hand, there is another stream of tradition, which has preserved the early history of the nation in a pure and unadulterated form, and to which we must therefore look for means to rectify the myth of the priests. From the passage in Amos (in connection with that in Ezekiel xx.) *Vatke* then proceeds to demonstrate, that the Israelitish nation was at first addicted to the worship of Nature, which prevailed among the Canaanites and Phœnicians; and that it was only at a later period, and very slowly, that, under the influence of the prophets, the worship of Jehovah prevailed over that of Nature. *Daumer* calls the passage

in Amos "a monstrous assertion, which destroys the whole of our traditional theology with one blow" (*Feuer-und Molochsdienst der alten Isr.*, p. 47).

In vers. 21–24, the prophet declares to the people that Jehovah takes no pleasure in the *outward, hypocritical* observance of feasts, sacrifices, and prayers, without the corresponding feeling, without purity of heart and uprightness of life. He then proceeds to say in ver. 25: "*Have ye offered unto Me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?* (Ver. 26.) *And now ye carry* (*? then ye carried*) *the tabernacle of your King, and the stand of your images* (אֶת סִכּוּת מַלְכְּכֶם וְאֶת כִּיּוּן צַלְמֵיכֶם), *the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.* (Ver. 27.) *Therefore I lead you captive beyond Damascus, saith Jehovah, whose name is the God of hosts.*"

That the ה in הַזְּבָחִים (ver. 25) is neither the article, nor the demonstrative pronoun, as *Maurer* and others suppose, but the interrogative particle, is admitted by nearly all modern commentators. But if the verse is to read as a question, which it certainly is, it still remains doubtful whether an affirmative or a negative reply is expected; in other words, whether the prophet intended to affirm that the Israelites had, or that they had not, offered sacrifices and offerings during the forty years spent in the desert. *Umbreit* supports the former view, the majority of commentators the latter. It is equally difficult to decide whether ver. 26 (וּנְשָׂאתֶם אֶת סִכּוּת) is to be understood as referring to the past, *i.e.*, to the forty years' sojourn in the desert, as *Hitzig*, *Baur*, and the majority of commentators of both ancient and modern times suppose, or to the prophet's own days, as *Rückert*, *Umbreit*, and *Düsterdieck* think, or whether *Ewald* is right in regarding it as a prediction of the future. And whichever we select, a still further question arises: In what relation does ver. 25 stand to ver. 26?—There can be no doubt whatever that ver. 27 refers to the future.

*Umbreit* gives this exposition: "What a miserable inconsistency you children of Israel are guilty of! You first sacrifice for forty years to the one holy God, and then carry about the images of strange and false gods." But, assuming that an affirmative answer is implied in ver. 25, it would perhaps be more in harmony with the context, both before and afterwards, to interpret it thus: "During your forty years' sojourn in the

desert you offered sacrifices to Me; yet (ver. 26) at the same time you practised idolatry."—The connection between ver. 25 and the preceding and following verses is variously explained, by those who are of opinion that the answer should be in the negative. *Jerome*, for example, laid the emphasis upon the לִי, "not *to Me*, but to idols ye offered sacrifices." *Ewald* interprets the passage in this way: "At one time the Israelites offered no sacrifices to Jehovah for forty years" (for in the wretched, barren desert, they could not offer them; at least, as individuals, they had no means of doing so, even if it were the case that at times there was offered in the name of the congregation a miserable sacrifice, not worthy to be named by the side of the fat beasts which were afterwards sacrificed even by private individuals; cf. Hos. ii. 5–16; Jer. vii. 22, 23); "and yet this was the golden age of Israel, with which Jehovah was so well pleased. So little does it depend upon such sacrifices as these!" He then connects vers. 26, 27 with vers. 21–24, in the following manner: "If they (*viz.*, the Israelites of the prophet's own days) are such infatuated traitors to the true religion, they will be suddenly overpowered and put to flight by the enemy, as a proper punishment; and, taking upon their backs the wretched idols of every kind, which their own hands have made, to see if they might possibly help them, they will be carried far away to the north into captivity by the true God whom they despise."

In our opinion, there can be no doubt that the question in ver. 26 should receive a negative reply. This is more in harmony, not only with the Pentateuch, but also with the context of the passage itself. It is true that, according to the account contained in the Pentateuch, the period spent in the desert was by no means altogether without sacrifices. In fact, it was to this period that the fundamental sacrifices connected with the conclusion of the covenant, the first consecration of the priesthood, the dedication of the sanctuary, and other things, belonged. But notwithstanding this, the prophet could very well say: "Did ye then offer Me sacrifices in the desert?"—for he was thinking of the number, the universality, and the variety of the sacrifices offered in his own day. In the context of the passage, especially in vers. 21–24, he refers not to an absolute, but merely to a relative want of sacrifices in the desert. In contrast with the requirements of the fully developed laws of the Pentateuch, as

well as with the practice of the prophet's own times, the period spent in the desert was apparently without sacrifice. The rare, and comparatively insignificant sacrifices which were offered in the desert, were lost in the general barrenness of the period. It was just as if there were no offerings presented at all. To give effect to all the laws of sacrifice which were laid down by the great lawgiver, and actually carried out by a later age, was an absolute impossibility under the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. From the very nature of the case, and therefore according to the expectation and intention of Moses himself, the ceremonial law could not be carried out in its full extent, till after the settlement of the nation in the promised land. Hence the omission of sacrifice in the desert would not of itself preclude the favour of God from resting upon the youthful community. And this is just the point of the prophet's argument. The fact that feasts and sacrifices are not sufficient of themselves, apart from the proper state of mind, and merely regarded as an *opus operatum*, to ensure the favour and good pleasure of Jehovah, is established by a reference to this period, in which the feasts and sacrifices were interrupted to such an extent, and were so meagre and imperfect, that they might be regarded as having no existence at all, though it was nevertheless a period more highly distinguished for manifestations of the grace of God than any succeeding age (*cf.* chap. ii. 10).

Moreover, with regard to ver. 26 itself, we are thoroughly convinced that the only admissible explanation is that which refers it to the prophet's own times. If the idolatry alluded to in ver. 26 belonged to a past age, then ver. 27, with its threats of punishment, has nothing whatever to rest upon. The captivity predicted can only be regarded as a direct punishment for the sins of the existing generation, certainly not for the idolatry practised in the earliest period of the nation's history; yet it is upon the statement made in ver. 26 that the threat in ver. 27 apparently rests. It is quite as much out of the question to refer ver. 26 to the future, as *Ewald* has done. The close connection between ver. 25 and ver. 26, and the progress of thought from the one to the other, prohibit this. Nor is it only the want of a basis for ver. 27, which compels us to interpret ver. 26 as alluding to the prophet's own times. We are equally shut up

to this by the connection between the latter and ver. 25, as well as by its relation to vers. 21–24. The three verses set before us the past, the present, and the future. In the period of its youth, which was so rich in manifestations of the grace of Jehovah, the Israelites offered hardly any sacrifices at all. In the prophet's day they offered sacrifices in rich abundance, and fancied that by so doing they had fully satisfied Jehovah. But it was all vain hypocrisy, a religion of works; for, whilst outwardly sacrificing to Jehovah with all conceivable pomp, they tolerated and practised at the same time every possible abomination of idolatry. But the judgment of Jehovah was already hanging over it for such hypocrisy and doublefacedness.

*G. Bauer* objects to the supposition that ver. 26 relates to the prophet's own times, on the ground that there is no evidence of the existence of any such idolatry as is here depicted, in the time of Amos. But we know far too little of the idolatrous tendencies of the Israelites in the time of Amos, for such an objection to have any force. That the star-worship alluded to is only conceivable in the desert, and then again in the Assyrian age, is a thoroughly groundless assumption. There is much more weight in the argument based upon the words of the protomartyr Stephen, in Acts vii. 42, 43; but these words are merely quoted from the Septuagint, the renderings of which are not to be unconditionally adopted.

Having arrived at this result, that ver. 26 relates to the prophet's own times, we may, in fact must, decline entering into any more minute examination of the special difficulties connected with the verse in question. We simply content ourselves with the remark, that we agree with *Gesenius*, *Hengstenberg*, *Movers*, *Ewald*, *Hitzig*, *Umbreit*, *Düsterdieck*, and others, in regarding כִּיּוּן as a common noun, meaning *pedestal* (*Gestell*, stand), and reject the notion supported by *Winer*, *Baur*, *E. Meier*, and others, that it is to *Saturn* that the prophet refers. In this case the word is pointed כִּיָּן or כִּיָּן, and regarded as identical with the Perso-Arabic name of *Saturn—viz.*, Kaiwan, which the Egyptians are said to have called *Raiphan* or *Remphan*, the rendering adopted by the Septuagint.

(4.) In JOSHUA v. 4–9, we are told, that when the Israelites left Egypt, all the men and male children were circumcised, but that the rite had been omitted in the case of those who were

born in the desert, and was not performed till after their entrance into the holy land, when Joshua commanded it, preparatory to the celebration of the second Passover. It is not merely from the period of the rejection, but from the Exodus itself, that the book of Joshua dates the suspension of circumcision. Thus in ver. 5 we read: "All the people that were born in the wilderness *by the way as they came forth out of Egypt*, they had not circumcised." The reason assigned for the omission in ver. 7 is this: "Because they had not circumcised them *by the way* (*auf dem Wege*, on the road). It is evident from this, that the ordinary opinion is incorrect, namely, that it was not till *after* the rejection at Kadesh—in fact, *in consequence* of the rejection, which is regarded as a suspension of the covenant—that circumcision was omitted. We have already shown (§ 42) that the rejection was limited to the postponement for forty years of their possession of the land, and did not involve a suspension of the covenant. And there is all the less reason for the supposition, that the presumed suspension of the covenant was the cause of the omission of circumcision, from the fact that the rising generation was expressly exempted from the sentence of rejection. According to the representation contained in the book of Joshua, the following is the correct view:—The circumcision of the new-born was omitted from the time of the departure from Egypt,—at first, no doubt, on account of the difficulty of the journey; for when the camp was broken up, and the orders were given to advance, it was impossible to make any allowance for any of the families which might require longer rest, on account of the new-born infants being ill at the time with the fever which followed circumcision. On the other hand, they could not be left behind; and therefore nothing remained but to suspend the circumcision altogether. The whole period of the journey through the desert was one of affliction, which fully warranted the omission. It was undoubtedly their intention at the time to repair the omission on reaching the holy land. And this continued to be the case even after the sentence of rejection, by which the entrance into the promised land was postponed for thirty-eight years.

## THE SECOND HALT AT KADESH.

§ 44. (Num. xx. 1–13.)—At the beginning of the fortieth year from the time of the Exodus, we find the whole of the people assembled once more at Kadesh (1). There *Miriam* died. The want of water caused the people to murmur; and though the old generation had now for the most part passed away, the same presumptuous speeches against Moses and Aaron were heard again: "Why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there? Why have ye brought us out of the fruitful and well-watered land of Egypt into the waste and barren desert? Would that we had perished when our brethren perished before Jehovah!" (Num. xiv. 36).—Moses and Aaron received from God the same command, as formerly at Rephidim (§ 4, 1), to bring water out of the rock with their staff (3). But Moses was so excited by the hard-hearted, impenitent, and rebellious disposition of the nation, which proved to be as little subdued, after all the punishment, as it was before, that he lost the calm, temperate, and firm bearing which had hitherto been sustained by the self-reliance of his faith. In the height of his passion, and overpowered by his ill-will, he abused the people, and smote the rock twice in an angry and impatient manner (4). The firmness of his faith, and his fidelity as a mediator, which had been maintained thus far, had given way at last; and as it is right that judgment should begin at the house of God (1 Pet. iv. 17), the Divine sentence was pronounced upon him, that he should not bring the congregation into the promised land. The sentence also included his brother Aaron, who stood by his side, and was involved in the wavering of his faith. On account of what occurred here, the well was called *Me-Meribah* (strife-waters) (5); *vid.* § 30, 5.

(1.) "That it was of great importance, that at the close of the thirty-seven years Israel should assemble once more in the

very same *Kadesh* in which the sentence had been first pronounced, must be intuitively evident, from the simple fact that this would be the most impressive mode in which the termination of the period of curse could be pointed out. But it was a matter of intense significance, that Israel should a second time turn what was meant for a blessing into a curse, and, through its sin against God, should make Kadesh once more what it had formerly been, the scene of a tragical catastrophe. That the Israelites, though remembering what had taken place on this very spot thirty-seven years before, instead of earnestly repent ing, should only commit fresh sin, is a sufficient explanation of the extreme indignation of Moses and Aaron. The first and last sojourn at Kadesh came under precisely the same category, as distinguished by a tragical catastrophe, and under this character they were both deeply impressed upon the minds of the Israelites" (*Fries*, pp. 58, 59).

(2.) As it is stated in ver. 9 that Moses took the rod מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה, *i.e.*, out of the sanctuary, some commentators have supposed that the rod intended must have been Aaron's rod of almond-wood which budded, since this rod was laid up in the sanctuary. But in ver. 11 it is expressly called "his (*i.e. Moses'*) rod." The same rod undoubtedly is meant, with which Moses performed all the miracles in Egypt, and brought water out of the rock at Rephidim; and we learn from the passage before us, that this rod was also laid up in the sanctuary (probably immediately after the erection of the tabernacle).

(3.) As the article in הַסֶּלַע in ver. 8 points to some well-known ROCK, that has been already mentioned, several Rabbins have imagined that the rock alluded to must be the rock at Rephidim (§ 4, 1), which had constantly followed Israel through the desert, and hitherto had provided it with water. Others, to whom such a miracle appeared to be something by far too monstrous, were of opinion that the stream which flowed from the rock at Rephidim continued to follow the camp; and in Deut. ix. 21, and Ps. lxxviii. 16–20 and cv. 41, they found this view confirmed. But the most that could possibly be inferred from these passages would be, that the fountain, which was opened by Moses' rod, still continued to flow. In 1 Cor. x. 4 ("And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was

Christ ') the Apostle Paul evidently alludes to the Rabbinical fable, with which he was well acquainted, and shows that what was fictitious in the Rabbinical traditions, was really true in a spiritual sense. *Abarbanel*, however, was also acute enough to give a spiritual interpretation to the Rabbinical legend. His words are: "But the true meaning of the passage is this, that the waters which issued in Horeb were a gift of God, bestowed upon the Israelites, and continued throughout the desert, like the manna. For, wherever they went, sources of living water were opened to them according to their need. And *for this reason* the rock in Kadesh was the same rock as that in Horeb; that is to say, the water of the rock in Kadesh was the same water as that which issued from the rock in Horeb, inasmuch as it came from a miraculous source, which followed them through all the desert" (*cf. J. Buxtorf;* Hist. Petræ in deserto, in his *Exercitt.* p. 422 seq.).

(4.) The question is not altogether without difficulty, what was *the sin of Moses*, which drew down so severe a sentence? And a great variety of answers have been given (*vid. Buxtorf*, p. 426 sqq.). It is very obvious that we must seek for it in the want of harmony between the instructions given by God and the execution of these instructions on the part of Moses. At the very outset, however, we must express our agreement with *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 349, 350), and pronounce the opinion entertained by the majority of commentators altogether erroneous, *viz.*, that Moses' sin consisted in the fact, that instead of *speaking* to the rock, as Jehovah expressly commanded, he *smote* it. Why should he have taken the rod, if he was not to use it? The command, "Take the rod," involved a command to use it; and the manner in which it was to be used, did not require to be more fully explained, but followed as a matter of course, from the similar miracle that had been performed at Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 5, 6). On the other hand, we do regard the fact that he *smote the rock impetuously, and smote it twice*, as a part of the sin, inasmuch as this was the unmistakeable effect of excitement caused by impatience and ill-will. At the same time, it is evident from Ps. cvi. 32, 33, "They angered him also at the waters of strife, so that it went ill with Moses for their sakes: because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips,"—that the sin was not

confined to the two passionate strokes, but embraced also his passionate words. According to the account before us, Moses said to the people: "Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock?" And in the Divine sentence pronounced on both Moses and Aaron, the fact is distinctly expressed, that the actions and words of the former evinced a temporary wavering of his faith: "Because, said Jehovah, ye believed Me not (or did not place confidence in Me, לֹא־הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם בִּי), to sanctify Me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not," etc. According to these words, the sin of Moses is to be found in the fact, that although he had no doubt as to the power of God, he had not in this instance the true and absolute confidence which, as mediator, he should have had in the mercy of God; that he was overpowered by the manifestation of discontent on the part of the Israelites, which led them, now that they had been brought a second time to the borders of the promised land, a land flowing with milk and honey, to declare that it would have been better to remain in Egypt, the slaves of a heathen king, than to endure, as the people of God, a brief and by no means intolerable inconvenience in the desert. The discovery of this sin, on the part of the Israelites, produced such an effect upon his mind, that he lost sight of the mercy of Jehovah; whereas it was his duty, and his special vocation as the mediator between the two, to keep both before his eyes with equal distinctness, and not to suffer the one in any way to intercept his view of the other. The sin of Moses bears more the aspect of an *official*, than of a personal sin; and this would explain the severity of the punishment by which it was followed. —As *Hengstenberg* has aptly said (p. 349), we have here a proof of *exhaustion*, such as is only conceivable after the temptations of many long years. Moses had never forgotten himself before the people until now.

(5.) On the relation in which the account before us stands to the similar account in Ex. xvii., of the miraculous gift of water at Rephidim, see *Kanne*, *Untersuchungen*, ii. 103 sqq.; *Haevernick*, *Einleitung*, i. 2, pp. 438, 495; and *Ranke*, ii. 225 sqq.; but especially *Hengstenberg*, *Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 310 sqq.— Rationalistic critics maintain that the two accounts are based upon one and the same event, which has been dressed up in the legends in two different ways. In both cases there is the same

want of water; in both, discontent and murmuring on the part of the people; in both, relief is afforded in precisely the same manner; and the names of the two places are very nearly the same (*Me-Meribah* is the name of the one, Massah and Meribah that of the other). But is it absolutely impossible that the congregation should have suffered *twice* from want of water in the thirsty desert? And if this is not impossible, it cannot certainly appear strange that the discontent of the people should be expressed, and the help of Jehovah afforded, in precisely the same way on two separate occasions. So far as the names are concerned, they are not the same, but simply related. Identity was avoided, that the two names might be kept distinct. A connection between the two was intended, that the two events might thus be brought together under the same point of view.—And when we look at the essential character of the two occurrences, what a radical difference we find between them! In the former case, the murmuring of the people and the help of Jehovah are placed most decidedly in the foreground; in the latter, although they are both present in precisely the same form, they are placed completely in the background. And such prominence is given to the sin committed by the two leaders of the nation, and to the judicial sentence pronounced by Jehovah, that the interest of the reader not only *is* absorbed, but is *intended to be* absorbed by these alone. In fact, it is upon this that all the rest (*viz.*, the death of Aaron, the consecration of a new high priest, the parting words of Moses, the election of Joshua to be his successor, and so forth) is based.—(Consult *Hengstenberg*, *ut supra*.

§ 45. (Num. xx. 14–21, xxi. 1–3.)—Notwithstanding the sentence passed upon *Moses*, that he was not to enter into the promised land, there was no diminution of the zeal and energy with which he sought, at any rate, to prepare the way for the nation to enter. It is probable that ever since that unfortunate attempt, which was made thirty-seven years before, in opposition to his own directions and the will of God (§ 37), he had given up the idea of effecting the conquest of Canaan from the south, on account of the nature of the ground. At any rate, his present plan was to cross the Jordan, and enter the country from

the east. The most direct road from Kadesh lay through the heart of the territory of the Edomites and Moabites. He sent delegates to both nations, to request a free passage. The delegates related the manner in which the strong arm of Jehovah, their God, had rescued them from Egypt, and led them thus far through the wilderness; they pleaded the close relationship which existed between the two nations; and promised that they would neither trample upon their fields and vineyards, nor drink the water out of their wells, but would purchase of the inhabitants whatever water they might drink, and whatever other necessaries they might require. But, contrary to expectation, both nations gave a most decided refusal; and, to make the refusal still more emphatic, the Edomites placed strong forces to guard all the approaches to the country (1). Thus the main body of the Edomites placed themselves in the same position of heathen hostility to Israel, which the Edomitish branch of the Amalekites had displayed twice before (§ 4, 2; 75, 2). But the Israelites were prohibited from engaging in hostilities with the kindred tribe of Edom (Deut. ii. 4, xxiii. 7), so long as the latter did not carry out their hostile disposition into an actual attack. For the present, Edom did not allow its hatred to Israel to carry it *so far as this*. But an *Amoritish* tribe, which inhabited the southern slope of the Canaanitish highlands, did so. The king of *Arad* made an unexpected attack upon the Israelites, and took some of them prisoners. The Israelites were stirred up by this. Mindful of the duty imposed upon them, to put all the Canaanites under the ban, they vowed a vow to Jehovah that they would make an attack upon the territory of the king of Arad, and put all the cities which they might be able to conquer under the ban. The attempt was successful. Several cities on the southern slope of the mountains were taken and destroyed. In commemoration of this event, the place was henceforth called *Hormah* (2).

(1.) On the NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EDOMITES we have a few further explanations to add. We have already spoken

about the road which Moses thought of taking through the Edomitish territory (*vid.* § 26, 3). It was undoubtedly the broad road leading to the Arabah, through the heart of the highlands of Azazimat, of which Rowlands was told by his Bedouin attendants. This road, as we have already seen, is supposed to enter the Arabah at Ain-el-Weibeh, and is continued on the other side of the Arabah in the Wady *Ghuweir* (Ghoeir). According to the invariable testimony of travellers, this large and broad wady furnishes a good road, suited even for large bodies of troops, through the heart of the Edomitish territory, which is otherwise inaccessible from the Arabah, on account of its steep mountain ranges (*vide Leake's* preface to Burckhardt, pp. 21, 22, and *Robinson*, iii. 140). The messengers sent by Moses describe this road as דֶּרֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ, *the king's road*. "*Movers*," says *v. Lengerke* (i. 570), "is wrong in supposing that the road referred to is the Moloch's road (*vid. Phönizien* i. 155). Highways, of which there were not so many, and which were not so well maintained, before the times of the Persians and Greeks, as in the Roman Empire and in modern Europe, were chiefly made by kings and princes for their own convenience. Solomon, for example, made roads to Jerusalem (*Josephus*, *Antiquities* 8, 7, 1). Hence the name, king's road." *Baumgarten* (i. 2, p. 340) cites examples from *Grimm's deutsch. Reichsalterthum*, p. 552, and *Haltaus's* Gloss. p. 1115, to prove that even among the Germans the public highway was called the king's road; and *Ewald* (i. 77) shows from *Isenberg's* Dictionary, pp. 33, 102, that the same expression is met with in Amharic.

In Numbers, there is simply an account of a message to the Edomites. But according to Judg. xi. 17, messengers were despatched at the same time to present a similar request to the *Moabites*. "The refusal of the Moabitish king, however, was of no importance; and therefore the whole account of the embassy might very properly be passed over in silence in the passage before us. For if the Israelites could not pass through Edom, the permission of the Moabites would have been of no use whatever. The request was only made conditionally. And no allusion is made to it till the book of Judges, where other circumstances are recorded which gave it an importance that did not originally belong to it." (*Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 233.)

There is more *plausibility*, at any rate, in another difference which has been adduced as a discrepancy by rationalistic critics. In Num. xx., the Edomites (and, according to Judg. xi., the Moabites also) are said to have refused the petition of the Israelites for a free passage, and their offer to pay for bread and water; but in Deut. ii. 29, on occasion of a message sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, the Edomites and Moabites are praised for having provided the Israelites with food and water for money, when they passed through the land. But a very simple solution of this apparent discrepancy is furnished by the old rule, "distingue tempora et concordabit Scriptura." This has been pointed out by *Leake* in his preface to *Burckhardt* (vol. i., p. 23). "The same people," he says, "who successfully resisted the attempt of the Israelites to cross the strongly fortified western frontier, were terrified when they saw that they had gone completely round, and reached the weakly defended (eastern) border." On the western side, the mountains of Edom rise abruptly from the Arabah. There are only a few passes which are at all accessible from this side, and these can easily be occupied. But on the east, the mountains slope gently off into a desert tract of table-land, which is still at least a hundred feet higher than the desert of et-Tih. On this side, therefore, the land was open; and they were not very likely to assume a hostile attitude towards the 600,000 fighting men of Israel. And the very fact that they had offended the Israelites, by opposing them on the western border, would make them the more eager to avoid everything that could give occasion for anger or revenge, now that they had come round to the eastern side. *Vide Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 231, 232; *Ranke*, ii. 278; *Welte*, Nachmosaisches, pp. 130, 131; *Raumer*, Zug der Israeliten, pp. 44, 45.

(2.) With reference to the BATTLE BETWEEN THE ISRAELITES AND THE PEOPLE OF ARAD, the *time of its occurrence* has furnished occasion for dispute. If the Biblical arrangement is to be regarded as exactly true to the order in which the events occurred, the attack made by the king of Arad, and the invasion of his territory by the Israelites, cannot have taken place till after Aaron's death. In this case, the Israelites would have left Kadesh, and gone *at least* as far as Mount Hor before the battle was fought. But in itself it is a very improbable thing,

that the king of Arad should have waited till the Israelites had left his borders and marched so far away, before he made his attack; and it is still more improbable, that the Israelites should have turned back from Mount Hor (or possibly from a point still farther south), and gone northwards beyond Kadesh, for the purpose of avenging the wrong, when they would very soon have been engaged in the conquest of the whole land, and the king of Arad would have been attacked in his turn. Moreover, this view is *expressly* excluded by the passage itself, in which it is stated that "the king of Arad heard that Israel CAME by the road to Atarim (? by the road of the spies), and he fought against Israel," etc. The time is given clearly enough here: Israel *came*, and the king *fought*. It was when the Israelites *approached* his borders, therefore, not when they went away, that he made the attack.[1] Consequently, the event occurred before the departure from Kadesh, probably during the period in which the Israelites were awaiting the return of their messengers from Edom and Moab.—The arrangement, therefore, is not strictly chronological, but determined by a train of thought which it is by no means difficult to understand. The historian mentions the departure of the messengers to Edom, and very naturally proceeds at once to the reply with which they returned. But if the war with the Aradites

[1] *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 179) gives a different explanation of the בָּא כִּי in Num. xxi. 1 (*cf.* Num. xxxiii. 40). The king of Arad, he says, looked upon the *marching away* from Kadesh as an actual *coming;* because the intention of this departure (*viz.*, to enter Canaan from the east) was not concealed from him. In this case, undoubtedly, Num. xxi. 1–3 may be in its right place, from a chronological point of view; and it must be admitted, that with this explanation, Num. xxxiii. 40, 41 accords much better with the context. At the same time, I cannot make up my mind to give the preference to this explanation. For the supposition, that the king of Arad guessed what were the intentions of the Israelites in departing from Kadesh is not very probable, if we consider that they had already been wandering about in the desert for thirty-nine years, without either purpose or plan. Moreover, such a use of the word "*come*" would be too artificial, I might say, too much in the modern style of thought, for the simple, straightforward character of the narrative before us: and I should still see the same improbability in what would be a necessary conclusion, *viz.*, that Israel went all this way back after reaching Mount Hor. There is only one thing that could lead me to the determination to adopt *Hengstenberg's* view, *viz.*, if the unexpected discovery should be made, that the enigmatical דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲתָרִים, in Num. xxi. 1, meant the road *round Mount Seir.*

(or only the first half of it, namely, the attack made by the king of Arad) occurred, as it probably did, between the departure of the messengers and their return, the strict chronological order would be interrupted already. How much more reason would there be for his relating the departure from Kadesh, which was most closely connected with Edom's reply—in fact, determined by it—before he felt called upon to resume the chronological thread of his narrative!—*Fries* (pp. 53, 54, note) goes still further back. He says: "Two occurrences, which were most intimately connected with the sin of Moses and Aaron, and Edom's refusal,—namely, the retreat from Kadesh, and Aaron's death upon Mount Hor,—were placed by the sacred historian in immediate juxtaposition with these events; and when once the twentieth chapter had been commenced with an account of these tragical occurrences, there was no opportunity for introducing the conflict with Arad. By the side of this combination of memorable events, which filled up the interval between the death of Miriam and that of Aaron, the conflict with Arad properly falls into the second rank. As examples of this arrangement, which regards the subject-matter alone at the cost of chronology, the first which suggest themselves are Deut. x. 6, 7, and Deut. i. 37." A perfectly analogous example we have already pointed out in § 4, 4.

It is also a disputed point, what we are to understand by the דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲתָרִים, by which the Israelites are said to have come to the borders of the king of Arad. *Onkelos*, the *Syriac* and *Vulgate* translators, and also *Luther*, regard אתרים as equivalent to תָּרִים (with Aleph prosthetic) in Num. xiv. 6; and render it "*by the way of the spies*," *i.e.*, by the same road by which the twelve Israelitish spies had travelled thirty-seven years before. But this is at variance with the history; for the way of the spies could only be the road which led northwards from Kadesh, whereas Israel was *not* to the north of Kadesh now. We feel bound, therefore, to follow the *Septuagint* and *Arabic*, and regard *Atarim* as the name of a town or district, whence the road to Kadesh, by which Israel travelled, derived its name.

Arad, which was afterwards allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xii. 14), and which, according to Judg. i. 16, is to be sought for at the north of the desert of Judah, is said by *Eusebius* (*s. v.* Ἀραμά) and *Jerome* (*s. v.* Arath) to have been situ-

ated about twenty miles to the south of Hebron. On his road from Hebron to the Wady Musa (near Petra), after travelling on a camel for eight hours, *Robinson* saw a hill towards the west, which his guides called *Tell-Arâd*. They knew nothing of ruins in the neighbourhood, however, but simply of a cave. Yet, notwithstanding this, the fact that the distance from Hebron is the same, renders it very probable that this was the site of the ancient Arad, especially as the absence of ruins is not fully established by the simple assertion of the Bedouins.

HORMAH was already mentioned in connection with the first sojourn at Kadesh (*viz.* § 37). According to Josh. xii. 14, Joshua defeated the king of *Hormah* and the king of Arad. But, according to Judg. i. 17, it was not till after the death of Joshua that the tribe of Judah, along with that of Simeon, conquered the city of *Zephath*, laid it under the ban, and gave it the name of *Hormah*. In these different accounts a mass of contradictions has been found. The discrepancy between Josh. xii. 14 and Judg. i. 17 is easily removed, if we bear in mind that in Josh. xii. 14 the *king* of Hormah is said to have been defeated, whilst there is no mention of the conquest of his city, and therefore the city might have been left standing, notwithstanding the defeat of the king. It is possible also that Hormah may have been conquered by Joshua, and recovered by the Canaanites, and only definitively conquered and placed under the ban at the time alluded to in Judg. i. 17.—That the city is called *Hormah* in Num. xiv. 45 (in connection with the first encampment at Kadesh), whereas, according to Num. xxi. 3, it was during the second encampment that the name was given to it for the first time, is nothing more than a simple *prolepsis*, of which we have a hundred examples in the Old Testament. "But it is an intentional and most significant *prolepsis*, pointing to the fact, that the two events involved the very same idea, that the place was sanctified by the judgment on the house of God, long before it derived its name from the judgment on the world. The nominal *prolepsis* was indicative of a real one" (*Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 191).—On comparing Num. xxi. 3 with Josh. xii. 14, *Reland* (*Palæst.* p. 721) has detected a discrepancy, which, in his opinion, can only be solved on the supposition that "the victory appears to have taken place at the time when, with Joshua as their leader, and after crossing the

Jordan, they celebrated their triumph over king Arad (Josh. xii. 14), and to have been narrated *per prolepsin* in Num. xxi. 3. *For why should they have gone out of the land in which they were already triumphant?*" *Bertheau* (on Judg. i. 17) adopts this solution, except that he refers the *prolepsis* to Judg. i. 17 instead of Josh. xii. 14. But there is one thing which is necessarily required, namely, that we should admit that the Pentateuch was either written *after* the period of the Judges, or at all events that Num. xxi. 1–3 (and xiv. 45) was interpolated by a later hand.—*Hengstenberg* has shown that such a solution is not only unnecessary, but inadmissible (Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 180 sqq. See also *Keil* on Joshua, p. 312, English translation). No proof whatever is required, that in Num. xxi. 3 the proscription of the Aradite towns is represented as taking place immediately, and not as being reserved for some future time.—But *Reland's* question, "Why did they ever leave the country if they gained such a triumph as this?" still demands a satisfactory reply. And it is by no means difficult to find one. It is *not* stated in Num. xxi. that Israel conquered the whole of the country of the king of Arad, and laid it under the ban, at so early a period as this. And even if several proscribed cities are mentioned, it is beyond all doubt that Arad, the capital, was *not* among them; for in ver. 3 we are told that "they called the name of the place *Hormah*." But, from Judg. i. 17, we find that the former name of this place was *Zephath;* and if Arad had been taken and destroyed, they would no doubt have given the name Hormah to it, and not to a subordinate place like *Zephath.* Zephath was, no doubt, by far the most important of the cities that were laid under the ban. That it was not situated on the mountains themselves, but on the southern slope, is evident from Num. xiv. 45: "The Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt in the mountains *came down* and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah." *Robinson* thought that he had discovered a relic of the ancient Zephath in the pass of *es-Safah.* This would suit our present purpose very well; at the same time there are other reasons for rejecting his conclusion (*vid.* § 27, 3). We would refer, on the other hand, to Rowlands, who discovered the ruins of *Zepâta* at a distance of about seven miles to the south-west of Khalasa (Chesil); for we have no more doubt than he has, that this is the site of the ancient Zephath (§ 26, 1). In

any case Hormah was on this side of the mountains; and even if Zephath was conquered, along with the rest of the cities on this side, during the second sojourn in Kadesh, nothing would be gained in consequence towards the conquest of Canaan. The mountains, which were impassable to such a procession as that of the Israelites, were still before them; and the strongholds of the king of Arad *on the* mountains themselves were not yet taken. "And if this were the case, it would follow as a matter of course, that when the Israelites left the neighbourhood, Hormah would soon become Zephath again, and at a later period they would have to perform the task of turning it into Hormah once more" (*Hengstenberg*).

### THE MARCH ROUND THE COUNTRY OF THE EDOMITES.

§ 46. (Num. xx. 22–29.)—The Israelites were prevented from attempting to force a passage, not only by the nature of the soil, but also by their relation to the Edomites themselves (1). Hence there was no other alternative left, than to yield to necessity, and, notwithstanding the enormous circuit they would have to make, to go round the land of the Edomites. The road led them round the Azazimat and through the Arabah to the Red Sea, after which they turned to the north, and passed along the eastern side of the mountains of Seir, and thus eventually reached the Jordan. When they arrived at the Arabah, they encamped at the foot of the Edomitish mountain *Hor* (2). The hour had now arrived when *Aaron*, the high priest, was to die on account of his sin at the Waters of Strife. But the office, which he had held for the good of Israel, was not to terminate with his life, but to be transferred to his eldest son, *Eleazar*. To this end, it was necessary that Aaron should be divested of his high-priestly dress, and that it should be put upon Eleazar. But neither the investiture of Eleazar, nor the death of Aaron, was to take place amidst the bustle of the crowd in the camp below. Moses went up with both of them to the summit of the mountain; and there Aaron died, after the office of high priest had been transferred to his son in the manner prescribed. The

whole congregation mourned for him thirty days,—and mourned at the same time for its own sin, which had been the occasion of Aaron's fall, and of the consequent punishment which had just been inflicted upon him. The death of Aaron was also a pledge and foreboding of a still more bitter loss, because an irreparable one, which the Israelites were soon to be called to suffer (§ 44).

1. Of all the Terahite nations, there were none that were so closely allied to the Israelites as the EDOMITES were; for the progenitors of the two nations, Esau and Jacob, were not only full brothers, the sons of one mother, but were born at one birth. It is true that the hostile relation in which the two nations stood to each other, both from their nature and history, not only had its foundation, but was typically exhibited, in the lives of the founders; and consequently, even at that early age, prophecy had cast a glance forward to the hostile relation in which the descendants would stand to each other (vol. i. § 69 sqq.), and especially to the fact, that the elder would serve the younger. This was Edom's appointed destiny; but Israel was not to originate or accelerate this destiny in a forcible manner. On the contrary, it was to discharge all the duties of relationship in an honourable and faithful manner, until Edom, by its increasing hostility, should bring its fate upon itself. At this very time, therefore, when the hostile disposition of Edom had begun to manifest itself, but was not yet fully ripe, Jehovah commanded His people, "Meddle not with them, for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot's breadth, because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession" (Deut. ii. 5); and, "Thou shalt not abhor the Edomite, for he is thy brother" (Deut. xxiii. 7).

On the early HISTORY OF THE EDOMITES, see *B. Michaelis de antiquissima Idumæorum historia*, Hal. 1733 (also in *Pott, Sylloge* vi. 203 sqq.), and *Hengstenberg, Pentateuch*, 222 sqq.—*Esau*, who is introduced in Gen. xxiii. 6 with a warlike retinue of four hundred men, was estranged from his family, and founded a new home for himself on the mountains of Seir. He conquered and expelled the *Horites*, who had dwelt there from time immemorial (Deut. ii. 22); and his descendants, mixing with those that were left behind, grew into a powerful royal state, which was now apparently at the height of its glory and power.—

Even as early as Gen. xxxvi. (*cf.* 1 Chr. i. 35–54) it was possible to give a long list of Edomitish princes (אַלּוּפִים) and kings. But the Pentateuch claims to have been written in the time of Moses, and therefore the history of Edom cannot be brought lower than that in Gen. xxxvi. The last of the eight kings, as *Ewald* has correctly observed, is described as minutely as if the writer was personally acquainted with him (Gen. xxxvi. 39). But critics have disputed the possibility of his being a contemporary of Moses, chiefly on the ground that there was not a sufficient length of time between Esau and Moses for fourteen princes, and eight kings, and then eleven princes more. This objection is said to be confirmed and raised into a certainty, both by the expression employed in Gen. xxxvi. 31, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;*" and also by the fact, that according to 1 Kings xi. 14, Hadad, the fourth king of Edom (in Gen. xxxvi. 35), was a contemporary of Solomon (*vid. v. Bohlen, Genesis*, p. 342).—So far as Gen. xxxvi. 14 is concerned, *Ewald* is of opinion, that "at the time when the author of the book of Genesis wrote, there was a king in Israel; and we cannot read the historian's words without feeling that he was inclined to envy Edom, for having enjoyed the advantages of an organised kingdom at so much earlier a period than Israel." But it has been long and frequently shown, that such a feeling is altogether a deceptive one. *Delitzsch*, who is the last that has written on the subject, observes (Gen., ed. ii., vol. ii., p. 63), "The historian writes from the stand-point of the patriarchal promise; for he (the compiler) is careful to observe that kings are to spring from Abraham and from Jacob (Gen. xvii. 4–6, 16, and xxxv. 11). Unless, then, any one is daring enough to pronounce this promise a *vaticinium post eventum*, which has been introduced without foundation into the patriarchal history, such a remark on the part of a writer of the time of Moses is by no means difficult to explain. That Israel was destined eventually to become a kingdom, governed by native sovereigns, was a hope inherited from the fathers, which the sojourn in Egypt was thoroughly adapted to sustain. And how strange a thing would it appear, that Edom should have become a kingdom so much earlier than Israel,—that the rejected shoot should have attained to such maturity, independence, and consolidation, before the seed

of the promise! The world appears in this instance, as in so many others, to have outstripped the Church of the Lord; but eventually it was overtaken, and, according to the promise, the elder served the younger (Gen. xxv. 13). If we would find the indication of any particular feeling in the words of the historian, it is such thoughts as these that arise in his mind."

There is incomparably less force in the argument founded upon 1 Kings xi. 14. *Hengstenberg* has most conclusively demonstrated, that the Hadad mentioned there cannot be the same as the Hadad whose name occurs in Gen. xxxvi. 35 (*vid.* Dissertation on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 235). The Hadad of the book of Kings was a king's son, the other Hadad was not; but the latter was actually king, whilst the former was only pretender. The Hadad of the Pentateuch smote the Midianites in the fields of Moab; but the Midianites had vanished from history ever since the time of Gideon. Moreover, the Edomites had kings in the days of Moses (Num. xx. 14). How then could the fourth by any possibility be a contemporary of Solomon? According to ver. 31, the Edomitish kings mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. all reigned before Israel had kings; the eighth of the line, therefore, must have reigned before the time of Saul;—and yet the fourth was a contemporary of Solomon!

So far as the number of the kings and princes is concerned, this difficulty has no force at all, except on the supposition that the whole of the 14 + 8 + 11 persons, whose names are given, ruled one after another over the whole land; and even then the difficulty is but a small one, for we could certainly find room for thirty-three princes in nearly five hundred years. But the supposition itself may be shown to be erroneous. It is perfectly obvious from Gen. xxxvi., that the Edomitish sovereignty was not hereditary, but *elective;* for not one of the kings mentioned here is the son of his predecessor, and even the birth-places mentioned are all different. But if the kings were *elective sovereigns*, there must have been *electors;* and we are warranted in seeking the latter in the princes (אַלּוּפִים) whose names are given here. *Along with* the kings, therefore, but subordinate to them, there were always *Alluphim* or princes of the tribe. This association of *Phylarchi* and kings is also obvious from a comparison of the song of Moses, in Ex. xv. 15, with Num. xx. 14. In the former the dukes of Edom (*Allufe-Edom*) are said to

tremble with fear, yet in the latter the king of Edom is introduced. In Ezek. xxxii. 29, also, princes of Edom are mentioned along with its king.

The mere arrangement of the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis is a sufficient proof that this must have been the relation in which they stood. In vers. 1–8 we have an account of Esau's family *before* his removal to Seir; in vers. 9–14, an account of his family *after* his removal. In vers. 15–19 the tribes of the Edomites are given,—the names being taken, like those of the Israelites, from the immediate descendants of Esau, and each tribe possessing its own *Alluph* or prince. In vers. 20–30 we have the genealogy of Seir the Horite, whose descendants had to give way to the Edomites. Vers. 31–39 contain a list of Edomitish kings; and in vers. 40–43 the *dwelling-places* of the princes of the tribes are given, as we are expressly told in ver. 40. This solution is supported by *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch); but he does not touch upon the difficulty, that in vers. 15–19 there are fourteen *Alluphim* mentioned, and in vers. 40–43 only eleven. In our opinion, the solution of the difficulty is probably the following: In vers. 15–19 the original number of the leaders of the tribes is given,—possibly at the time when the princes created for themselves a centre by the election of a king,—whereas vers. 40–43 refer to the time of the historian himself, *i.e.*, under the last king, *Hadar*. By some circumstance or other, with which we are not acquainted, the number of the leaders of the tribes may easily have been reduced, during the reigns of the eight kings, from fourteen (or thirteen[1]) to eleven, or (if the king was chosen from the leaders, which is most probable) to twelve.

The Edomites, who were a warlike people, had a strong bulwark in their mountains, which had all the character of natural fortresses. Their occupations embraced hunting, agriculture, the rearing of cattle, the cultivation of the vine, and trade. The last was greatly facilitated by the situation of the country, which constituted them the carriers between the harbours on the Persian and Arabian Gulf on the one hand, and the sea-

[1] *Delitzsch* is of opinion that the Alluph-Korah, in ver. 16, "has undoubtedly passed over from ver. 18, and should therefore be erased, as it is in the Samaritan version." And, in fact, it is hardly conceivable that in one nation there should have been two tribes of the same name.

port towns of Philistia and Phœnicia on the other (*vid. Heeren's Ideen*, i. 2, p. 107). "The capital of the Edomites," says *Baur* (Amos, p. 100), "which was equally important in a mercantile and a military point of view, the impregnable rock-city of *Sela* or *Petra*, in which two caravan roads intersected each other,[1] is a very exact representation of the peculiar life of the Edomites themselves." The next in importance to Petra was *Bozrah* (*Sept.* Βοσόρ, now called Besseyra—*vid. Robinson*, ii. 570, 571—which must not be confounded with Bostra, the capital of Auranitis, so frequently referred to in the time of the Romans), whose rocky situation rendered it a strong military support to the Edomitish power. The two sea-port towns, *Elath* and *Ezion-geber*, were the leading commercial cities.

On the *religion of the Edomites* we have no precise information. In 2 Chr. xxv. 13, allusion is made to polygamy; and in 1 Kings xi. 1, Edomitish women are mentioned among the foreign wives of Solomon. But even here there is no reference made to any peculiar form of Edomitish worship, at least not apart from the rest (ver. 8). From the frequent recurrence of the name *Hadad*, which belonged to the sun in the Aramæan mythology, *v. Lengerke* infers that the sun was also worshipped by the Edomites (*vid.* Kenaan, i. 298).

(2.) On Mount Hor, see *K. Ritter*, xiv. p. 1127 sqq. "Above the mounds of the ruined city of the living, and the rocky burial-place of the dead (*Petra*), there towers high towards the north-west the lofty double horn of Mount Hor, which rises in majesty and solitude into the blue air, with cliffs, steep precipices, jagged edges, and naked peaks of various kinds, and stands there like a strong, monster castle in ruins." *Robinson* (vol. ii. 508) describes the shape of the mountain as that of "a cone, irregularly truncated, having *three* ragged points or peaks, of which that on the north-east is the highest, and has upon it the Mohammedan Wely or tomb of Aaron (Wely Harûn)." The Arabs still offer animal sacrifices upon the mountain, and call upon Harun.

§ 47. (Num. xxi. 4–9.)—When the Israelites departed from Mount Hor, and marched towards the Red Sea, for the purpose

[1] "Huc convenit utrumque bivium, eorum qui Syriæ Palmyram petiere, et eorum, qui ab Gaza venerunt" (*Pliny Hist. Nat.*, p. 28; *vid. Robinson*, ii. 573).

of passing round the country of the Edomites (1), the thought of the enormous circuit that they had to make, and the difficulty of the march through the sandy desert of the Arabah, made the people so discontented and impatient, that, forgetting all the mercy and discipline of their God, they gave utterance to the wicked exclamations, "Wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt to die in the wilderness? For there is no bread, neither is there any water; and our soul loatheth *this* light bread." To punish such wickedness, Jehovah sent *Saraph*-snakes (2), whose fatal bite caused many of the people to die. The people then confessed their sin with penitence, and said to Moses, "We have sinned, for we have spoken against Jehovah and against thee: pray unto the Lord, that He may take away the serpents from us." At the command of Jehovah, Moses made a *copper Saraph*, and set it up in the camp as the standard of salvation. And when any one was bitten by a snake, he looked up at the copper snake and lived (3).

(1.) It is evident, from ver. 4, that this occurrence took place on this side of the Edomitish mountains (in the *Arabah* therefore), though probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of the sea. The precise LOCALITY is not given. But *Lightfoot's* conjecture (*Opp.* 1, 37) is at least worth mentioning: "Æneus hic serpens videtur loco nomen *Zalmonæ* indidisse, *i.e.*, locus imaginis." According to Num. xxxiii. 41, Zalmonah was the station immediately following Mount Hor.—*Burckhardt* states that the snakes in the neighbourhood of the Gulf are still very numerous (vol. ii., p. 814): "The sand on the shore showed traces of snakes on every hand. They had crawled there in various directions. Some of the marks appeared to have been made by animals which could not have been less than two inches in diameter. My guide told me that snakes were very common in these regions, and that the fishermen were very much afraid of them, and put out their fires at night before going to sleep, because the light was known to attract them." *Schubert* also states, in his Journey from Akabah to the Hor (ii. 406), that "in the afternoon a large and very mottled snake was brought to us, marked with *fiery* spots and spiral lines, which evidently belonged, from

the formation of its teeth, to one of the most poisonous species. It was dead, and, on account of the heat, decomposition had already commenced. The Bedouins say that these snakes, of which they have great dread, are very numerous in this locality."—That Zalmonah was on the eastern side of the mountains, as *Raumer* conjectures (*Zug der Israeliten*, p. 45: "I imagine that this is the same as Maan, which *Seetzen* calls Alâm-Maan"), is very improbable. The distance of Maan from Mount Hor is so great, that it could not possibly have been the first place at which the Israelites encamped.

(2.) In the scriptural account the snakes are called נְחָשִׁים שְׂרָפִים, SARAPH-SNAKES, *i.e*, fire-snakes. The name *Saraph* is given to this species of snake, either because of its fiery, that is, inflammatory bite, or, as seems probable, from the passage just quoted from *Schubert*, on account of the spots of fiery red upon its head.—Isaiah speaks of *flying Saraphs* (Is. xiv. 29, xxx. 6). Snakes of this description are frequently referred to by ancient writers (*vid.* Herod. 2, 75; 3, 109; Aelian. anim. 2, 38; Pomp. Mel. 3, 8, and others); and even modern travellers profess to have seen or heard of them in the East (*vid. Oedmann, Sammlungen aus der Naturkunde zur Erklärung der heiligen Schrift*, vi. 71 sqq.). But *Winer* has observed (*Reallex.* ii. 413), and on good ground, that these statements are very uncertain; and as the most trustworthy of those who have written on the subject expressly mention feet, there is reason to conjecture that they confounded snakes with lizards, some species of which have really a kind of wing-skin between the feet (*vid. Aken Zoologie*, ii. 310 sqq.). In Isaiah we may assume that we have merely a poetical representation, and not the literal account of a natural historian. *Vid. Link*, die Urwelt und das Alterthum, ii. 197 sqq.

*Bochart* (iii. 211 sqq., ed. *Rosenmüller*) supposes the Saraph to have been the *Hydra* or poisonous water-snake, which lives in the brooks of the desert, and on the land when these are dry. In the latter case it is called χέρσυδρος. Its bite is very inflammatory, and causes a most burning pain, especially during the time that it lives on land.

(3.) A large collection might be made of works that have been written on the BRAZEN SERPENT. See especially *Buxtorf*, hist. serp. æn., in his Exercitt., p. 458 sqq.; *Deyling*, in his Ob-

servv. ss. ii. 207 sqq.; *Vitringa*, Obss. ss. i. 403 sqq.; *Huth*, serpens exaltatus non contritoris sed conterendi imago, Erlangen 1758; *G. Menken*, über die eherne Schlange, Ed. 2, Bremen 1829; *G. C. Kern*, die eherne Schlange, in *Bengel's* theol. Archiv. v. Parts 1–3; *B. Jacobi*, über die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes, Studien und Kritiken 1835, i.; *Sack*, Apologetik, Ed. 2, p. 355 sqq.; *Hofmann*, Weissagung und Erfüllung, ii. 140, 142, 143; *Stier*, Words of the Lord Jesus, vol. iv., p. 444 sqq., translation; *Lücke*, *Olshausen*, *Tholuck*, *Baumgarten-Crusius*, *Meyer*, *De Wette-Brückner* on John iii. 14, 15; *Winer*, Reallex. ii. 414 seq.

A collection of *natural interpretations* is given by *Winer*: "The lovers of natural interpretations of Biblical miracles either pronounced the healing, which resulted from looking at the serpent, a merely psychical process, and extolled the power of faith, that is, of *fancy*, to remove bodily ailments,—though Moses is said, after all, to have contributed to the result by administering appropriate remedies;—or else they came to the conclusion, that the brazen serpent was set up to represent the poisonous snakes, in order that every Israelite might be put upon his guard; and that even in the case of those who had already been bitten, when they came from the fields round about to look at the image, the exercise itself cured them (as is said to be the case with the bite of the tarantula). There were others, who set down the image of the serpent at once as being merely the sign of the military hospital, where all who came found physicians, and remedies, and therefore healing (especially by sucking out the poison)." *Winer* is certainly right in saying that these explanations are all of them more or less ridiculous. We may add another interpretation to those given by Winer, *viz.*, that of *Marsham* (Canon. Chron., p. 149), who traces the whole to the art of snake-charming, which Moses had brought with him out of Egypt. It is quite as unnecessary to stop to refute this explanation, as any of the other natural interpretations.

*Winer* himself supposes the brazen serpent to have been set up as a symbol of the healing power of God. The miraculous cures, which are said to have been effected by merely looking at the serpent, he probably places in the class of *myths*, since he looks upon the idea of a psychical process as something ridiculous. But the recourse to a myth here is a very questionable

procedure. The fact of the erection of the brazen serpent in the desert is fully confirmed by 2 Kings xviii. 4. We are there told that the brazen serpent, which Moses had made, was preserved till the time of Hezekiah, and called *Nehushtan* (נְחֹשֶׁת = brass, copper); that it had become an object of divine worship (through the offering of incense); and that it was destroyed by Hezekiah himself, who broke it to pieces. But if it is fully established as a historical fact, that Moses did erect the serpent; it can hardly be doubted that he set it up, not as a (mere) *symbol* only, but also as a *means* of healing. And if the Israelites preserved it, and subsequently paid it divine honours, *this* is only conceivable on the supposition that they associated with it the historical recollection of the cure that had been wrought, whether it was effected by the psychical power of faith (*i.e.* imagination), or the objective miraculous power of God.

There can be no doubt that the serpent did partake of the character of a *symbol;* but what the precise character may have been is doubtful.—*Hengstenberg* is the only modern theologian who denies this (*vid.* Dissertation on the Pentateuch, Daniel, p. 133): in his opinion, the single point of importance was to select some *outward* sign, it did not matter what, that the idea of a natural cure might be entirely precluded.—The views which have prevailed on this subject divide themselves at the outset into two distinct classes. In the *first* place, there are some who suppose the snake to have been a symbol or representative of the healing power:—either with a typical reference to Christ, who came in the likeness of sinful flesh, was made man for us, and hung upon the accursed tree (*vid. Deyling*, *Olshausen*, *Stier*, and most of the fathers and early theologians); or with simply a symbolical reference to the notion prevalent in antiquity, that the snake was the *Agatho-dæmon*, the symbol of health and healing (*vid. Winer*, etc.). In the *second* place, others regard the suspended serpent as an image and representation of the poisonous snake, which was rendered harmless by the grace of God,—a sign of its subjugation, *imago non contritoris sed conterendi vel contriti.* Of the latter, some refer to Gen. iii. 15. As the living poisonous snakes called to mind the seed of the serpent which was to pierce the heel of the seed of the woman, so the suspended serpent called to mind the seed of the serpent whose head should be crushed by the seed of the woman (*vid. Huth*,

*Vitringa*, *Menken*, *Bengel*, *Kern*, *Sack*, *M. Baumgarten*, etc.). Others, again, deny that there was any allusion to Gen. iii., and suppose the reference to have been solely and exclusively to the plague, from which the Israelites were suffering. Thus *Ewald* (ii. 177) explains it as being "a sign, that just as this snake was bound by the command of Jehovah, and hung harmless in the air, so every one who looked upon it with faith in the redeeming power of Jehovah, would be secure from evil."

Against the *second* explanation (especially if it be assumed that there was a conscious and intentional reference to Satan), the following are conclusive arguments. *First*, a believing look at this *σύμβολον σωτηρίας* (Wisdom xvi. 6) was to save those who had been bitten by the snakes from the effects of the bite, which would otherwise have been irremediable. The symbol was therefore an image and representation of the power from which healing proceeded; of the source of deliverance, not of the source of death.—*Secondly*, the lifting up (exaltation, suspension) of the serpent did not serve to exhibit it as bound and conquered, as slain and crushed, but merely to display it before the eyes of all.—*Thirdly*, looked at in *this* light, the brazen serpent might be a very suitable memorial of the plague and wonderful deliverance, but could not be an appropriate symbol and means of the deliverance to be sought and expected.—*Fourthly*, the idolatrous worship, which was afterwards paid to the brazen serpent, furnishes sufficient evidence that the healing power was supposed to have proceeded from it, that is to say, that it was regarded as representing the possessor of the healing power.

If now we are shut up to the *first* explanation, we must at once reject the old typical view, according to which, the fact that Christ was afterwards to be lifted up upon the cross furnished the sole reason for the selection of this particular symbol. Undoubtedly, the crucifixion of Christ was present to the mind of Him who appointed the symbol (*viz.*, Jehovah), but it was not present to the minds of those to whom the symbol was to be a *σημεῖον σωτηρίας*. *Moses* did not say to the people then, "As the serpent is lifted up now, so shall the Messiah be one day lifted up;" but *Christ* first said, in the fulness of time, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (John iii. 14). The occurrence

which took place in the desert was intended as a sign which Israel itself might understand, and not as a riddle which should remain insoluble for thousands of years, and be first rendered intelligible by the words of Jesus Christ.

Let us look first of all, then, altogether away from any typical allusion in the lifting up of the snake, that we may gather from the views entertained *at the time*, what Moses himself and the intelligent portion of the Israelites probably thought of the transaction.

In heathen as well as Israelitish antiquity, the snake was regarded as the bearer and representative of poison. To both, therefore, the snake was an object of fear and terror, of abomination and horror; and to both the emnity was well known which urges man to crush the serpent's head, and the serpent to inflict upon the heel a mortal wound. But notwithstanding this, in the symbolico-religious view of all heathen antiquity, the snake came to be regarded as a beneficent power, promoting health, and healing disease; and, as such, it was an object of religious adoration. "In Egyptian theology, it was regarded from the highest antiquity as a symbol of the healing power. It was worshipped in Thebais (*Herodotus* ii. 74); and it is found upon the monuments in very many connections, sometimes along with the mild beneficent Isis, and at other times with the head of Serapis, as the good Deity" (*vid. Creuzer's Symbolik*, i. 504, 505; ii. 393). Throughout, it is introduced as *Agatho-dæmon*, as a representation of Ich-nuphi (Kneph, Knuph)—that is, the good spirit, the author of all beneficent and propitious events (*Jablonsky, Panth. Ægypt.* i. 4, p. 81 sqq.). Among the Greeks and Romans, the snake was the constant attendant or representative of the gods of healing, and the regular symbol of the medical art (*vid. Panofka, Asklepios und die Asklepiaden*, in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akad.* of the year 1845, *philologische und historische Abhandlungen*, p. 271 sqq.—*C. A. Böttiger, die heilbringenden Götter, Kleine Schriften* collected by *J. Sillig*, i. 93 sqq.), and there can be no doubt that the worship was introduced from the East.

What can have given rise to this striking dualism in the ancient opinion respecting the snake? Whence this strange contradiction, that an animal, which actually causes only death and destruction, and is therefore justly an object of fear and

abomination, should have been so generally selected in the religious symbolism of antiquity to represent the *vis medicatrix?* Of the earlier theologians, some attribute this to the cunning and deceit of the devil. They say that it is a proof of the victory which he achieved in heathenism, that he succeeded in overcoming the innate horror, with which this his type and instrument was regarded by man, and in it secured for himself veneration and religious homage. Others trace it to the *κακοζηλία* of heathenism, heathen mythology being in general merely a mendacious perversion and distortion of the Biblical history, with fantastic additions and embellishments; and, in the case before us, they suppose Asclepius with the snake to have been simply a mythological caricature of Moses and the brazen serpent (*vid. Huet*, Demonstr. evang. Propos. iv. c. 7, § 6). We shall hardly be expected to enter into a refutation of these views.—There are other explanations, but we shall pass them by (*vid. K. Sprengel, Geschichte der Medicin*, Ed. 3, i. 190 sqq.).

It is generally supposed that the worship of the snake, as the representative of the healing power, commenced with snakes which had no poison, and were therefore harmless. There can be no doubt that snake-worship originated in Egypt, where it was probably connected with the magical art of snake-charming, which formed the heart of Egyptian magic. But it hardly admits of dispute, that it was to the power of charming *poisonous* snakes, that the magic of Egypt owed its worth and renown. Moreover, on the assumption that the snakes were harmless, it is difficult to see in what way it can have suggested the idea of the healing power, whereas, if they were *poisonous*, it is easy to imagine such a connection. We should be disposed, in fact, to look for the solution of the problem to the fact, which was obvious even to the medical science of the very earliest times, that the most efficacious remedies in nature are to be found in poisons; that disease, therefore, is cured and eradicated by what would otherwise produce disease,—poison conquered by poison. A very significant clue to this we may find in the Greek word *φάρμακον*, which is used for poison as well as medicine, *healing remedies* as well as *charms*. From this we learn, on the one hand, that magic and medicine sprang from the same source; and, on the other hand, that the earliest medical art must have gone chiefly to poisons for the remedies

it employed; and even in the present state of medical science, the connection between poison and medicine is very apparent. The fatal effects of poison are generally produced, not by its suspending the vital functions, but by its accelerating their action to so great an extent, that the organism of the body cannot sustain it, and becomes so thoroughly worn out and exhausted that it eventually succumbs. If, however, science becomes so perfectly acquainted with the nature and operation of poison, as well as of its relation to the general organism of the body, that it can administer it with actual certainty of the result, in cases where it is needed and just, to the extent to which the organism of the body at any particular time can sustain and really requires it, the death-bringing poison is changed into medicine, the elixir of life. To a sick man, the very same food is often poison, which gives to a healthy man renewed powers of life and health. The notion of poison is therefore a relative one. If we were to become possessed of absolute health, there would no longer be any poisons in existence; on the contrary, what we now call poison would probably be the highest and most effectual means of promoting growth, and sustaining vital energy.

But to return to the snake. It is, so to speak, the personification of poison. And as poison is medicine in the hands of an intelligent physician who knows how to use it, the snake was a very appropriate symbol of the healing power, and of the gods of health,—especially when we consider that by means of snake-charming, magic, which originally coincided with the science of medicine, succeeded in taming and subduing the most poisonous snakes, and making them subservient to the will of the magician.

By some such method as this, we might explain and justify the enigmatical contrariety, which we find in the light in which the snake was regarded in ancient times. But whether we are correct in this or not, it is an indisputable fact, that in all antiquity the snake was a symbol of the healing power. And this, we maintain, is the explanation to be given of the brazen serpent, which was set up in the desert.

There are two things which appear to be irreconcileable with this view. *First*, that everywhere else in the Bible the snake is introduced as a symbol, not of health and the healing power, but

of evil and calamity, as the instrument and representative of the devil; and *secondly*, that by setting up the serpent as the symbol of the healing power of God, Moses would have acted at variance with the command of the decalogue in Ex. xx. 4.

For the reasons just assigned, *Menken*, *Kern*, and *Sack* regard it as impossible that the serpent was set up to represent the healing power. "Such an opinion appears untenable," says *Sack*, "if we bear in mind, that not only in the Bible, but throughout nearly the whole of the religious world (? !), the serpent is a *symbol of Satan*. And in the case before us, this view would the more readily suggest itself, from the fact that it was in the form of serpents, that the hand of God had just caused the destructive powers of nature to appear. If, then, the serpent which Moses set up at the command of God was to be looked at, of course with believing confidence in Jehovah, who was ready to save on this condition, the serpent cannot have ceased to be a symbol of evil; but the fixing up (?) of the serpent was just a symbol of its subjugation, taming, and crucifixion. The brazen serpent represented the destructive snakes, along with sin and Satan, in whose train they had come by permission of Jehovah. Its erection, whether accompanied with the piercing of the head or not, served to represent its conquest; and the promise implied that Jehovah either was or would be the conqueror."

First of all, I must most decidedly oppose the theory, that in the brazen serpent there was an allusion to the serpent of paradise (Gen. iii.). The sole allusion was to the existing plague. There is nothing whatever to warrant us in connecting this occurrence with the serpent, or the seed of the serpent, mentioned in Gen. iii. 15. There is quite as much, that is quite as little, ground to think of the devil in this connection, as to associate the fire which consumed the uttermost parts of the camp at Tabeerah (§ 33) with the fire of hell.—It is true that throughout the whole of the Old Testament we find no further confirmation of the opinion, that the Israelites employed the serpent as a symbol of the healing power; but, on the other hand, we also find no further confirmation of the opinion, that they regarded it as a symbol of the devil. The account of the temptation of the first man had been handed down as a historical tradition from the primeval age, genuine and unadulterated, but at the same time

unfathomed and obscure. The serpent of paradise was, as it were, a hieroglyphic upon the portal of the sacred history, which the speculative mind of man had to spend thousands of years in the attempt to interpret, and which even to the present day is far from being fully and satisfactorily explained. That this *mysterium iniquitatis* was but little understood in the Old Testament times, is evident enough from the meagre and elementary character of its Satanology. It was not till after the Captivity that any considerable progress was made in its further development, or towards establishing it upon a firmer basis. Another proof is to be found in the fact, that throughout the whole of the Old Testament, there is not one certain allusion to the temptation of the first man by the serpent. The earliest instance of this is to be found in the apocryphal Book of Wisdom (chap. ii. 24). How little, therefore, must the Israelites in the desert have understood of this mystery of iniquity, even supposing that the fact itself was generally known to them and constantly before their minds,—a supposition which we may certainly be allowed to call in question! The Egyptian view of the snake, as a symbol of the healing power, must certainly have been more vividly and more immediately present to their minds. If the image of a snake was set up as *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*, with the promise that whoever looked upon it should recover, it would certainly not be regarded by the people as anything more than a symbol of the healing power, which it was designed to set before them for their immediate appropriation. The thought which occupied their minds, when they looked upon the serpent, could hardly have been any other than this: poison to poison, death to death, through the mercy of Jehovah, who had said, "*I am Jehovah, thy physician*" (Ex. xv. 26); or, as Hosea expresses it, "O death, I will be a poison to thee; O hell, I will be a pestilence unto thee" (Hos. xiii. 14). That such antitheses were not alien to the spirit of the law, is evident from the name and institution of the sin-offering. It was called חטאת, *i.e. sin*, because it was made sin;—sin *versus* sin, made sin *versus* real sin, as in the case before us an *image* of a serpent *versus* the live serpents. Sin was destroyed by sin, just as here the serpent was rendered harmless by a serpent.

The *second objection* to our view is founded upon the decalogue. If Moses set up an image of the healing power of God,

would he not, it is asked, have been guilty of the very same sin, which he condemned so severely, and punished so remorselessly in the case of Aaron and the Israelites generally (§ 13)? Could Moses have forgotten so quickly the command which was uttered amidst the thunders of Sinai: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything?" And would not Jehovah, in fact, be made to contradict Himself, if He were represented as commanding to-day the very thing which He prohibited yesterday?

If the command in the decalogue is to be interpreted in so contracted a manner, as this objection presupposes; the various symbolical representations in and about the tabernacle would fall under the same sentence of condemnation. In fact, the setting up of the image of a serpent at all, whatever meaning we might attach to it, would then apparently become a reprehensible procedure. But this is by no means the character of the command in the decalogue. (1.) In the first place, stress is certainly to be laid upon the fact, that the command runs thus: "THOU shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything." This does not preclude the possibility of Jehovah Himself prescribing some image or likeness, and causing it to be set up for Israel. On the contrary, He had actually done so already. In the pillar of cloud and fire, in the angel of the Lord, He had given them a visible *Temunah* of Himself; and in the tabernacle, as well as in its vessels and imagery, He had appointed symbolical *Temunoth* of the thoughts and things of God. But in this case it was done *by Himself*. The Israelites, on the other hand, were prohibited from making images and symbols of God and of the things of God, according to their own conceptions, just because such conceptions would be carnal, heathenish, and false. And even the images and likenesses, which had been approved by Jehovah (*e.g.* the vessels and symbols of the tabernacle), were not to be made by the Israelites for themselves; because there was only one place in which Jehovah would cause His name to dwell, and in which He would be worshipped; and inasmuch as private and hole-and-corner worship was sure to degenerate into idolatry, it was an abomination in His esteem. The setting up of the brazen serpent, therefore, was not a violation of this command; for Jehovah Himself directed and enjoined it.—(2.) *Secondly*, the rendering, "*image*

*and likeness*," does not give the exact meaning of the Hebrew words. פֶּסֶל is a *false deity* or *idol* (§ 10, 3, g.), and it was to this that the command immediately referred. תְּמוּנָה is any *form*, in which God Himself or some attribute of God is embodied and presented to the eye (§ 15, 1). A *Temunah* becomes a *Pesel*, whether it is a symbol or mere human invention, when worship is paid to it, which is due to the personal Deity alone. For this reason the *Temunah* was prohibited as well as the *Pesel*. The brazen serpent was a symbol appointed by God; and, so far, it was not within the range of this command of the decalogue. But when the brazen serpent was perverted to some other use than that which Jehovah designed,—when worship was paid to it, such as was due to the personal, spiritual God alone (which we find, from 2 Kings xviii. 4, to have been actually the case in after ages), it became at once a *Pesel*, and was condemned by this command.—(3.) The last and most important design of the command is to be gathered from the words: "*Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor worship them.*" To make an image or symbol of God, or of any attribute of God, is not a wrong thing in itself, provided the image is worthy of God and really in harmony with His nature. It becomes sinful when there is an intention to set it up as an object of Divine worship. But from educational and precautionary considerations, this rule, however correct, could not be maintained under the Old Testament. Visible representations of the person of God, even when they were appropriate and worthy in themselves, were not to be allowed under any circumstances; for the simple reason, that the jewel of the Israelitish consciousness of God, the idea of a spiritual, holy, transcendent Deity, would thereby be threatened and impaired. Symbols, on the other hand, of Divine thoughts, attributes, and operations were tolerated; but only in the mode and measure prescribed by Jehovah Himself, whether for the regular worship of the tabernacle, or, as in the case of the brazen serpent, under extraordinary circumstances, and therefore for merely passing objects, outside the tabernacle also. But symbols of Divine things were prohibited from being employed in any other way, because such was the liking of the people for Nature-worship and idolatry, that they would be inevitably in danger of being misinterpreted and abused.

It is obvious, therefore, that the prohibition of images con-

tained in the decalogue, was not violated by the setting up of the brazen serpent, in accordance with the command of Jehovah Himself, as a symbol of the healing power that proceeded from Him.—Aaron's golden calf does not bear the slightest comparison in any respect; for the three essential elements of the command in the decalogue, which we have pointed out above, were all violated by the making of the calf, whereas not one of them was touched by the setting up of the brazen serpent. For, *in the first place*, it was not Jehovah but Aaron, who made the image of the calf to gratify the wishes of the people. *Secondly*, the golden calf was a *Pesel* (a graven image), in the strictest sense of the term,—a representation of the *person* of God, and that entirely according to heathen ideas. And *thirdly*, this was done with the intention and for the purpose of bowing down to it and worshipping it.

We have a proof of the manner in which the pious and intelligent Israelite understood and explained the history of the brazen serpent in the Book of Wisdom xvi. 5–8. The writer of this book regarded the image of the serpent as a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*. He was persuaded that "he that turned himself toward it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by God the Saviour of all;" and in this he found a positive proof of the faith, "that it is God who delivers from all evil."

We have still to notice, in conclusion, the *typical meaning* of the occurrence. Such a meaning we admit that it possessed, not merely from the stand-point of the New Testament, but from that of the Old Testament also. We cannot, indeed, persuade ourselves that Moses, and the Israel of his own or of any subsequent period, could possibly have learned, or were intended to learn, from the setting up of the brazen serpent, that as the serpent was here lifted up as a symbol for the salvation of Israel, so the Messiah would one day be lifted up for the salvation of the whole world. But we find a typical intention and fitness in the Divine appointment, in the fact, that an opportunity was thereby afforded to the believing Israelite to become familiar with the idea, that an image of what was repulsive to the natural man, might become in the hand of God a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας*, a sign of salvation, to the spiritual and believing man; in order that when at some future day the Man who was made a curse, and hung as a malefactor upon the cross, was set before

him and proclaimed to be the Redeemer from all curse and the Saviour of the world, he might not be offended :—that is to say, that in the case of the spiritually-minded Israelite, the evil might be prevented, which took place notwithstanding all precautions in the case of those whose minds were carnal (1 Cor. i. 23, "We preach Christ crucified, *to the Jews a stumbling-block*").

Now, when Christ said to Nicodemus, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii. 14, 15), we cannot suppose that at first this master in Israel had any fuller or deeper insight into the meaning of the type referred to, than the author of the Book of Wisdom in the passage quoted above. If so, he can only have understood Christ at the time as intending to say, that as the serpent was lifted up in the desert, before the eyes of all, as a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας* for the faith of the fathers of his nation, so Jesus would be lifted up in the sight of the whole world as the promised Messiah, the Saviour and Redeemer of all who should believe. But it was just the same with Nicodemus here as with the disciples of Jesus, in connection with so many of the words of Jesus—namely, that it was not till after His sufferings, death, and resurrection, that their true meaning was fully understood. When he saw Christ afterwards suspended on the cross, a type of the curse and transgression, and when the ascension of Christ had taught him that the lifting up on the cross was the condition and first step of His ascension to the throne of glory, a far different and deeper meaning must have unfolded itself in this saying of Christ to his thoughtful and inquiring mind.

Most certainly all those commentators who regard the brazen serpent as a representation of the plague of serpents, to the injurious effects of which it was lifted up as an antidote, or as an image of Satan who was to be overcome, are bound to protest against any parallel being drawn between Christ and the brazen serpent, for it is self-evident that an image of Satan could not be a type of Christ. Hence, according to their interpretation, the comparison instituted by Christ had reference, not to the serpent, but simply to the lifting up, so far as this was a sign of suffering and conquest in the case of the serpent (the image of Satan), and also in the case of Christ. There is the same *double entendre*, according to this explanation, in the expression

ὑψωθῆναι (lifted up), when applied to the two different subjects, as in the שׁוּף (*Angl.* bruise) in Gen. iii. 15, and in the יִשָּׂא פַרְעֹה אֶת־רֹאשֶׁךָ (Pharaoh shall lift up thine head) in Gen. xl. 13 and 19. It is indeed quite correct, that, grammatically, καθώς and οὕτως can only refer to ὑψωθῆναι. But no one can maintain that this precludes any reference in the comparison to the ὄφις as well; and the notion that ὑψωθῆναι is used in two different senses, is shown to be unfounded by the rest of the passage, where the design of the lifting up is referred to, as being in both instances to bring salvation, and where saving *effects* are attributed to both the serpent and the Son of Man.—*Hofmann* (p. 143) makes two objections to this. He says: "A comparison cannot be instituted between the Son of Man and the brazen serpent, for the simple reason, that the former bore the likeness of the persons who were to obtain deliverance, the latter, on the contrary, the likeness of the animals which had inflicted the evil; and whilst the former was capable of enduring suffering, as possessing the same life with those whom He came to deliver, the latter was altogether incapable of suffering, for it possessed no life at all." The last objection is a striking failure; for, in any case, the worth of the brazen serpent depended entirely upon its being a symbol, whether we regard it as a representation of the poisonous snakes then present, or as a type of the Son of Man, who was afterwards to come and to be lifted up upon the cross. But it belongs to the very nature and essence of a symbol, that it is without life. The first objection certainly appears to be a forcible one. But it is merely in appearance. The question is, Where does the comparison lie? The point of resemblance between the brazen serpent and the Son of Man was this, that both alike were *media* of salvation—the former symbolically, the latter actually. To the harmless brass there was given the form of the poisonous serpent, by whose bite the Israelites had been mortally wounded, in order that when the Israelite looked with faith, the bite might be rendered harmless, and the death averted. If we pass to the New Testament, we find the same, *mutatis mutandis*, in the crucified Christ. The analogy is expressed most clearly in 2 Cor. v. 21: "For *He hath made Him to be sin* for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." The serpent, by whose poisonous bite we have been mortally wounded, is *sin;* and Christ, the sinless, has been made

*sin* for us, that we may be delivered from sin and death through faith in Him. The resemblance, therefore, which is borne by the crucified Christ, *as such*, is not to those who are to obtain deliverance, but, precisely as in the case of the brazen serpent, to the inflictor of the evil, namely, *sin*. If any one is disposed to regard this comparison as forced, unnatural, and artificial, let him throw the first stone at the Apostle Paul, from whom we have borrowed it. But even the Apostle did not invent it. It was taken by him from the typical worship of the Old Testament, where, as is well known, the sacrifice by which sin was to be removed from the congregation of the people of God, is expressly denominated *sin*, חטאת. The sacrificial animal was made sin, when it was brought to the altar as the means of saving from sin; just as Christ was made sin, according to 2 Cor. v. 21, when He offered Himself upon the cross as a sacrifice for our sin.—We refer the reader to Gen. iv. 7, however, as a proof that, according to the Biblical view, sin undoubtedly does bear some resemblance to a serpent, which attacks men with its fatal bite; or to a wild beast, which lies in wait to tear him in pieces.

§ 48. (Deut. ii. 1–8.)—The road taken by the Israelites, with the design of skirting the territory of the Edomites, led them into the immediate neighbourhood of the Gulf, where the Wady *el-Ithm* (Getum) afforded a good opening through the mountains, by which they could cross without interruption to the eastern side. When the Edomites, who had hitherto assumed such an attitude of defiance, saw that the Israelites were really on the eastern side, which was so completely exposed to any hostile attack, they were seized with alarm. But the Israelites were not allowed to attack this brother-tribe; and, in fact, had no reason for doing so, as the Edomites met them now in a most obliging manner (§ 45, 1). The road of the Israelites now turned, without doubt, to the north, and led to the caravan road, which is still in existence, "on a ridge which forms the western boundary of the desert of Arabia, and the eastern boundary of the cultivated country, and leads from the land of Edom to the sources of the Jordan on the eastern side of the Ghor."

## SECTION III.

### ISRAEL IN THE ARBOTH MOAB.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 49. The deep rocky valley of the *Wady el-Ahsy* (Ahsa), the lower end of which is called *el-Kurahy*, divides the land of the Edomites from the *Moabitish mountains*. In the time of Moses, and also in later periods of the Old Testament history, the country of the Moabites extended northwards as far as the *Wady el-Mojeb*, through whose deep rocky bed, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, the river Arnon flows to the Dead Sea. At present, the whole country is called *Kerek* (Kerak, Karak), from the name of the capital (*vid.* vol. ii. § 13). A little to the south of this city the *Wady Kerek*, which is most probably identical with the *Brook Zered* (זֶרֶד) of the Bible (1), intersects Moabitis, and divides it into two nearly equal halves. Both before and during the Roman occupation—in fact, as long as it received a certain amount of cultivation—Moabitis was an extraordinarily fertile country; but now that all cultivation has been suspended for many centuries, it is barren and waste.—The ancient capital was *Ar* (עָר equivalent to עִיר, the city κατ' ἐξοχήν), or *Ar-Moab*, on the left bank of the Arnon. *Rabba*, or *Rabbath-Moab*, which was the second capital, was situated in the heart of the country. The fortified city of *Kir* (קִיר, *i.e.*, a wall or fortification), or Kir-Moab, the modern *Kerek* (2), was in the south, and stood upon a rocky height, not far from the northern declivity of the Wady Kerek.

(1.) We follow *K. v. Raumer* in the identification of the

Brook Zered with the *Wady Kerek.*—*Robinson*, *Ewald*, and *Ritter* (xv. 689), on the other hand, are of opinion that the Zered is the same as the Wady el-Ahsy, the boundary between Moabitis and Edomitis. The principal argument adduced in support of this view is, that according to Num. xxi. 12 (*cf.* Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18), it was at the brook Zered that the Israelites approached the territory of the Moabites. But this is a mistake, as may easily be proved. It is an unquestionable fact, that the Israelites had reached the borders of Moab *before* this time, and therefore, in any case, at a more southerly point (*vid.* Num. xxi. 11 and xxxiii. 44). *Ije-Abarim*, the station mentioned here, the last station *before* Sared, is expressly described in chap. xxxiii. 44 as "the border of the land of Moab;" and in chap. xxi. 11 it is said to have been "in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising." *Ije-Abarim* must, therefore, have been a whole stage to the south of the brook Zered. Consequently, if the latter was the Wady el-Ahsy, it must be looked for in the mountains of Jebal; and, apart from every other consideration, the name *Abarim* is sufficient to prove that it could not have been situated there (*vid.* § 51, 2).—There is far more probability in the opinion expressed by *Gesenius* (on *Burckhardt*, ii. 1067), that the *Wady el-Ahsy* is identical with the "*brook of the willows*" of Is. xv. 7.

(2.) From a barbarous attempt to turn the Semitic name Ar into Greek, there arose the later name *Areopolis*. *Gesenius*, *Raumer*, *Robinson*, Rabbi *Schwarz*, and others, identify the Biblical Ar-Moab with the modern ruins of *Rabba* or *Rabbath-Moab*. This name is not met with in the Bible; but Ῥαββάθ-μωβα is mentioned in Ptolemæus as the chief city of the Moabites (and also by Stephanus Byz.); and in Christian times this Rabbath-Moab is constantly called Areopolis. As *Rabba* (רַבָּה = *magna*, *multa*; i.e., *metropolis*, *caput regni*, the capital) has just the same meaning as *Ar* (עִיר, *i.e.*, *the city*, κατ' ἐξοχήν), the assumption of *Gesenius* and the others appears to be thoroughly warranted, both grammatically and historically. But *geographically* this is not the case; on the contrary, the statements of the Bible with reference to the situation of Ar-Moab, are altogether unsuitable to the position of the ruins of Rabbath-Moab. To *Hengstenberg* belongs the credit of having been the first to demonstrate this conclusively (*vid.* his Balaam, p. 525 sqq., trans-

lation; also *K. Ritter*, xiv. 117, 118; xv. 1210, 1211, 1221, 1222). *Rabba* is in the heart of the land, six hours' journey to the south of the Wady Mojeb, and about the same distance to the north of the Wady Kerek; *Ar*, on the contrary, is always described in the Bible as a city on the northern border of Moab, and situated in the valley of the Arnon (Wady Mojeb; *vid.* Num. xxi. 15, xxii. 36; Deut. ii. 36). It is particularly to be noticed, that in descriptions of the northern border of Moab, *Ar* is frequently connected with *Aroer* (Deut. ii. 36; Josh. xiii. 9, 16):—the latter, which stood on an eminence near the right bank of the Arnon, being given as a point within the boundary line; the former, which was in the valley on the left bank of the Arnon, as a point on the outside (see *Keil on Joshua*, p. 329, translation). A distinct clue to the exact site of Ar in the valley of the Arnon is to be found in Num. xxi. 15. We read there of "the stream of the brooks, that goeth down to the dwelling of *Ar*." These words can only be understood as referring to a spot at which tributary streams unite with the principal river (the Arnon). And such a spot is found, as *Burckhardt* (ii. 636) conjectured, and *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 526) has conclusively shown, at the point where the Wady Lejum from the north-east pours its waters into the Arnon, after they have been swollen in their course by *several* tributary streams. *Burckhardt* makes the following allusion to the spot: "At the confluence of the Lejum and Mojeb there is a beautiful tract of meadow land, in the centre of which is a hill with ruins." These ruins he calls Mehatet el-Haj. Not far from these ruins he found the remains of a castle, and of a reservoir.—Some difficulty, however, is created by the fact, that the name Areopolis, which was borne by Ar in the time of the Romans, was undoubtedly applied to Rabbath-Moab in the Christian era. But since it is impossible, as we have already shown, to regard the two cities as identical, we are shut up to the conclusion, that for some cause or other, with which we are not acquainted, the name Areopolis was transferred from the older capital in the north to the more modern capital in the south. In the absence of distinct and reliable information, *K. Ritter* (xv. 1214) has founded upon the statement of *Jerome* (on Is. xv.)—"Audivi quendam Areopoliten, sed et omnis civitas testis est, motu terræ magna in mea infantia, quando totius orbis littus transgressa sunt maria, eadem nocte

muros urbis istius corruisse,"—the sensible and admissible conclusion, that after the destruction of the northern capital, its (Roman) name was transferred along with its rank to the capital in the south, which had hitherto occupied the second place. *Ritter* (xv. 1221–2) also seeks to prove that Rabba was not originally called Areopolis, but received the name in Christian times, from the inscriptions on several ancient coins belonging to Rabbath-Moab, which have come down to us from the second and third centuries of the Christian era. "Not one of these coins," he says, "bears the name of Ar or Areopolis, which had not been transferred to the city therefore at so early a date as this. They simply bear the inscription, Bathmoba, Rabatmona, or, for the most part, the more correct name Rabathmoba. . . . If the exchange of names with the ancient capital Ar-Moab had already taken place, the Greek name Areopolis would certainly have been found upon the coins, rather than the barbarian name Rabathmoba."

On the city of *Kerek*, the present capital of Moabitis, in which there is a castle, see *Ritter*, xv. 662 sqq. There can be no question as to its identity with *Kir-Moab* (Is. xv. 7).

§ 50. The country beyond the Arnon (*vid.* vol. i. § 42) as far as the *river Jabbok*, now *Wady Zerka*, bears the name of *el-Belka*. The name most frequently given to it in the Old Testament is the *land of Gilead*. In the Roman period it was called *Perea*. The Belka is intersected throughout its entire extent, and divided into two nearly equal parts, by the *Wady Hesban*, which pours its waters into the Jordan (not far from its mouth). The southern half, between Wady Mojeb (Arnon) and Wady Hesban, is again divided in the middle by the *Wady Zerka Maein* (Meon), which flows into the Dead Sea. In the time of Moses the Belka was inhabited and governed by the Amorites; but it had previously been in the possession of the Moabites and Ammonites. The former had been driven southwards across the Arnon, the latter more in an easterly direction (§ 52). This serves to explain the fact, that the broad plain on the left bank of the Jordan is constantly designated in the Pentateuch the *Arboth Moab* (עַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב) (1). These *Arboth Moab*, the

situation of which is more particularly described as "across the Jordan over against Jericho" (מֵעֵבֶר לְיַרְדֵּן יְרֵחוֹ), were the head-quarters of the Israelitish camp during the last period of its sojourn beyond the Jordan. The chief city of the Amoritish government was *Heshbon;* that of the Ammonitish, *Rabbath-Ammon* (2).—The country to the north of the Jabbok, as far as Mount Hermon, is called in the Bible the land of Bashan (בָּשָׁן); in later times it was called *Hauran.* A little to the south of the Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan is joined by the river *Hieromax*, now called *Sheriat el-Mandhur* or *Yarmuk*, the deep and narrow rocky bed of which intersects the mountainous district throughout its entire breadth. The ancient metropolis of Bashan, and the seat of the Amoritish government there, was *Ashtaroth. Edrei* was the next city in importance (2).—The high land on the east of the Jordan bears for the most part the character of table-land, with the evenness of its surface broken here and there by lofty hills. From its rich wooded scenery and good pasture land, it is better adapted for grazing than for agriculture.—To the east of this *plateau* there is a desert, which stretches as far as the Euphrates. The *caravan road* from the harbours of the Elanitic Gulf to Damascus runs along a ridge, which forms the western boundary of this desert, and the eastern boundary of the cultivated land.

(1.) The LOWLANDS (*Arboth*) OF MOAB, Israel's last place of encampment to the east of the Jordan, must not be confounded, as is often the case, with the FIELD OF MOAB (שְׂדֵה מוֹאָב) in Num. xxi. 20. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, 522 sqq. and 530 sqq., translation) has thrown great light upon this subject also, in his lucid and careful exposition of the passages in question. Arboth Moab is the name given to that portion of the Ghor which stretches along the eastern bank of the Jordan, from the Jabbok or thereabout to the Dead Sea. It answers to the lowlands of Jericho (*Arboth Jericho, vid.* Josh. iv. 13, v. 10), on the other side of the Jordan; and for this reason it is frequently described as being "over against Jericho." The *Field of Moab*, on the other hand, was undoubtedly the large tract of table-land to the

east of the Jordan, which stretched pretty uniformly from the southern foot of the mountains of Gilead to the Kerek, and was frequently called *the plain* κατ' ἐξοχήν (הַמִּישֹׁר); *vid.* Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 21). This is evident, *first*, from the fact, that according to Num. xxi. 20, the Israelites encamped in a valley of the *field* of Moab, before they reached the *Arboth* Moab (Num. xxii. 1); *secondly*, from Num. xxi. 20, where *Bamoth*, or more properly *Bamoth-Baal*, the heights of Baal (Num. xxii. 41), which was situated between Dibon and Beth-Baal-Meon (*vid.* § 51, 1), is also described as being in the field of Moab; and *thirdly*, from the fact that the cities of Heshbon, Dibon, Medeba, and others, were in the *plain* (הַמִּישֹׁר; *vid.* Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 9, 16, 21).

(2.) The Amoritish capital HESHBON (חֶשְׁבּוֹן, *Sept.* Ἐσεβών), which had previously belonged to the Moabites (Num. xxi. 26), was situated upon a hill by the Wady Hesban, where extensive and imposing ruins, which bear the name Hesban, still give testimony to its former glory (*vid. Ritter*, xv. 1169 sqq.).—Of the other cities within the territory of the Amorites, the following are also mentioned in the course of our history. MED'BAH (מֵידְבָּא), about four miles to the south of Heshbon, situated upon a hill which is still covered with ruins. Jerome calls it Medaba; the present name is Madeba (*vid.* Ritter, xv. 1182).—DIBON (דִּיבוֹן), now called Dhiban, an hour's journey to the north of Arnon. —AROER, on the rocky edge of the right bank of the Arnon (Deut. ii. 36), the ruins of which were discovered by Burckhardt, under the name of Araayr.—Beside these we have a long list of cities within the same territory in Num. xxxii. 34 sqq.— The *Ammonitish* capital was named RABBAH (Rabbath-Ammon), afterwards called Philadelphia, and at present Amman, on the two banks of Nahr Amman, a small river which flows into the Jabbok. On the magnificent ruins of this city, which belong for the most part to the Roman age, see *Ritter*, xv. 1145 sqq.— The residence of the king of Bashan was at Ashtaroth-Karnaim (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת קַרְנַיִם Deut. i. 4). Not far from this there was another, and probably still more ancient capital of Bashan, *viz.*, EDREI (אֶדְרֶעִי), afterwards called Adraa, Adratum, now Draa, on a tributary stream of the Sheriat-el-Mandhur (*vid. K. Ritter*, xv. 834 sqq.).—According to the *Onomasticon* (*s. v.* Astaroth), the two places were six miles apart. About an hour and three

quarters' journey to the west of Adraa a hill has been discovered called *Tel Ashtereh*. Both the name and distance answer to Ashtaroth. At the foot of the hill there are old foundation-walls and copious springs.

§ 51. The mountainous district to the east of the Dead Sea was first explored, to some extent, by *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*. But very little has been done since to confirm or extend the information they obtained. It is particularly to be lamented, that not one of the modern travellers has taken the road leading from Jericho to Heshbon; for several of the most important places in connection with this section of our history must be looked for there, especially the three points from which Balaam delivered his prophecies (*Bamoth-Baal*, Num. xxii. 41; the *Field of the Watchers*, Num. xxiii. 14; and *Mount Peor*, Num. xxiii. 28), and the scene of Moses' death (*Mount Nebo*, Deut. xxxii. 50, xxxiv. 5) (1).—It is difficult to determine exactly the situation of the *Abarim mountains*. As we meet with the name first of all in the extreme south of the Moabitish territory (Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44), and then again much farther to the north, in the neighbourhood of the Arboth Moab (Num. xxxiii. 47; Deut. xxxii. 48), and the name itself (equivalent to *regiones ulteriores*) seems to point to a tract upon the coast, we shall hardly be wrong if we regard the name הר or הָרֵי הָעֲבָרִים as a general appellation of the Moabitish mountains in the widest sense, that is to say, of the whole of the mountainous district on the eastern side of the Dead Sea (2).

(1.) *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 525 sqq. translation) has attempted with great exactness and care to determine the various localities named, according to the Biblical data. His results have all been adopted by *K. Ritter* (xv. 1185 sqq.).—Since the time of *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*, Mount Nebo (נְבוֹ) has generally been supposed to have been found in the *Jebel Attârus*, the loftiest mountain of the land of the Moabites. But *Hengstenberg* (p. 533 sqq.) has most conclusively demonstrated the inadmissibility of such an assumption. The *Jebel Attarus* is on

the southern side of the Wady Zerka Maein, whereas the *Nebo* must be sought considerably more to the north. According to Deut. xxxii. 49 and xxxiv. 1, it was in the neighbourhood of the head-quarters of the Israelites (in the Arboth Moab therefore), and "over against Jericho," a description which does not at all apply to the Attarus. The name *Attarus* also points to a locality both very different and at some distance from the Nebo. It was no doubt originally derived from the city of Ataroth (עֲטָרוֹת, Num. xxxii. 3, 34), which must therefore have been situated either near or upon the mountain. But in Num. xxxii. 3, there are six other names which intervene between Ataroth and Nebo; and, according to ver. 34, Ataroth was allotted to the tribe of *Gad*, whereas Nebo was assigned to that of *Reuben* (ver. 38). Both these statements shut us up to the conclusion, that Ataroth and Nebo were separated from each other by a distance by no means inconsiderable. The true position of Nebo has been determined by *Hengstenberg* (p. 534 sqq.)—approximatively, it is true, but with certainty and great acumen—from Num. xxxii. 3 and Num. xxxii. 34–38. In both passages Nebo occurs along with the names Heshbon, Elealeh, Shebam, Kirjathaim (= el-Teym), and Beon or Baal-Meon, the whole of which are grouped within a circuit of five English miles around Heshbon, which opens the list as being the capital (*vid. K. v. Raumer*, Palästina, p. 229 sqq.). Nebo, therefore, must also be looked for somewhere in the neighbourhood of the same capital. This is confirmed by the statements of *Eusebius* (*s. v.* *Ἀβαρείμ*), who gives the following account of the situation of Mount Nebo (*Ναβαῦ*): *ἀντικρὺ Ἰεριχὼ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐπὶ κορυφὴν Φασγώ* (Pisgah)· *καὶ δείκνυται ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Λιβιάδος* (Livias) *ἐπὶ Ἐσεβοῦν* (Hesbon), *τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον, πλησίον τοῦ Φόγωρ* (Peor) *ὄρους, οὕτω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο χρηματίζοντες, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ χώρα εἰς ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεται Φασγώ.*—See *Reland* (Pal. 49 6), and the more minute researches of *Hengstenberg*, who closes with the following words: "The evidence we have adduced, not merely serves to upset the notion of the identity of Nebo and Attarus, but also to fix the true position of Nebo. It has shown us that it must be sought for between Heshbon and the Jordan near Jericho, somewhere about an hour's journey to the west of the former city. A more exact determination of the locality is not at present attainable, from the circumstance that no traveller

has recently taken the route from Jericho to Heshbon. But this much is certain, that, in general, the locality just described admirably suits what is said in Holy Scripture respecting Nebo" (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 49, and xxxiv. 1, where Moses is said to have seen the whole land of Canaan from the top of Nebo). "The neighbourhood of Heshbon commands extensive views, such as are scarcely to be obtained elsewhere, of the country conquered by the Israelites in the time of Moses. 'The town of Hhuzbhan,' says *Buckingham* (ii. 106 seq.), 'stands in so commanding a situation, that the view from it extends to at least thirty miles on every side.'" The Dead Sea, the Ghor, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, etc., can be distinctly seen.

Bamoth-Baal, in Num. xxii. 41, is evidently identical with the Israelitish encampment, which is called *Bamoth* in Num. xxi. 19, 20. The latter was between Nahaliel and "the valley in the field (that is, upon the table-land, § 50, 1) of Moab, upon the top of Pisgah, which rises above the desert" (*i.e.*, the Arboth Moab). Nahaliel is the modern Wady Lejum (see below, § 53, 2), which enters the Wady Mojeb (Arnon) near Mehatet el-Haj (§ 49, 2). Bamoth, therefore, must have been situated to the north, or rather to the north-west, of this point. The position of Bamoth can be more precisely determined from Josh. xiii. 17. In the list of the cities of Reuben, *Bamoth-Baal* is placed between *Dibon* (the modern Dhiban, in the neighbourhood of the Arnon) and *Beth-Baal-Meon* (about two miles and a half to the south of Heshbon). In exact accordance with this, we find *Bamoth*,[1] in Is. xv. 2 (for with *Hitzig*, *Hengstenberg*, and others, we regard it as indisputable that הבמות is not to be taken as an appellative, but as the name of the well-known city), between *Dibon* and *Bajith* (an abbreviated name of Beth-Baal-Meon). But *Bamoth* is omitted from the catalogue of stations in Num. xxxiii., and *Dibon* inserted (*vid.* § 53, 2); and from this Hengstenberg infers, that Bamoth is unquestionably to be looked for somewhere near to Dibon. Now there is a mountain at about half-an-hour's journey to the north of Dibon, on the south of the Wady el-Wahleh, upon the summit of which *Burckhardt* found a very beautiful plain. In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, there is every probability that this table-land is identical with the Bamoth-Baal. We should be perfectly

[1] Rendered "the high places" in our version.

satisfied with this result, if it were not that there is another circumstance which diminishes the probability. According to Num. xxii. 41 (*vid.* § 56, 1), the whole camp of Israel in the Arboth Moab, to the utmost part, could be seen from the Bamoth-Baal. But this would hardly have been possible from the mountain near Dibon. The distance, both to the east and to the south, would apparently be far too great, and the mountains between would certainly hide the Arboth Moab from the view. Moreover, this mountain near Dibon, to judge from the manner in which Burckhardt speaks of it,—for he merely alludes to it in passing,—cannot have been of any very considerable height; and he says nothing whatever about its commanding an extensive prospect.—On the other hand, very much might be said in favour of the conjecture, that the heights of Baal are identical with the *Jebel Attarus*. This is probably the highest point in the whole district, and commands a very extensive view across the Dead Sea and the plain of the Jordan. Its position agrees very well with the account that Bamoth was between Dibon and Beth-Baal-Meon (it stands exactly in the middle between the two places, with but a very slight deviation from the straight line in a westerly direction), and also with the other statement, that Bamoth formed an intermediate station between Nahaliel and the field of Moab upon the Pisgah.

The FIELD OF THE WATCHERS, on the top of PISGAH (Num. xxiii. 14, שְׂדֵה צֹפִים אֶל־רֹאשׁ הַפִּסְגָּה), evidently corresponds (we quote *Hengstenberg's* words with approbation) in the main to the "valley which is in the field of Moab, upon the top of Pisgah, and looks towards the desert" (that is, the Arboth Moab), which is given in Num. xxi. 20 as the last halting-place of the Israelites before they entered the Arboth Moab, and also to the place of encampment "in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo," which is also given in Num. xxxiii. 47 as the last station before the Arboth Moab. Mount Nebo, which is referred to here as one of the peaks of the mountains of Abarim (see below, note 2), is represented in Deut. xxxiv. 1 as being "upon the top of Pisgah." We have already seen that the *Nebo* is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the city of Heshbon; and upon the heights in the immediate vicinity, if not upon Nebo itself, we must look for the *Field of the Watchers*.

The situation of MOUNT PEOR may be determined with

precision from the description given in Num. xxiii. 27, 28. First of all (like the place just alluded to in Num. xxi. 20), it is said to have "looked over the desert" (עַל־פְּנֵי הַיְשִׁימֹן). That we are to understand by the desert in both passages simply the Arboth Moab, where Israel encamped, is placed beyond all question by chap. xxiv. 1, 2, where Balaam is said to have "set his face (from Peor) toward the wilderness," and there to have seen Israel "abiding in his tents according to their tribes." But whereas he could only see "the end" of the camp of Israel from the Field of the Watchers (*Zophim*), and not the whole (Num. xxiii. 13), on account of a large portion of the camp being hidden from the view by Mount Peor, which intervened; from Mount Peor itself he could see the whole camp, and broke out in the words, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy dwelling-places, O Israel!"—*Peor*, therefore, must have been a peak in the immediate neighbourhood of the Arboth Moab; whereas the *Field of the Watchers*, or Pisgah, and *Mount Nebo* were both at some considerable distance to the east, and the *Bamoth Baal* far away to the south-east. This conclusion is supported, as *Hengstenberg* (p. 537) has shown, by all the statements in the Onomasticon of Eusebius.

(2.) According to Num. xxxiii. 47, Mount Nebo was in the Mountains of Abarim. In Deut. xxxiv. 1, on the other hand, it is said to have been upon the top of Pisgah, over against Jericho. The two statements may easily be reconciled, on the supposition that the Nebo was a peak of the *Pisgah*, and that this again was one portion of the larger range of mountains called *Abarim*. But whilst these two accounts refer us to the geographical latitude of Jericho and the Arboth Moab, we read in Num. xxi. 10 sqq., that the Israelites had already encamped by the mountains of Abarim (*Ije-Abarim*, *i.e.*, the hills of Abarim), when they were to the south of the river Zared, and therefore to the extreme south of the country of the Moabites. Consequently, there must have been the whole length of the Dead Sea between the one point and the other. Compare Num. xxxiii. 45–47 also, where we are told that the Israelites departed from Iim (in the mountains of *Abarim*) and went to Dibon, and thence to Almon. From Almon they proceeded to the mountains of *Abarim*, and pitched *before* (*i.e.*, on the eastern side of) Nebo. Thus they started from Abarim, and, after halting at two

different stations, they arrived at Abarim *again*. *K. v. Raumer* attempts to solve the difficulty in a peculiar, and certainly by no means successful manner. He says in his Palästina, p. 62, Anm. 166: "May not the mountains of Abarim have formed a continuous line, the southern extremity of which was first touched by the Israelites, who then turned away from it, and after halting at two stations, touched the line again? This view appears to receive the strongest confirmation from a remark of Burckhardt's (p. 638). There is a chain of low mountains, commencing at the southern side of the Wady Kerek (or Zared, § 49, 1), which first of all forms a curve towards the east, and then bends towards the north. This chain bears different names (*Orokaraye*, *Tarfuye*, *Goweythe*). The last may be connected with the Attarus at the sources of the Wady Wale. Now, this range of mountains seems to tally perfectly with the mountains of Abarim. The Israelites touched the south-western extremity of these mountains to the south of the Wady Kerek, then left them, and crossed the Zared to the east near Ar (Deut. ii. 18), and after this the Arnon (Deut. ii. 24). During all this time the chain of mountains and the land of the Moabites were on their left (Judg. xi. 18). It was not till they reached the eastern side of the Nebo that they touched the chain again. Mount Nebo was apparently the extreme point of the mountains of Abarim towards the north."—We confess that we cannot comprehend this argument. A single glance at the map will show that the Israelites, when marching with the country of the Moabites on their left hand (that is, to the west), cannot possibly have touched the *south-western extremity* of the range in question to the south of Zared (Jebel Orokaraye); and *Raumer* himself has set down the line of their journey upon his own map five geographical miles to the east of this point. It is equally impossible to comprehend how they can have touched the northern extremity of the range referred to. (It is only conceivable on the supposition that the Attarus and the Nebo are identical; but *Raumer* himself has given this up a long time ago.) For, although it is certainly possible, though far from being probable, that the range may be connected with the Attarus at the sources of the Wady Wale; yet it cannot for a moment be imagined that the chain stretches as far as Nebo, *i.e.*, into the neighbourhood of Heshbon. Such a fact would

certainly not have escaped the notice of *Seetzen* and *Burckhardt*.

But what do all these forced assumptions and conjectures lead to? Why should not the name "*Mountains of Abarim*" have been common to the whole of the Moabitish range of mountains along the entire eastern coast of the Dead Sea, from the Wady Ahsy to the latitude of Heshbon? This is just as likely as that the name "*Mountains of Seir*" should be given to the whole of the mountainous district of Edom, which covers twice as much ground.—The *Ije-Abarim* (*i.e.*, the hills of *Abarim*) are probably some promontories on the south-eastern border of the Kerek, or the ridge between the cultivated country and the steppe of the Euphrates, along which the caravan road runs (§ 48).

## ETHNOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 52. Before the land which was destined for the Israelites came into their possession, the tribes which were most closely related to them—namely, the *Amalekites* (§ 4, 2), the *Edomites* (§ 46, 1), the *Moabites* (1), the *Ammonites* (2), and the *Midianites* (3)—had fixed their settlements to the south, the south-east, and the east of the country. In the sacred Scriptures the territory occupied by the nations generally is represented as determined by the superintending providence of God, with especial reference to the sacred history (Deut. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26); and the Terahite nations, in particular, are expressly stated to have had their country given to them for a possession by Jehovah Himself (Deut. ii. 5, 9, 19). Israel was to be the heart of the nations, and Canaan the hearth of the countries (vol. i. § 43, 44). Since, then, the providence of God, which has determined for all the families of the earth where they shall dwell and for how long a time, appointed the settlements of these affiliated nations, immediately around the country which was destined to become the dwelling-place of the Israelites; it provided thereby the conditions, opportunities, and materials for a historical reciprocity, which might, and (we believe we may

add) should, have been equally advantageous to both, and of great importance to the sacred history. For whilst, on the one hand, this circle of closely-related nations, by which the Israelites were surrounded, might and should have formed a wall of defence, behind which Israel could devote itself uninterruptedly to the working out of its high vocation; these nations, on the other hand, might have enjoyed, through their pre-eminently favoured situation, the first and largest share in the blessings of that salvation which was coming to maturity in Israel, and with which all the families of the earth were to be blessed. It is true that, as a question of historical fact, the relation in which Israel and the surrounding Terahite nations stood to each other was very different from this, and one of decided hostility; but this was the fault, not of the arrangement, but of the nations themselves, who misunderstood and despised it, and neglected and opposed alike its obligations and blessings.—Whole centuries before, whilst the Israelites were growing into a great nation in Egypt, these nations had fixed themselves in the settlements appointed for them. But not very long before the return of the Israelites to the land of their fathers' pilgrimage, the Moabites and Ammonites, who had previously spread themselves as far as the Jabbok and the Jordan, were driven back by the *Amorites* (4) towards the south and east, and an Amoritish kingdom was established in Gilead. This rendered it possible for the Israelites to take possession of the country to the east of the Jordan, without being obliged to engage in hostilities with any nations that were related to them by birth.

(1.) The MOABITES were descended from *Moab*, the son of Lot (see vol. i. § 62). It is narrated, that after the catastrophe by which the vale of Siddim was overwhelmed, Lot settled first of all in Zoar, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; but not thinking himself safe in this city, he afterwards took refuge in the mountainous district to the east. This district, the modern Kerek, was inhabited by the giant race of *Emim* (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). The descendants of Moab succeeded in expelling

these aborigines of the land, or at all events in effecting their subjugation and maintaining themselves as the rulers of the country (Deut. ii. 10). They even extended their occupation and rule as far as the Jabbok towards the north, and thus became possessed of all the country on the east of the sea and the Jordan, between the Jabbok and the Edomitish frontier (the Wady el-Ahsy). At the same time their rule was probably not so firmly established to the north as to the south of the Arnon. At all events, not long before the approach of the Israelites, an Amoritish tribe from the west, under King *Sihon*, succeeded in wresting from them the whole country between the Jabbok and the Arnon (see below, note 4), so that henceforth the latter was their northern boundary (Num. xxi. 13, 26; Judges xi. 18). That the recollection of the period, when the Moabites spread beyond the Arnon, must have been very vivid at the date of the composition of the Pentateuch, is evident from the fact that the plain of the Jordan and the mountainous district are both called by their name (*e.g.*, Arboth Moab, S'deh Moab, *vid.* § 50, 1).—The national god of the Moabites was called *Chemosh* (כְּמוֹשׁ), and therefore the Moabites themselves are sometimes called "the people of Chemosh" (Num. xxi. 29; Jer. xlviii. 46). On the nature of this idol and the mode of its worship, we can gather nothing certain either from the Old Testament or any other source. Even the etymology of the name is doubtful. *Jerome* (on Isa. xv. 2) compares it to the Priapian deity *Baal-Peor*. *Hyde* (de rel. vett. Pers. c. 5) refers to the Arabic خموش = *culex*, which might suggest a resemblance to *Baal-Zebub* (*Ζεὺς ἀπόμυιος*). *Movers* (Phönizier i. 334 sqq.) recognises in Chemosh the Semitic fire-god, the same deity which the Ammonites worshipped under the name of *Moloch*. He bases his conclusion upon the etymology of כמש (which means to tread to pieces, to devastate), and appeals to the Onomasticon of *Eusebius* (*s. v.* *Ἀρινὰ, ἢ καὶ Ἀριὴλ*), where the idol of the inhabitants of Areopolis is said to have been called *Ariel* (the Fire of God). This view is apparently supported by the fact that, on the one hand, Chemosh is introduced in Judges xi. 24 as an Ammonitish deity, whilst, on the other hand, in 2 Kings iii. 27 the king of the Moabites is said to have offered up children as a sacrifice to his god in a time of great distress (though the name of the god is not given).—There can be no doubt that the Moabites also

went to the opposite pole of Nature-worship, by connecting sexual orgies with the worship of Baal-Peor. This is not only confirmed by the name Peor, which was given to one of the mountains in their land (§ 51, 1), but is most decidedly and expressly stated in Num. xxv. 1–3.

(2.) The origin of the AMMONITES is traced to *Ben-Ammi*, the second son of Lot. They dwelt (along with the Moabites, though to the east of them) in the country between the Arnon and the Jabbok, from which they had previously expelled the *Zamzummim*, who are also represented as a race of giants (Deut. ii. 19 sqq.). The establishment of the Amoritish kingdom in the country to the east of the Jordan, by which the Moabites were compelled to retreat to the other side of the Arnon, also forced the Ammonites still farther to the east, where their capital Rabbath-Ammon was situated (§ 50, 2). What their former relation to the Moabites on the east of the Jordan was, whether they were intermingled with them, or separated from them by some distinct boundary, it is not easy to determine. From the Pentateuch it appears as though all the land of which the Amorites took possession, between the Jabbok and the Arnon, belonged exclusively to the Moabites (*vid.* Num. xxi. 29). On the other hand, at a later period (Judges xi. 12, 13) the *Ammonites* appealed to their former possession of the country as giving them a claim to it still.—At all events the Israelites did not touch the existing territory of the Ammonites (which had been diminished by the Amorites); and in fact, according to Deut. ii. 19, they were strictly prohibited by Jehovah from inflicting any injury upon the Ammonites, as they had already been from interfering with Edom and Moab.

(3.) We have already spoken of that branch of the MIDIANITES which dwelt on the Elanitic Gulf (see vol. ii. § 19, 6, 7). The principal tribe inhabited the more northerly regions on the eastern border of Moab and the southern border of Ammon. There were five Midianitish chieftains, however, bearing the name of *kings*, who had settled down with their tribes on the Moabitish table-lands (הַמִּישׁוֹר Josh. xiii. 21, שְׂדֵה מוֹאָב Gen. xxxvi. 35, *cf.* § 50, 1). They had already been defeated once by the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 35); and when *Sihon* conquered the country between the Jabbok and the Arnon, they became tributary to him, and on that account are represented in Josh.

xiii. 21 as vassals of Sihon[1] (נְסִיכֵי סִיחֹן). They seduced Israel to idolatry, on which account Moses carried on a war of vengeance against them, destroyed their cities, and put all their men to death (§ 58, 5). The main body of the Midianites, which dwelt to the east, was not affected by this war of extermination; and at a later period it maintained a long-continued and fearfully oppressive tyranny over Israel (Judg. vi.–viii.). The Midianites worshipped Baal-Peor, and connected sexual excesses with the worship (Num. xxv. 17, 18).

(4.) On the AMORITES see vol. i. § 45, 1. At the time of Moses we find *two Amoritish* kingdoms on the other side of the Jordan. The most southerly of the two, between the Jabbok and the Arnon, we have already met with. It was founded by King *Sihon* (סִיחֹן; *vid.* Num. xxi. 26–30), who still resided at Heshbon (Num. xxi. 34; Josh. xiii. 10). The northern kingdom, which covered the whole land of Bashan, was governed by King Og (עוֹג). His palace was at Ashtaroth (Deut. i. 4; Josh. xiii. 12). The territory of Og is expressly described in Deut. xxxi. 4 as an Amoritish kingdom. According to Deut. iii. 11 and Josh. xiii. 12, Og alone "remained of the remnant of the *Rephaim*," a race of giants, which had formed part of the aborigines of Canaan. But after the immigration of the Amorites, they soon gained the upper hand over the early inhabitants. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that a descendant of the latter should now be recognised as king of the Amorites. Og himself, who descended from a race of giants, was a man of enormous stature. His *iron bed*, which was kept at Rabbath Ammon, was nine cubits long and four cubits broad (Deut. iii. 11).

We must look a little more closely at the passage just referred to, which has been attacked on various sides (see *Hengstenberg's* admirable vindication in his Dissertation on the Pentateuch, vol. 2, p. 198). *Spinoza* and *Peyrerius* were of opinion that Og's bed is spoken of here, as something belonging to a very remote antiquity, and that the Israelites cannot have known anything about the bed until the time of David, when he captured Rabbath Ammon (2 Sam. xii. 30). Following out the same idea, there have been several even of the supporters of the authenticity of the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, *Calmet*, *Dathe*, *Jahn*, and

[1] English Version, "dukes of Sihon."

*Rosenmüller*), who have pronounced the passage a gloss by a later hand. But there is really no ground for this. For the remark that one cannot comprehend why the bed of the conquered king, instead of being taken to the camp of the conquerors (the Israelites), should have been carried to the capital of the Ammonites (and that immediately, for Moses died shortly after the defeat of Og), is itself incomprehensible. We are not told that the bed was not taken into the city of the Ammonites till after the death of its owner; and if we were, we could imagine many things which would show the possibility of this having been the case. The most probable supposition, however, appears to us to be, that the bed of Og was at Rabbah, before the Israelites came into the neighbourhood at all, that is, during the lifetime of Og. It may be assumed as certain, that the Terahite nations lived in a state of constant hostility to the Amorites. This being the case, it is not improbable that in a war with Og, or after an invasion of the country and an attack upon Ashtaroth, the Ammonites may have carried off the celebrated bed of Og, and set it up in their capital as a trophy of the victory.—At the same time, even *Hengstenberg* admits that "remarks like these may have been appended by Moses himself at a later period, when he committed his address to writing; and therefore it is right to enclose the verse in brackets, as *De Wette* has done." In opposition to the notion that the verse has somewhat of a mythical character, *Hengstenberg* observes, that "families of giants, from which kings are chosen, are still to be met with among many savage tribes—in Australia, for example. *Calmet* gives a number of instances of iron beds in use in ancient times." There is certainly no necessity for assuming, as *Clericus* has done, that Og had his bed made of iron because of the bugs.—"The size of the bed need not astonish us, for the Hebrew cubit was not more than a foot-and-a-half (see *Gesenius*, s. v. אמה). The bedstead is always larger than the man; and in the case before us *Clericus* has conjectured that Og designedly had it made larger than was necessary, in order that posterity might form a more magnificent idea of the stature of the man, from the size of the bed in which he was accustomed to sleep. It is often the case that very tall people have a wish to be thought taller than they really are." A perfectly analogous account is given by Diodorus Siculus (xvii. 95) of Alexander the Great, namely, that whenever

he was obliged to halt on his expedition into India, he left colossal works behind him, "representing a camp of heroes, and furnishing the inhabitants with striking proofs of the gigantic stature of the invaders and their supernatural strength." Thus, amongst other things, he ordered "two apartments to be provided for every foot soldier, each five cubits long; and, in addition to this, two stalls for every cavalry soldier, twice as large as those ordinarily made." There is not the slightest foundation for *Lengerke's* supposition, that Og's enormous bed "must *certainly* have been a sarcophagus; a conclusion which is confirmed by the fact that modern travellers have discovered specimens of *sarcophagi* of basalt in this very locality." Basalt, he says (of which Pliny states that "ferrei coloris atque duritie inde nomen ei dedit"), is probably called iron in Deuteronomy and other places. To this we reply that iron *is* iron, and *is called* iron and not basalt; and that the basaltic sarcophagi, which modern travellers have discovered in this locality, all belong to the Roman age, which was fifteen centuries later than the period here referred to.

## CONQUEST OF THE LAND ON THE EAST OF THE JORDAN.

§ 53. (Num. xxi. 10–xxii. 1, *cf.* Deut. ii. iii.)—The Israelites had passed along the eastern border of the Edomites without any hindrance on their part, and were now arrived at Ije-Abarim, the south-eastern border of the Moabites. As they had formerly received a positive refusal from the Moabites, when they sent from Kadesh (Jud. xi. 17, *cf.* Num. xx. 14 sqq.) to request a friendly passage through their land, and as they were prohibited from applying force to the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9), they were obliged to take a circuitous route to the east of their land also, and continued to follow the caravan road to Damascus (§ 50). But the restriction ceased as soon as they crossed the Arnon, and stood on the border of the Amoritish kingdom (1). As they knew nothing at present (Deut. ii. 29) of the fact, that the country to the east of the Jordan was also destined to become their possession, they endeavoured first of all, by means of an embassage to *Sihon*, the king of the

Amorites, to obtain a friendly passage through his country to the Jordan. Sihon, however, not only refused their request, but led a powerful army against them to Jahaz, for the purpose of chasing them away from his borders. The Israelites were no longer bound by any of the restrictions, which had hitherto regulated their conduct towards the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites. They prepared, therefore, immediately to give Sihon battle; and, having thoroughly defeated him at Jahaz, they conquered the whole of his land, and either destroyed or banished the inhabitants (2). As Og, the king of Bashan, saw at once that his own country was endangered by this successful campaign, he also prepared for war. And he met with precisely the same fate. A decisive battle was fought at Edrei, in which the army of Og was utterly annihilated. As the whole of Bashan now came into the possession of the Israelites, they established their head-quarters in the Arboth Moab, within sight of the Jordan, opposite to Jericho, between Beth-Hajeshimoth and Abel-Shittim (2). (*Vid.* § 59, 2.)

(1.) On IJE-ABARIM, the first station on the Moabitish frontier, see § 51, 2, and § 49, 1. It is described as "in the wilderness which is to the east of Moab, toward the sunrising." From Ije-Abarim the Israelites proceeded to the *Brook* ZARED (§ 49, 1). The next station was on the other side of the ARNON, on the right bank of this river, by which the territory of Moab was then bounded on the north (§ 49). *Ritter* observes (xv. 1207): "So wild a production of nature as the Arnon fissure, was undoubtedly well adapted in ancient times to form a powerful frontier, before the art of war had succeeded in making roads amongst the most savage rocks, and crossing impetuous streams by bridges instead of fords. . . . It may be difficult to determine how the people of Israel in the time of Moses were able to overcome so powerful a natural and political barrier. It cannot be supposed that a whole nation, migrating with all its possessions, including numerous flocks and herds, would expose itself without necessity to the dangers and enormous difficulties of crossing so fearfully wild and deep a valley, for the purpose of penetrating into an enemy's country. For this reason, *K. v.*

*Raumer* (*Zug der Israeliten*, pp. 52, 53) has already shown that the Israelites would most probably take the road higher up,—that is, farther to the east,—which is adopted by modern pilgrim-caravans, who keep to the higher ground of the plateau, and thus avoid the deep precipices of the Arnon, and merely have to traverse the level wadys of the desert districts, which distinguish the upper portion of the Arnon, though even these are not without their difficulties."

(2.) The place from which Moses sent the messengers to King Sihon is called KEDEMOTH in Deut. ii. 26. It will, no doubt, be the same as the station mentioned in Num. xxi. 13 as "on the other side of the Arnon." This supposition is confirmed by the name, which designates its position as *eastwards*, bordering on the desert. The introduction of a strophe from a war-song in vers. 14, 15, also shows that this is the place in which, according to the strict chronology, the warlike events recorded in ver. 24 sqq. ought properly to be inserted. The stations which follow (vers. 16, 19, 20) can also be proved to have been within the territory of Sihon. Hence it is evident that first of all the list of stations is given consecutively, to the very last before the Arboth Moab, and then follows a detailed account of the events of which they were the scene.

*a.* The war-song mentioned in ver. 14 is said to have been found in the BOOK OF THE WARS OF JEHOVAH. The destructive critics, from the time of Spinoza, have not failed to turn this passage to account; and the apologetic critics (*Rosenmüller*, for example) have had recourse to the assumption of a gloss. (In answer to both, see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 182 *sqq.*) A book, it is argued, describing the wars of Jehovah, cannot have been in existence in the time of Moses; for the wars of the people of God had then only just commenced. *Hengstenberg* replies, that at the time when Moses wrote this, the Amalekites, the king of Arad, King Sihon, Og the king of Bashan, and the Midianites (Num. xxxi.), were already conquered. But, according to the usage of the Pentateuch, the expression, "wars of Jehovah," is much more comprehensive than this (see Ex. xii. 41, 51, xiv. 14, 25, xv. 3; and Num. xxxiii. 1). All the signs and wonders in Egypt are regarded as a war, on the part of Jehovah, against the Egyptians and their gods. The journey through the desert was the march

of an army, with Jehovah as commander at the head. And all the successes by which Jehovah prepared the way for His army to conquer Canaan, are included in the wars of Jehovah. "If, then," he says, "the wars of Jehovah included all this, instead of there being a dearth of materials for the Book of the Wars, there was the greatest abundance. And if there was such a superabundance of materials, there can be no question that it would be employed. The triumph of the idea over the reality will always call forth poetry. It is quite in accordance with what we learn elsewhere, as to the general culture of the nation, and especially as to the use of writing among them, that poetical productions should not only be committed to writing, but should also be formed into a collection. Hence, by the side of the objective accounts in the Pentateuch, there was the subjective description in the Book of the Wars of the Lord. The relation in which they stood to each other we may gather from the passages already quoted (for vers. 16–18 and 27–30 undoubtedly belong to the book in question), and also from Ex. xv., as compared with the foregoing history."—There is a second argument, upon which still greater stress is laid,—namely, that it is inconceivable, that a book which had only just been written could be cited as confirming the geographical statement contained in the preceding verse. But *Hengstenberg* has shown that the argument rests upon a misapprehension. The passage is not quoted for the purpose of verifying the geographical statement. That the object was a totally different one from this, is sufficiently obvious from the other two poetical quotations in vers. 17, 18, and 27–30. In both these passages, the impression made upon the people by the conduct of Jehovah is reproduced. And this is just the case with vers. 14, 15: "*Therefore* (namely, because the Israelites had conquered the country on the Arnon, by the help of Jehovah) it is written in the wars of Jehovah:

> Vaheb (He took) in the storm,
> And the streams of Arnon,
> And the lowland of the streams,
> Which turneth to the dwelling of Ar,
> And leaneth upon the border of Moab."

(*Vid.* § 49, 2.)

This is *Hengstenberg's* translation, and he defends it in the

following manner: "The words, 'Jehovah took,' which are supplied to complete the sentence, are taken from מִלְחֲמוֹת יְהוָה (the wars of Jehovah). We are warranted in rendering VAHEB as a proper name, if only on account of the form of the word (it is very rarely that a word begins with ו). There is an analogy to בְּסוּפָה ('in the storm') in Nahum i. 3. According to this explanation, the passage is to be regarded as a voice from the congregation, acknowledging what Jehovah had done on its behalf. Under His command it presses uninterruptedly forwards. Whatever opposes it, He immediately overthrows. The quotation stands in just the same relation to the historical narrative, as the verses of *Körner* to an account of the war of Liberty, into which they might be introduced by a historian who had taken part in the war himself. Who would suppose, for a single moment, that when an Arabian historian introduces verses uttered by the heroes in the heat of the battle, he does this for the purpose of supporting his own questionable credibility?"

*b.* The second place of encampment after crossing the Arnon was called BEER (a well). It must have been between these two stations that Jahzah (Jahaz, ver. 23), the field of battle, was situated, and the town of *Vaheb* mentioned in the war-song in ver. 14;—*chronologically* considered, I mean, hardly *geographically*, for according to ver. 18, *Beer* was in *the desert*. It is probable that the army of Israel advanced from the *Arnon* as far as *Jahaz*, to meet the forces of Sihon which were coming against them; and, having defeated them, took the town of *Vaheb*, which was in the immediate neighbourhood. In the meantime, the head-quarters of the Israelites, with the rest of the people and their flocks, either remained upon the Arnon or moved forward to *Beer*.—*Beer* is also met with in Judg. ix. 21, and is undoubtedly the same as Beer-Elim in Is. xv. 8. The people suffered here for want of water; but Moses gathered the people together at the command of Jehovah, who gave them water again,—not, however, by a miracle in the ordinary sense, but by means of their own exertions in first digging a well. This gave rise to the beautiful WELL-SONG (vers. 17, 18):

Spring up, O well!
Sing to answer it!
Well, which the princes dug,

Which the nobles of the nation bored,
With the sceptre and their staves.

The good-will and activity of the people, which are manifest here, present a glorious contrast to the bitter spirit and murmuring of the ancient Israelites.

*c.* The direction which the Israelites followed from Beer through the heart of the land of the Amorites, is indicated by the situation of *Bamoth* (§ 51, 1), which was the third station from Beer. The course had hitherto been in a northerly direction, but at this point it made a curve towards the west. The next station, MATTANAH, is supposed by *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 527, translation) to have been the same as the *Tedun* mentioned by *Burckhardt* (p. 635), as situated at the sources of the Wady *Lejum*, which runs into the Arnon. NAHALIEL (stream of God) is no doubt the Wady Lejum itself (*vid. Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 257), the lower portion of which is still called the Wady *Enkheileh* (*vid. Burckhardt*, p 635).—From Nahaliel the Israelites proceeded to BAMOTH (§ 51, 1), and thence to "the VALLEY, WHICH IS IN THE FIELD OF MOAB, upon the top of Pisgah." We have already shown that this station is the same as the "field of the watchers on the top of Pisgah" (Num. xxiii. 14), and that it was situated to the west of Heshbon (§ 51, 1).—After the whole land of Sihon had been conquered by various detachments sent out from the stations already mentioned, the expedition against Og, the king of Bashan, was undertaken, and the whole camp was moved forward into the Arboth Moab.—It was here, after the complete conquest of the land of the Amorites, that the SONG OF VICTORY was composed, in which the subjects of Sihon and the people of Moab are classed together, and spoken of with equal contempt:

Ver. 27. Come home to Heshbon!
Let the city of Sihon be built up and restored!

Ver. 28. For fire went out of Heshbon,
A flame from the fortress of Sihon:
It consumed Ar-Moab, the lords of the Arnon-heights.

Ver. 29. Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh!
He made his sons fugitives,
And his daughters prisoners
Of Sihon, king of the Amorites.

Ver. 30. But we burned them up—Heshbon is gone!—even to Dibon,
And we laid them waste even to Nophah,
With fire even to Medebah.

We cannot refrain from giving *Ewald's* admirable exposition of this very beautiful ode, instead of one of our own (*vid.* Geschichte der Israeliten, ii. 212 sqq.). "On closer inspection it becomes more and more obvious, that this song of victory is altogether of a sarcastic character, and is not a song of thanksgiving, like the song of Deborah, for example. *Come home to Heshbon*—to the city, that is, which can now no longer furnish either house or shelter;—*restore* (if you can) *the city*, which is now laid for ever in ruins! In such terms of undisguised contempt do the victors address the vanquished, whom they had driven from their homes, and certainly would not invite to return so soon. But in order that the guilt of the vanquished may be the more loudly proclaimed, a second voice is heard recalling their *earlier* history. This Heshbon is the very same city from which the fire of war once issued forth in its most destructive form against Moab, unfortunate Moab, for whose fall, and the impotence of its god Chemosh (the god who had suffered its sons and daughters—that is, all his worshippers—to be expelled and led captive by Sihon), the most piteous lamentations had been uttered! But at the very moment when these Amorites, who had devastated Moab with fire and sword, were imagining themselves to be in perfect security (the clear voice of the victors now returns to the opening of the song), our fire of war burst forth from Heshbon, as the leading and central place, and burned and devastated the country to its utmost borders. Thus was Moab avenged by Israel. . . . That this ode dates immediately from the period of the conquest, is also obvious from the fact, that shortly afterwards (Num. xxxii. 37) Heshbon was restored by the tribe of Reuben, and that henceforward it was always a place of importance."

*d.* There is a marked difference between the *two lists of halting-places*, which we find in Num. xxi. and Num. xxxiii. According to the former, the last places of encampment were *Ije-Abarim*, Sared, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, the valley upon the top of Pisgah, and Arboth Moab; whereas the following is the series as given in the latter:—*Ije-Abarim*, Dibon Gad, Almon Diblathaim, Mount Nebo, and Arboth Moab.

It must be observed, however, at the outset, that we are now in a cultivated country, where places with distinct and separate names would be crowded together in far greater number and in greater proximity to one another than had hitherto been the case; and consequently the camping-ground of two million men would be very likely to embrace, or at all events to touch, two or more of such places. This circumstance alone would be a sufficient explanation of the fact, if the same station should be called by various names. Let us proceed, however, to compare the places mentioned in the two lists; and, in doing so, let it be borne in mind, that we have already found (§ 51, 1) that the valley on the top of Pisgah (also called the field of the watchers upon Pisgah) must have been situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Nebo, which was also upon the top of Pisgah. We have, then, two names in Num. xxxiii., which are not to be met with in Num. xxi., namely, Dibon Gad, and Almon Diblathaim, and six names in the latter which are not found in the former, *viz.*, Sared, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth. But for the reason already assigned, the two names which occur in Num. xxi. alone (Dibon Gad, and Almon Diblathaim), may very probably have coincided with two of the six last named. If so, the twenty-first chapter would contain four more names than the thirty-third. This is all the more striking from the fact, that apparently it is quite at variance with all previous analogy; for hitherto, as a rule, the list in Num. xxxiii. has been fuller and more precise than the various notices in the historical account. In this case the order seems to be entirely reversed. Nevertheless, in this apparent irregularity and inconsistency, there may probably be, after all, a consistent observance of the rule hitherto adopted. The list in Num. xxxiii. is purely *statistical*. The purpose of the author was to give a full and particular account of the actual stations—that is, of the places of encampment in which the Israelites prepared for a lengthened stay,—not merely forming a regular encampment, but also erecting the sanctuary. The writer of Num. x.–xxii. does not pretend to give anything like a complete account of the various places of encampment, and therefore many names are wanting in the latter which are to be found in the former. His purpose is purely *historical*, and not in any sense statistical. And this is to our mind an explanation of the fact, that he mentions more

places of encampment between Ije-Abarim and Arboth Moab, than we find in Num. xxxiii.; places, that is, in which there was not a complete camp formed, including the erection of the sanctuary. They are all of historical importance, partly as showing that the Israelites intentionally avoided the Moabitish territory, and partly, also, for the reason already mentioned (note *c*), *viz.*, because it was from the places mentioned that the various expeditions set out, by which the conquest of the whole land of the Amorites was effected.

*e.* The place of encampment in the wide-spread Arboth Moab is more particularly described in Num. xxxiii. 49, as being "from Beth-Jeshimoth to Abel-Shittim." The name *Jeshimoth* (from ישם=שמם) shows it to have been a barren and desolate place ("Œdenhausen," *Ewald;* "domum solitudinis significat," *Onomasticon*). In Ezek. xxv. 9 it is called a city of Moab. In the time of the Romans it was a fortified city (*Josephus*, Wars of the Jews 4, 7, 5). *Abel-Shittim*, or *Shittim* merely (שִׁטִּים; Num. xxv. 1; Josh. ii. 1, iii. 1), is described in the Onomasticon as being situated by Mount Peor. *Josephus* calls it Abila (Wars of the Jews 2, 13, 2; 4, 7, 5).

(3.) On the supposed DISCREPANCY between Deut. ii. 29 and Deut. xxiii. 4, 5 (iii. 4), see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 233 sqq. In the one passage it is said to be affirmed that the Edomites and *Moabites furnished* bread and water to the Israelites, whereas in the other it is stated that the Ammonites and *Moabites* refused them both. But Deut. ii. 29 merely relates to a request to *sell* bread and water to the Israelites. In Deut. xxiii. 5, on the other hand, allusion is made to the justifiable but disappointed expectation, that tribes so nearly related as they were would "*meet them*" (קִדְּמוּ) with bread and water. The meaning is evidently the same as in Is. xxi. 14 ("They prevented with their bread him that fled"), where the same word קדם is employed; and Gen. xiv. 18, where Melchizedek is said to have come to meet Abraham with bread and wine. That the Moabites failed to do this, was a proof of their indifference, if not of their hostile feelings towards the Israelites; that they did the former, was simply a manifestation of their selfish and grasping disposition. —On the discrepancy which is thought to exist between Deut. ii. 24 and ver. 26 (compared with Num. xxi. 21 sqq.), see *Hengstenberg* on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 347, 348; *vid.* also § 45, 1.

### BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.

[On the history and prophecies of Balaam, see *Lüderwald* (die Geschichte Bileams deutlich und begreiflich erklärt); *Herder* (Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, zweiter Brief); *B. R. de Geer* (dissertatio de Bileamo, ejus hist. et vatic. 1816); *Steudel* (Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie 1831, ii. 66 sqq.); *Tholuck* (literarischer Anzeiger 1832, No. 78–80, also in his vermischte Schriften, i. 406 sqq.); *Hoffmann* (Hall. Encyclopädie, x. 184 sqq.); and *Hengstenberg* (die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen, Berlin 1842).]

§ 54. (Num. xxii. 2–21.)—The Israelites, encamped in the Arboth Moab, opposite to Jericho, had now nothing but the Jordan between them and the land of their fathers' pilgrimage. But the conquest of the country to the east of the Jordan rendered it necessary, that this should be the head-quarters for some time to come; and thus the crossing of the Jordan was postponed till a future period. If the conquered country was to be *held*, fortifications must be erected and garrisoned, and such other steps taken, as were necessary to guard against the encroachments of surrounding nations, who might be actuated by a desire to reconquer the country. In the meantime, these nations were also thinking of the best way to rid themselves of their dangerous neighbours. Moab in particular, which had the most to fear from the revenge of the Israelites, on account of the hostile manner in which they had met them at first, would have been very glad to extend its territory to the Jabbok, which had been its original boundary. *Balak*, the son of Zippor, who was then king of Moab, allied himself with the neighbouring *Midianites*. But he had learned from past experience, that nothing could be effected by the power of the sword alone, against a nation so strongly defended by its God. Hence his first wish and endeavour was to deprive it of this protection, and if possible to turn the blessing, which had hitherto borne it as upon eagles'

wings, into a curse. And a prospect presented itself of attaining this end. Far away to the east, at Pethor on the banks of the Euphrates, there dwelt a magician, named *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, who was renowned far and wide for the irresistible power of blessing and cursing which he possessed. The fact that this magician practised his magical arts in the name of *Jehovah*, the very same God who had made Israel strong, was most welcome intelligence under the circumstances; for, if he succeeded in inducing *him* to curse the Israelites, their power, he thought, would be effectually broken. In connection with his allies, therefore, he sent messengers to Pethor with the following message: "Come, and curse me this people; for they are too mighty for me: for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." The reward, which was promised him, at once excited the covetous mind of the magician. Yet he did not dare to promise, without first asking God; and the answer of God ran thus: "Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed." He sent the messengers home, therefore, and said to them, "Get you into your land, for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you." But in all probability it did not escape the messengers, that it was with a very reluctant heart that Balaam sent them away,—that in reality ambition and avarice were the ruling passions of his soul. *Balak* therefore sent a second embassy, consisting of still nobler princes, and with still more magnificent promises. It is true that the magician replied to them again this time: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do little or much." But instead of sending them away at once, he was so dazzled by the splendid offers of glory and gold, that he determined to try once more whether he could not succeed in obtaining the consent of Jehovah. And, behold! a reply now came from Jehovah to this effect: "Rise up, and go with them; but thou shalt *only* do what I shall tell thee." In the blindness of his passion, Balaam did not ob-

serve, that such a condition as this, instead of securing to him the permission he desired, defeated the very object he had in view, *viz.*, to obtain possession of Balak's honours and gold. He eagerly availed himself of the permission granted, and set out with the messengers of Balak.

(1.) *Gesenius* derives the NAME BALAAM (בִּלְעָם; *Sept.* Βαλαάμ) from בל and עם (non populus, *i.e.*, peregrinus). *Hengstenberg* gives the preference to the ancient derivation from בלע (to swallow up, destroy, vanquish) and עם (people), to which we find many analogies in other languages; *e.g.*, Nicolaus, Nicodemus, Leonicus, Andronicus (and many others, even in German, *vid.* Simonis Onomast., p. 459, note e). *Fürst* (in his smaller dictionary) regards the termination ם־ as a terminal syllable; in which case, *Balaam* means simply the destroyer, or conqueror.—All three derivations are admissible, according to the rules of the language. The one adopted by Hengstenberg most probably gave rise to the name *Nicolaitans*, which we meet with in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 6, *cf.* ver. 14); for this name can hardly be traced to a man named Nicolaus, who was the founder of a sect, but is to be regarded rather as a mystic name applied to the apostolical Gnostics (as being seducers of the people), with distinct allusion to Balaam, their Old Testament type. Even in the case of Balaam himself, the name may very probably have been a significant one;—that is to say, "he may have borne the name as a dreaded conjurer and wizard:—whether it was that he sprang from a family in which the calling was hereditary, and therefore received it at his birth, and merely became, in the course of time and in public opinion, what those, who first gave him the name, anticipated and desired;—or that the name was given him, according to Oriental custom, at a later period of his life, when the thing itself became conspicuous" (*Hengstenberg*). In *Hengstenberg's* opinion, there is a perfectly analogous significance in the father's name *Beor* (בְּעוֹר—*Sept.* Βεώρ, 2 Pet. ii. 15, Βοσόρ—from בער, to burn up, to graze off, to destroy). He says: "This name was given to the father, on account of the destructive power attributed to his curses." Thus he supposes that Balaam belonged to a family, in which the prophetic or magical disposition was hereditary; and there is great proba-

bility in such an assumption, if we bear in mind how carefully and emphatically he speaks of himself in his blessings, as *Balaam* the son of *Beor* (Num. xxiv. 3, 15), as though he meant to say in other words, "the celebrated son of a celebrated father."—*Hengstenberg* even goes so far, as to assume that there is some connection between the name of his native town *Pethor*, and the profession which he carried on. פתר occurs in Gen. xli. 8 (*cf.* xl. 8, 11, xli. 11) in connection with the interpretation of dreams; and therefore we are possibly warranted in assuming, that "the dwelling-place of Balaam received its name in connection with the possessors of secret arts, of which it was one of the principal seats. That the Babylonian magicians in later times were in the habit of assembling together in particular towns, somewhat after the manner of the Egyptian and Israelitish cities of the priests, is very evident from *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. 6, 25, and *Strabo*, 16, 1 (*vid. Münter*, Religion der Babylonier, p. 86)."

(2.) Various answers have been given to the question, *how did Balaam come to know and serve Jehovah, the God of Israel?* According to the generally received opinion, which even *Tholuck* has defended, in the Jehovah-worship of Balaam there was a relic of the primeval and purer knowledge of God, which had been preserved in the midst of heathenism, and Balaam presented, to a certain extent, an analogy to Melchizedek. In support of this view, appeal is made to the fact that Balaam's native country was Mesopotamia, the original seat of the family of Abraham, where a considerable branch of the family (the descendants of Bethuel) still remained.—According to another view, which *Hengstenberg* (p. 12 sqq.) has thoroughly established, the knowledge of Jehovah possessed by Balaam is to be traced to the events of his own day: namely, to the fame of the God of Israel, which had spread in the time of Moses over all the heathen nations round about, and to the overpowering effect produced upon all these nations, according to the express testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, by the mighty deeds which God did in the midst of His people. We have already met with an analogous example in the case of *Jethro* (Ex. xviii. 1 sqq.). There is another in the history of *Rahab* (Josh. ii. 9 sqq.). The fraud practised by the *Gibeonites* (Josh. ix.) was based, according to ver. 9, upon the assumption that the fame of the mighty works

of Jehovah must necessarily have spread far and wide throughout all lands, and confirmed the announcement which had already been made with prophetic foresight in the Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 14; vol. ii. § 28, 6). At all events, a mere echo of the earlier knowledge of Jehovah which had existed in the country of Mesopotamia, would not suffice to explain the peculiar position of Balaam and the nature of his prophecies; for the latter indicate a much greater distinctness in his religious consciousness, and a much clearer insight into the position of Israel in relation to both the past and future history of the world, than could possibly have been derived from the period referred to. At the same time, we cannot go so far as *Hengstenberg*, who denies that there was any connection whatever between the knowledge of God possessed by Balaam, and the reminiscences of the purer light which was formerly enjoyed by his ancestors. However deeply the descendants of Bethuel and Laban may have been by this time immersed in heathenism, it is nevertheless possible that religious reminiscences of earlier times may have been still in existence, and may have been revivified in Balaam's mind by the tidings of the mighty works which Jehovah had done in Egypt and the desert.

(3.) The question as to the precise nature of BALAAM'S CALLING AND PROPHETIC GIFT, is one of far greater difficulty. From the very earliest times the most contradictory opinions have been entertained. On the one hand, he has been regarded as a thoroughly godless and idolatrous wizard and false prophet, —a prophet of the devil, whom the Lord God compelled to bless instead of cursing, for the glory of His name and the good of His people Israel (*vid. Philo*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, etc.). On the other hand, it has also been maintained, that he was a true prophet of God, who fell through covetousness and ambition (*vid. Tertullian*, *Jerome*, *Deyling*, *Budde*, and others). In both views there are certain elements of truth; but in their partiality and exclusiveness, they are both erroneous. The truth is to be found between the two. The position of Balaam at this particular time was that of both a heathen magician and a Jehovistic seer. He was still standing upon the boundary line between two spheres, which touch each other, but from their very nature are thoroughly opposed, and cannot co-exist. He stood, as it were, with one foot upon the soil of heathen magic

and soothsaying, and with the other upon the soil of Jehovistic religion and prophecy. *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 340 translation) was the first to perceive this clearly and explain it fully.

On the one hand, we find Balaam still unquestionably involved in the ungodliness and absurdities of heathen witchcraft. He is called הַקּוֹסֵם, *the soothsayer* κατ' ἐξοχήν (Josh. xiii. 22); and in connection with his prophecies, he resorted to ways and means which constitute the characteristic difference between ungodly, heathen soothsaying, and godly, theocratic prophecy. *Kesem* (קֶסֶם) or soothsaying was unconditionally prohibited by the law in Israel. In Deut. xviii. 10 it is commanded, "There shall not be found among you a *Kosem;*" for "all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord" (ver. 12). *Kesem* is represented as a grievous sin in 1 Sam. xv. 23; Ezek. xiii. 23; and 2 Kings xvii. 17; and as a characteristic of false prophets in Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28; and Jer. xiv. 14. Soothsaying is placed in the same opposition to true prophecy in Is. iii. 2, 3; for when it is stated there, that Jehovah will take away from Jerusalem and Judah all their supports, and among others the prophets (נביא) and the soothsayers (קוסם),—the meaning evidently is, that the state is to be deprived both of its real and imaginary oracles,—of those that have been appointed by God, as well as of those that have been chosen by itself in opposition to the will of God. In perfect accordance with the character and practice of heathen magic and prophecy (*Mantik*), Balaam resorts to augury, and hopes in this way to be able to find materials and a basis for a prophecy after Balak's own mind (Num. xxiv. 1, xxiii. 3, 15). Augury appears to have been the peculiar and ordinary means employed by him in his prophetic operations. "That he availed himself of such extremely uncertain means as augury, the inefficacy of which even heathenism admitted (*Nägelsbach* homerische Theol., p. 154 sqq.), and which was never employed by a true prophet in Israel, is a proof that his religious and prophetic stand-point was a low one, and can only be explained from the insufficiency of the excitement which he received from the Spirit of God. Where the Spirit of God works *with power*, a man has no need to look round about for signs in nature, in order to arrive at certainty respecting the will of God" (*Hengstenberg*,

p. 345).—To this we have also to add the character of his prophetic inspiration, into which we shall enter more particularly below.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that he possessed a certain amount of the true knowledge of God, of genuine prophetic inspiration, of subjective fear of God, and of objective *Theopneustia;* but in his case there was no depth in all this, it was neither well-founded nor tried. He knew and sought Jehovah; confessed Him openly and freely before men, inquired of Him as to His counsel and will, and was ready to yield to them, though possibly not without resistance, and with only half a heart. So also there was a real connection between him and Jehovah; though probably this also was weak and fluctuating. Jehovah allowed him to find Him, came to meet him, answered him, and made known to him His purpose and His will. His prophecies, too, were really uttered in a state of mind produced and controlled by the Spirit of God.

We must hold both together then. He was a heathen soothsayer and a prophet of Jehovah at the same time; a syncretist, who thought and hoped that he might be able to combine the two upon his peculiar stand-point, and hold them both with equal firmness. He was in a transition state from one to the other; and in this transition state, and this alone, was it possible for him to unite together two different stand-points, which from their very nature were entirely opposed, and thoroughly irreconcileable. He knew and confessed Jehovah; he sought and found Him; and Jehovah granted him an answer, and made him the bearer of His revelations. On the other hand, he was not sufficiently advanced in the knowledge and service of Jehovah, to throw overboard with disgust every kind of heathen augury and soothsaying, which had helped him hitherto to his magic and prophecy. And the course of his history shows us clearly enough, where it was that the obstacle lay; in other words, how it was, that after Balaam had once recognised Jehovah as the true and Supreme God, and notwithstanding the fact that Jehovah did not fail to make Himself known in word and power, he did not entirely lay aside his heathen incantations, and give himself up to the worship of Jehovah. The cause was not primarily an intellectual one; nor did it arise from any disqualification for the calling of a genuine prophet of Jehovah. It was altogether

moral, and lay entirely in the will. Hitherto Balaam had practised magic as a trade; for the simple purpose of procuring gold, honour, and renown. When he made the discovery that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was stronger than the gods of all the other nations; he turned to Him, probably in the hope that by this means he would be able to secure more striking results and still larger gains. Thus he carried into the new phase of his life an impure and heathen state of mind, which inevitably prevented him from being more firmly established, or making further progress in his fellowship with Jehovah, so long as it remained unconquered. We must not imagine, however, that his aims and endeavours were entirely divested of nobler and loftier motives; for had this been the case, Jehovah would hardly have suffered Himself to be found of him, or have replied to his inquiries. And the manner in which he was met by Jehovah was not without effect upon the spirit and heart, the mind and will, of the magician. This is proved by his reply to the messengers of Balak: "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, etc." (Num. xxii. 18). But his whole conduct, wavering, uncertain, and ambiguous as it was, also proves that his heathen disposition was not subdued, and therefore that he was not yet in a condition to lay the magical practices of his previous heathen state entirely aside. Such oscillation as this, such half-heartedness in connection with either side, and such an attempt to glue together things utterly incompatible the one with the other, could not last long. It was only possible for a certain period, and that the period of transition. In the further course of his life he was sure to give up either the one or the other unconditionally, and without reserve,—to let the one entirely go, that he might hold the other fast. Balaam had just now reached the fork in his road. He was placed by circumstances in such a situation, that he must of necessity decide whether the ancient heathen or the new Jehovistic principles should gain the upper hand; whether he should press forward so as to become a true and genuine prophet, or whether he should revert to his old stand-point, and eventually reach the most determined hostility to Jehovah, to the theocracy, and to the people of God's election. The existing complication of circumstances, which was to promote the glory of Jehovah, to rouse the courage of the Israelites, and to alarm the enemy of Israel, was also of great and decisive importance to

Balaam. And he fell. Covetousness and ambition were stronger within him than all the attractions of salvation.

Analogous circumstances to those, in which Balaam now found himself, occur in all the decisive transition stages of our moral and religious life. Even in the history of modern missions there are abundant illustrations (*Hengstenberg*, Balaam, p. 349). Three examples from the gospel and apostolical histories are particularly deserving of notice. The first we find in the words of Christ in Matt. xii. 47, "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?"—an explanation of which is afforded by Mark ix. 38 and Luke ix. 49 ("Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and he followeth *not* us"). The second is to be found in Acts xix. 13, where we read that seven Jewish exorcists, sons of the high-priest Sceva, invoked the name of the Lord Jesus upon those who had evil spirits, saying, "We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth." But the most striking and most thoroughly to the point is the example of the New Testament Balaam, *Simon Magus*, in Acts viii. "The new powers" (we are quoting *Hengstenberg's* words, p. 348), "which were conferred by Christianity upon mankind, attracted him also; and, discontented with the previous results of his art, he hoped to participate in these powers. *Vid.* Acts viii. 13: he 'wondered, beholding the signs and great miracles which were done.' Observe also the opinion which he formed of the apostles. What the latter said of him, 'Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight God,' was applicable to Balaam also. At the same time, even Simon's heart was not altogether without a part or lot. This is evident from ver. 13, where we are told that 'Simon himself *believed* also; and when he was *baptized*, he continued with Philip.'"

*Steudel* would set down the prophecies of Balaam respecting Israel's future, as being simply the product of the natural forethought of a keen-sighted man. He says: "An observant man will not fail to perceive, that the prophetic declarations of Balaam are all couched in the most general terms. They contained, in reality, nothing but what might fairly be inferred from existing circumstances, set forth in a striking and poetical form." For an answer to this, we refer to *Hengstenberg*, p. 350 sqq. At the same time, we would draw especial attention to Num. xxiii.

5 and xxiv. 2, where it is distinctly stated that "the Spirit of God came upon him" when he prophesied, and that "Jehovah put a word into his mouth;" and also to the specialities of the concluding prophecy in Num. xxiv. We have there an announcement of the captivityof Israel by the Assyrians, implying, of course, that the latter would appear as conquerors in Western Asia; an intimation that another nation, or other nations, from beyond the Euphrates, would follow Assyria in the government of Western Asia (ver. 24); and the declaration that a power would come in ships from Cyprus, which would subjugate Assyria and the country beyond the Euphrates. Beside this, it is clearly predicted that a kingdom will be established in Israel (*vid.* Num. xxiv. 7, 17–19). But what attests the supernatural character of Balaam's prophecy, even more strongly than the special announcements themselves, is the decided contrast which they present to Balaam's wishes, hopes, and intentions. He certainly desired to answer the expectations of Balak, and hoped, at least so far as the first and second prophecies were concerned, that he should be able to gratify him: it was not till the third prophecy that he found it impossible to give himself up to any such illusions (*vid.* chap. xxiv. 1). All this would be inexplicable, if his prophecies were simply the result of natural foresight. It can only be understood on the assumption that (as it is expressly declared in Deut. xxiii. 5, 6) Jehovah turned the intended curse into a blessing by the exertion of supernatural power.—*Steudel's* view cannot be maintained, apart from the rationalistic *dictum* which he sets himself to overthrow, that the prophecies of Balaam were composed at a much later period, as *vaticinia post eventum*, and consisted simply of the embellishment of an ancient myth.

There is one more peculiar characteristic of Balaam's prophesying, of which we have still to speak. In the introductory words to his last prophecy (Num. xxiv. 3), he describes himself as "*the man with closed eyes*" (הַגֶּבֶר שְׁתֻם הָעָיִן). The majority of translators and commentators have rendered שתם *open;* and suppose Balaam to represent himself as the man with the open eye (of the mind). This explanation is based upon the fact, that שתם occurs once in the Mishnah (see *Buxtorf*, Lex. Rabbin. *s.v.*) with the meaning *perforavit.* But most of the modern commentators have very properly abandoned this rendering, as being in all respects untenable (*vid. Tholuck, Ewald, Lengerke, Hengsten-*

*berg*, *Rödiger*, etc.). In Arabic سطم is the word currently employed in the sense of to *shut*, and even in Hebrew שתם (for which we find שׂתם in Lam. iii. 8) is frequently used with the same signification. *Hengstenberg* has shown (p. 448) that the interchange of ס, שׂ, and שׁ, does not present any difficulty here (see also *Ewald*, ausführliches Lehrbuch, § 91). From the construction of the prophecy, also, this rendering is apparently inadmissible. For גֹּלֵי עֵינָיִם in the second member would then be perfectly synonymous with שְׁתֻם הָעַיִן in the first, and there would be simply an intolerable tautology; whereas, according to our translation, it forms the antithesis required to complete the picture (with the bodily eyes closed, but with the eye of the mind open; the former being, in fact, the condition of the latter). There is the more reason to expect such an antithesis in the two predicates, from the fact that the repetition of נְאֻם in the second member indicates a progress in the thought. But to such of the earlier commentators as felt constrained, on exegetical grounds, to render שתם עין "with *closed* eye," the expression was always an enigma, which they tried in vain to solve. *Clericus*, for example, supposes Balaam to refer to the fact that he did not see the angel in the road; and *de Geer* is of opinion that he meant to say that his (mental) eye had *hitherto* been closed, so far as future events were concerned. But light has been thrown upon the subject, by recent acquaintance with analogous conditions in the mysterious departments of somnambulism and heathen augury. Balaam describes himself as the man with closed (bodily) eye, because a state of *ecstasy*, the essential characteristic of which was the closing of the *outward* senses previous to the opening of the *inward*, was the condition, means, and basis of his prophetic visions and utterances. That this explanation is the only admissible one, is placed beyond all doubt by the fact, that in Balaam's description of his state of prophetic ecstasy, he constantly represents himself as נֹפֵל (*falling down*). Allusion is here made to the convulsions and fits of unconsciousness which have generally characterised the lower forms of prophecy, from the Delphic Pythia to the modern *Shamanen*.—An admirable explanation of these conditions has been given by *Hengstenberg* (p. 449), founded upon *Steinbeck's* "The Poet a Seer" (Leipzig 1836, p. 121 sqq.). We shall take the liberty of quoting what is most essential. *Steinbeck* says: "It is natural

that in the noisy whirlpool of the outward world, the soul should be too much distracted and held back from the contemplation of higher objects. The soul, when actively employed in the life of sense, stands in direct opposition to the spirit, which is obscured and forced back by the activity of the senses, and only enters into a state of unfettered action when the senses are asleep or unemployed. For when we are desirous of meditating closely upon anything, we withdraw into perfect solitude, and close both eyes and ears. . . . As the stars disappear when the sun rises, but reappear when it sets; so does the waking spirit obscure the perceptions of the senses, whilst its sleep or withdrawal, on the other hand, brings them out again, and all the sensations, which were utterly powerless during the supremacy of the spirit, recover and assert their full strength and activity."[1] On this *Hengstenberg* observes (p. 149, English translation): "In those who have reached the highest stage of inward advancement, inspiration may undoubtedly take place without the outward closing of the senses; the sensitive faculty is in them so refined, and the spirit so powerful, that no disturbing impression is to be apprehended from the former. But in men like Balaam, who stood upon a lower stage of the inner life, and who was only raised above it for the moment by the inward working of the Spirit, the closing of the eyes formed the necessary condition of the opening of the spirit. The spirit could only open by closing, that is, by forcibly tearing him away from the impressions of the lower world, and its corrupting influences upon one who was already corrupt, and introducing him into the higher world. According to this passage, we have to represent Balaam to ourselves as uttering all his prophecies with his eyes closed; but we are not warranted

[1] This beautiful figure is capable of being applied in a somewhat different manner, and one which appears to me to be still more adapted to the end in view: namely, by regarding the sight of the stars by night as analogous to the sight of supersensual objects with closed eyes. The stars are in the heavens throughout the day, but the eye must be equipped before it can see them. But as soon as the night comes on, which is the enemy of the day, and obscures the sight, the eye needs no equipment in order to see them. Thus is it with supersensual objects: in the clear self-consciousness of a waking state, they can only be discerned by the vision of the true prophet, who is *super*naturally equipped with a Divine keenness and length of vision; whereas ordinary (heathen) soothsayers are able to see them only with the *un*natural vision of a state of somnambulism, which is the image or correlative of night and of death.

in drawing the conclusion that Isaiah's must have been uttered in precisely the same condition."

On the *falling down* in connection with the prophecy, *Hengstenberg* says (p. 451): "It shows the force of the inspiration, which came upon the seer like an armed man, and threw him to the ground. There is a parallel in 1 Sam. xix. 24, where it is said of Saul: 'And he stripped off his clothes also, and fell down naked (וַיִּפֹּל עָרֹם) all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?' גַּם הוּא (is Saul *also*) shows that the falling down was common to Saul and the scholars of the prophets. It was only in cases where there was immaturity in the individual inspired, that the inspiration assumed so violent a character, prostrating both soul and body. In the case of a SAMUEL, we can hardly imagine such violent phenomena. The more the ordinary consciousness is pervaded by the Spirit, the less necessity is there for the Spirit to assume a hostile attitude to the former, on the occasion of its extraordinary manifestations. It is then only coming to its own." This analogy between true prophecy in a state of *immaturity*, and heathen soothsaying, in the external form of their manifestations, is of great importance to the present question. It shows us, for example, that notwithstanding the contrast between prophecy and soothsaying, in every other respect they have still the same natural basis, and both equally presuppose a natural faculty for supersensual vision. And this will serve to render it more intelligible, how Balaam's qualification for heathen magic and soothsaying was in some measure a preparation for his subsequent change into a prophet of Jehovah. But when Balaam, at the commencement of his prophecy, mentioned this falling down in convulsions and closing of the eyes, evidently as establishing the supernatural character and trustworthiness of his predictions,—in other words, when he was proud, and boasted of what was simply a proof of the low, immature, and undeveloped state of his prophetic gift and character,—he proved, most unquestionably, to how slight an extent he had penetrated into the sanctuary of genuine prophecy, and how thoroughly his inmost spiritual life was still imbued with his former heathenism.

(4.) The *point of view* from which we may explain Balak's application to Balaam, notwithstanding the fact that he knew him to be a prophet of Jehovah, the God of Israel, has been

correctly described by *Hengstenberg*, namely, that he despaired of the power of his own deities to help him, and applied to Balaam just because he was a prophet of Jehovah. Balak, who was under the power of the heathen delusion, that the will of the gods could be directed and determined by the magical incantations of those who stood in close relation to them, hoped that Balaam's curse might deprive the Israelites of the protection and aid of Jehovah. *Stähelin*, on the other hand (Krit. Unterss. p. 37), is of opinion that such a supposition is at variance with all analogy, and that it is incredible that any one should have imagined it possible that Israel's God would allow Israel to be cursed. But so far as the supposed incredibility is concerned, it must be borne in mind that in remote antiquity many things appeared to be perfectly credible to the people, which would be very incredible now. The enlightened *Pliny* says on this subject (Hist. nat. 28, 3): "Maximæ quæstionis et semper incertæ est, valeantne aliquid verba et incantamenta carminum. . . . Sed viritim sapientissimi cujusque respuit fides. In universum vero omnibus horis credit vita, nec sentit" (that is to say, in the actual practice of life, men have universally given themselves up to this belief, without paying any attention to the opinions of the wise). But when *Stähelin* proceeds to observe, that it is thoroughly at variance with all analogy, he merely betrays his own ignorance of the customs of heathen antiquity. *Hengstenberg* cites a number of analogous cases, which might, no doubt, be multiplied to a very great extent. It will suffice at present to quote a single passage from *Pliny* (28, 4): "Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit, quibus credat, in oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari deum, cujus in tutela id oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem, aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum. Et durat in pontificum disciplina id sacrum; constatque ideo occultatum, in cujus tutela Roma esset, ne qui hostium simili modo agerent."

(5.) Balak attributed IRRESISTIBLE POWER to the *incantations* of Balaam. He said, "I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." On this Hengstenberg observes p. (366): "Several have thought that this was not a mere delusion, but that if Balaam had uttered a curse upon Israel it would really have taken effect; and they argue that otherwise there would have been no reason for speaking of it as

a great boon conferred upon Israel, that this curse had been averted, as is the case in Deut. xxiii. 5; Josh. xxiv. 10; Micah vi. 5; and Neh. xiii. 2. But this argument is of no force. Even to avert a curse, which might be powerless in itself, would still be to bestow a blessing; since the superstition of those who heard it, of the Israelites themselves, as well as of their foes, would give it an importance which it did not possess in itself, and cause it to dispirit the Israelites, and give strength to their foes." Nevertheless *M. Baumgarten* maintains, and, we believe, not altogether without reason, that "the scriptural narrative cannot be correctly understood, unless it be admitted that the power of Balaam to bless and to curse is fully acknowledged there."—The argument just referred to, that the Scriptures repeatedly refer to it, as a peculiarly memorable and praiseworthy act of grace on the part of Jehovah, that He would not suffer Balaam to curse, but turned the curse into a blessing, cannot be so easily disposed of as *Hengstenberg* imagines. If the effectual power, which the superstition of Moab and Israel attributed to Balaam's curse, was mere fancy and delusion, so also undoubtedly was that which was ascribed to his blessing. But it is very obvious, that the latter cannot possibly have been the author's opinion. And even *Hengstenberg*, we believe, will not deny, that not only the superstitious in Israel, but the divinely illuminated author himself, was fully convinced, that of all the blessings to which Balaam gave utterance, not one was spoken in vain, not one would fail to be fulfilled. If the conviction of the efficacy of his blessing or curse had been merely delusion and superstition, it would have been a superstition of a most dangerous kind, and one which the law would have expressly and decidedly condemned. That magical incantations possessed a power to injure or to bless, was a conviction common to all antiquity; and even *Hengstenberg* admits that this conviction had undoubtedly taken root in Israel. And what a powerful temptation to apostasy to heathenism, if only of a temporary duration, was to be found in this conviction! But incantations of this description durst not take place in Israel. How strong must have been the inducement, therefore, when occasion served, to apply to heathen magicians for that which the priests and prophets of the theocracy refused! The law contents itself with condemning in the strongest terms every form of magic and soothsaying, without giving the

slightest hint, that all such things are mere superstition, delusion, and fraud. Must not this silence have appeared, to an Israelite, tantamount to an acknowledgment, that the powers and effects were something more than imaginary? Considering the sinfulness of human nature, in which the *Nitimur in vetitum* is so deeply rooted, and the tendency to spiritual adultery even stronger than to carnal, and the fact, that under certain circumstances a prohibition acts as a spur to evil; would not the danger have been more thoroughly and successfully averted by simply declaring the vanity, impotence, and nonentity of such things, than by a prohibition which took the reality for granted? And, looking simply at the case before us, would not the enemies of Israel have been more thoroughly dispirited and confounded,—would not the conviction of the nothingness and impotence of their gods and idolatrous rites, of their incantations and witchcrafts, have forced itself still more powerfully and irresistibly upon their minds, and those of the Israelites, if Jehovah had actually permitted Balaam to curse to his heart's desire, and the immediate result had demonstrated the impotence of the curse he uttered?

Undoubtedly, with the thoroughly mistaken, unscriptural, and unhistorical views which *Hengstenberg* has formed (*vid.* § 1, 2) of the gods of heathenism, as being merely empty names, without any sphere of existence or operation, without activity of any kind,—with such views as these, he must believe that there was no effect whatever produced by either the curse or blessing, which was pronounced in the power of such deities as these. But if, as we have already proved that the Scriptures affirm (vol. ii. § 23, 1), the heathen deities do possess a real and personal existence, and a sphere of activity and operations answering to their spiritual power, the conclusion to which we may and must come with regard to such blessings and curses will be a very different one.

All that we have said above (vol. ii. § 23, 2), respecting magic in general (whether natural, dæmoniacal, or godly), applies to this particular form (*viz.*, by the utterance of either a blessing or a curse). But no one will find it inconceivable, that a spoken word should serve as the medium and vehicle of a power, which either assists by blessing or clogs by cursing (whether the power itself proceeds from a hidden, natural power

within a man's own mind, or from a supernatural source); if he properly estimate the meaning, worth, and power of human language, as the most direct and immediate utterance of the human mind, the royal insignia and sceptre of the power which he possesses over all terrestrial nature.

It is thought indeed by some, that it would be irreconcileable with the wisdom, goodness, and righteousness of God,—irreconcileable with the providence of God, without whose will not a hair falls from our head, if it were possible for the favour or malice of man to assist and advance, or to injure and destroy, in an ungodly and unjust manner, by purely human (*i.e.*, ungodly) caprice, and if God Himself permitted the possibility to become a fact. To this we reply, however, by simply asking, whether it is not equally irreconcileable with the wisdom, goodness, and righteousness of God, for human cunning and malice to be able to produce unforeseen and irresistible injury in a thousand other ways? If God permits the power of the human arm to be abused by the murderer, and an acquaintance with the powers of nature by the poisoner, and if this does not interfere with or militate against the providence of God, why should not the same rule apply to an abuse of the secret and mysterious power of the word? Undoubtedly it is still the case, that the providence of God can oppose the evil, either before or after its performance, can prevent it altogether, or neutralise its effects. But whether He will do this, and if so *when* and *how*, is His own affair, and short-sighted man can have nothing to say in the matter. As the arm can be restrained, when lifted up for purposes of murder, and as poison can be rendered harmless by an antidote, so can the providence of God either prevent the ungodly blessing and curse from being uttered at all, or render them harmless, turn them into the very opposite, even when they have been pronounced.

In heathen antiquity a power was attributed to the incantations of the magicians, which the gods themselves could not resist. And this was evidently *Balak's* opinion. He looked upon Jehovah as nothing more than the national God of the Israelites, just as Chemosh was the national god of his own people. His conviction therefore was, that Balaam, as a prophet of Jehovah, could direct and alter the will of Jehovah, could decide as to His favour or ill-will, just as the heathen

magicians were in the habit of doing, with the deities whom they served. He was no doubt greatly mistaken in this, as Balaam repeatedly and distinctly assured him (Num. xxii. 13, 18, 38, xxiii. 8, 12, 19, 26, xxiv. 12); but his mistake arose simply from the fact, that he placed Jehovah on a level with the heathen deities, and the prophets of Jehovah with the heathen magicians. In the sphere of purely heathen magic his opinion would possibly have been correct.—*Hengstenberg* has made a remark, which is both true and, in relation to our view, important (though, in connection with what he has written on the subject, it can only be understood figuratively, and therefore is almost unmeaning), and which we gladly appropriate. He says: "Gods of human invention can never deny their origin, and never withdraw themselves altogether from dependence on those by whom they have been begotten." We take the words in their literal sense. Heathen worship is *ἐθελοθρησκεία*. The heathen has chosen his own gods, and therefore in a certain sense they are dependent upon him. He has forsaken the service of the only true God, the God with whom there is no respect of persons, whose power and will are ever absolute, whether He is served or not. But the gods to whom the heathen have devoted themselves, though they may be real, personal, and relatively powerful, are still but finite and created, and as such are necessarily subject to the laws of the creature. The priests and wizards, by whom they are served, are in a certain sense their masters; they are indebted to them for their position and the honour paid to them as gods; and, on the other hand, the priests and magicians are indebted for their position and honour to the supernatural powers which these deities confer. Thus the deities and their worshippers are mutually dependent the one upon the other; and for their own interests the dæmoniacal powers, which were associated with heathenism, would show themselves as subservient as possible to the incantations of the magicians. At the same time, it is possible that magical incantations, on the part of those with whom they had entered into a biotical relation, may have exerted a constraining influence even upon them, and one which they were not in a condition to resist, even if they had desired it.

It was very different in the case before us; for Balaam wanted to curse, not in the name of a heathen deity, but in the

name of Jehovah, the absolute God. *Hengstenberg* is perfectly right when he says, "In the service of Jehovah there can be no thought of force and constraint; the servants of Jehovah are unconditionally dependent upon Him, whether engaged in blessing or cursing; their utterances have no worth at all, except as they are faithful interpreters of His will, the distinct perception of which constitutes their sole prerogative. It was in this sense alone that Noah cursed Ham, and Isaac blessed Jacob."—But the truth of these words does not extend sufficiently far, to prove that the warding off of the curse was merely an *imaginary* benefit, in other words, that it was not in reality a benefit at all, though it was erroneously thought to be so by those who were superstitious. As the *blessing* of Balaam, as a prophet of Jehovah, was not merely efficacious in the imagination of the superstitious and credulous Israelites and Moabites, but, through the power of Jehovah, which dwelt within him, was also objectively and actually sufficient to bring to pass whatever he had spoken, —so, on the other hand, would a *curse* pronounced by Balaam upon Israel, in the same character and with the same authority, have been followed with the same effect. And it was in this way that Balaam wished to be allowed to curse; but Jehovah would not permit it, although there was ground, and cause, and occasion enough for a curse in Israel's past history and present condition, and this was the great blessing celebrated by Moses, Joshua, and Micah. The curse of Balaam, uttered in the name and power of Jehovah, would have been just as effectual as his blessing; but, as a prophet of Jehovah, Balaam could neither bless nor curse, except according to the will and counsel of Jehovah.—But it may perhaps be asked, What would have been the consequence, if Balaam had had sufficient control over himself to curse instead of blessing, notwithstanding the influence of the Spirit of God, which was restraining him from cursing and impelling him to bless? Is it not a prerogative of human freedom to be able to resist the will of God and do that which is ungodly?—Undoubtedly it would have been in the power of Balaam, notwithstanding the declaration of Jehovah's will, to follow the devices and desires of his wicked heart, and so to harden himself against the influence of the Spirit of God as to give utterance to a *curse*,—but he could not have done this without going entirely away from the sphere of a prophet

of Jehovah, and falling back into that of a mere heathen magician. As long as he was *in the service of Jehovah*, and wished to bless and to curse *in the name* and power of Jehovah, as the servant of his Lord, his blessing and cursing would be unconditionally dependent upon the will of Jehovah. If he broke away from Jehovah, the constraint would cease; he would then be able to curse, but only in his own name, or that of a heathen deity. This, however, would have been of but little service to Balak, for he could have secured all this without fetching a magician from the Euphrates. There were certainly magicians enough in his own nation to perform this service for him (see note 4).

§ 55. (Num. xxii. 22–35.)—Balaam set out, attended by two servants and the messengers of Balak. An event occurred upon the road, which was calculated and well adapted to convince him of the error of his way, and, if he was open to correction, to turn him from it. It is true that Jehovah had given him permission, at last, to obey the summons of *Balak;* but He had given him distinctly enough to understand, that he would only be allowed to speak and act according to the will of Jehovah, and therefore must not reckon upon Balak's honour and gold. But notwithstanding this—as the narrative necessarily presupposes—the corrupt mind of the magician was so thoroughly overpowered by avarice and ambition, that he still flattered himself with the hope that, as Jehovah had yielded so much already, He would comply with his wishes to a still greater extent; and the nearer he came to his journey's end the stronger became his desire, and the more did he think about the promised reward. For this reason the wrath of God was kindled at his departure, and the angel of Jehovah placed himself in the road with a drawn sword to withstand him. But the eyes of the seer were dazzled by the desire for earthly good, and therefore *he* perceived nothing of the threatening apparition from the higher world, which was standing in his road. But the ass upon which he was riding saw it, and turned in terror from the path; and, in a narrow pass among the vine-

yards, where there was no possibility of getting out of the way, it pressed against the rocky wall and injured Balaam's foot. In the blindness of his wrath he smote the poor beast, which had fallen under him. Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass; and, as Balaam had been unable to comprehend the meaning of what she had done, she poured out her complaints of the unmerited blows she had received, in intelligible words and human language (1). Jehovah now opened the eyes of the startled seer. When Balaam saw the heavenly apparition in its threatening attitude, and heard its severe reproof of the perverseness of his way, he confessed, "I have sinned," and added, complying half-heartedly with the will of God, "Now, if my way displeaseth Thee, I will turn back again." But this was not what Jehovah wanted. Balaam was to go on his way now; at the same time he was distinctly told, "Only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that shalt thou speak."

(1.) There is no other narrative in the Bible which has given rise to so much dispute, ridicule, and false exposition, as the history of BALAAM'S SPEAKING ASS. Since the time of the Deists, no scoffer at the Bible has been able to resist the cheap gratification of a ride upon Balaam's ass. The ridicule is undoubtedly rendered all the more piquant by the general estimation in which Master Long-ear is held in the West, where he is regarded as the ideal of absurdity and stupidity, and the target for popular wit to shoot at. The serpent's conversation in the history of the temptation has not been a subject of ridicule to anything like the same extent, has not been regarded as by any means so ludicrous, as the speaking of Balaam's ass. "The Lord opened the mouth of the ass!"—"The dumb beast of burden spoke with the voice of a man!" How naturally the scoffer (who cannot be prevented from jesting by the consciousness of being on holy ground, where he ought first to take off his shoes from off his feet) begins immediately to think of the harsh and unmusical voice of the beast of burden, upon which such unbounded contempt has been heaped in fables and allegories! And by such untimely notions as these,—untimely because they are founded upon the customs of a totally different age, and the

characteristics of an entirely different animal,—the simple impression which the narrative is calculated to produce is altogether distorted, and the narrative itself is turned into ridicule. And it makes no difference, whether it is regarded as a fact which actually occurred, or as a vision or myth. What is ludicrous, is not the fact that an animal should *speak*, but that *such an animal* should be the speaker. Now, every natural history, and every book of travels assure us, that in the East the ass is not the same lazy and submissive animal as in the West. According to Eastern notions, therefore, especially in antiquity, there is no trace whatever of the ill odour which we associate with the very name of an ass.

But we will leave the scoffers alone. The lovers of myths we shall also pass by, so long as they adhere to their assumption that miracles are either impossible or improper, and that the Biblical tales are on a par with the ancient legends of other nations. We have quite enough to do to rescue the narrative from the misinterpretations of many of those who believe as firmly as we do ourselves in its historical character. Nearly all the more modern believing theologians, for example, have endeavoured to remove the difficulties connected with the fact that the ass should be said to have spoken, by explaining the whole affair as something merely inward,—a vision, in fact, and not an external, objective occurrence. The ass, they say, did not really speak, but Balaam was thrown into a state of ecstasy by the operation of God; and in this state the same impression was produced upon his mind, as if the words had really been spoken by the ass herself. This opinion has been defended most warmly and thoroughly by *Tholuck* and *Hengstenberg*. *De Geer*, *Baumgarten*, and *O. v. Gerlach* alone, still adhere to the interpretation of the narrative as recording a literal fact.

The following are the arguments adduced by *Hengstenberg*:

*a*. He prepares the way for the general line of argument, by asserting that in the Scriptures it is a thing of very frequent occurrence, for inward processes to be narrated in the general course of history, without any express statement to the effect that they belong to the sphere of the inner life; a rule which may be explained on the simple ground, that the sacred writers took but little notice of the merely formal distinction between inward and outward experiences,—starting, as they did, with the

assumption that "appearances in *visions and dreams were just as real* (?!) as those in a waking condition." But how utterly weak and futile is the evidence which *Hengstenberg* brings to support his assertion! For example, from the fact, that in Gen. xxii. 3 Abraham is said to have set out "*early in the morning*" on the road to Mount Moriah, which was three days' journey distant, it necessarily follows, that he must have received the command to offer his son as a burnt-offering in a *vision* (?) *of the night!!!* But how is it possible to overlook the fact, that if there was any instance in the whole course of the sacred history, of a message from God coming to the man to whom it was addressed, when he had the clear consciousness of his waking moments, this *certainly* was and necessarily must have been the case with the command which was given here—a command of such a nature, that even in a state of the clearest self-consciousness, a man might well have been puzzled to determine whether what he saw with open eyes, heard with open ears, and understood with an unclouded mind, was not after all a delusion and a dream!—The other proofs are not much better; *e.g.*, the appearance of the angel at Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii. 2; see vol. i. § 80, 1), Jacob's wrestling at the ford of Jabbok (Gen. xxxii.; see vol. i. § 80, 4). With such proofs as these before us, we can certainly content ourselves with what is a rule of *exegesis*, to acknowledge no dreams, visions, or trances in the Biblical history, when they are not mentioned clearly, and without the least ambiguity, in the sacred records themselves.

But *Hengstenberg* has not done justice to the essential difference between the outward facts of the waking condition, and the appearances which characterise a dream. *It is not true* that, according to the Biblical view, the "appearances in visions and dreams were *just as real* as those in a waking condition." When Paul saw *in a vision* a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him that he might receive his sight (Acts ix. 12), this visionary appearance had by no means the same reality as the event itself, recorded in vers. 17, 18, of which this was merely a representation. No effect whatever was produced by the touch with the hand in the vision. Paul continued just as blind as he was before. But by what appeared to him in his waking condition his blindness was entirely removed, and "there fell from his eyes as it had been scales." Again, when Peter was

in prison, and an angel waked him out of his sleep, loosed him from his chains, and led him out (Acts xii.), Peter "wist not that it was true which was done by the angel, but *thought he saw a vision*;" and it was not till he was outside and came to himself, that he discovered that it was *not a vision*, but a reality. He then said, "Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent His angel, and hath delivered me." It is indisputably evident from these examples, that, according to the scriptural view, the appearances in a vision are not real, but only "*imagination*." There is no doubt a great difference between one kind of imagination and another,—for example, between purely subjective imagination, when I picture something to myself, or when phantastic images present themselves to the mind in consequence of fever or delirium,—and objective imagination, when the images are presented to the mind by the special operation of God. In neither case is there anything real in the appearance itself; but in the former case, all that the appearance may do or say is nothing but delusion and phantastic show; whereas, in the latter, what is symbolised, represented, or revealed by the appearance is perfectly *real*, though not the appearance itself.

When we read, however, the correct remark which Hengstenberg makes immediately before, *viz.*, that the distinction between the appearances of a vision and those of a man's waking condition (of course assuming that both are equally produced by God) is merely a *formal* one; it seems probable that, after all, when he says that "appearances in visions and dreams are just as real as those in a waking condition," he means nothing more than what we are quite ready to admit, that the Divine revelations communicated in visions and dreams are *substantially* as true and trustworthy as those received in a waking condition. In this case, the error in his statement would be limited entirely to his want of skilfulness in selecting his expression. Why should we enter upon this discussion, then, if our opponent is correct in his opinion, and has simply made use of a wrong expression? For various reasons. First, because errors in expression soon lead to errors in opinion. Secondly, because the argument is constantly carried on, just as if the words were true in their literal sense (which we have shown that they are not). Thirdly, because, on the ground of this *quid pro quo*, Divine visions (*i.e.*, the power of God operating immediately upon the soul of the

seer or hearer without the mediation of the eye or ear, or appearances produced by God) are continually confounded with actual Divine manifestations, with the visible appearance of God and of the things of God, before the outward, waking senses. And lastly, because what is true of the one is assumed, without anything further, to be equally true of the other. *Visions* are merely images of what is real; they are simply intended for the imagination; they presuppose an ecstatic condition, a momentary closing of the outward senses, a temporary suppression of the intelligent, reflecting self-consciousness, and consciousness of the surrounding world. But Divine *appearances in a waking condition* are visible representations to the external senses of that which is divine. In visions, the instruction conveyed is of an abstract character; here, on the contrary, it is concrete. When Ananias laid his hand upon Paul in a vision, there was no reality in this, and it produced no effect. But when Nebuchadnezzar looked into the fiery furnace, and saw not only the three friends of Daniel, but a fourth as well, this was no vision; for Nebuchadnezzar was not in a state of ecstasy, and the Divine protection, which was manifested to Nebuchadnezzar's eye in the form of an angel, was at that very moment really there. The power of an angel, who had been sent by God, prevented the devouring flame from coming near to their bodies (Dan. iii. 25). When God opened the eyes of His servant at the prayer of Elisha, and he saw the mountain full of fiery chariots and horsemen, this was the way in which there was manifested to his bodily eyes the protection of God, which was actually and actively (*wirklich und wirksam*) present; there is no intimation of his being in a state of ecstasy (2 Kings vi. 16 sqq.). Again, Elijah was actually carried up from the earth, when Elisha saw him ascend towards heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kings ii. 11). But if Peter had merely seen a vision, as he at first supposed, when he was in the prison, he would still have remained in prison and in chains; and the vision itself would have been nothing more than a Divine assurance of coming deliverance. See *Hofmann's Schriftbeweis*, i. 340 seq.

*b. Hengstenberg* affirms at p. 382, that "in Num. xii. 6 visions and dreams are referred to as the ordinary means of communication from God to the prophets; and as Balaam was one of the prophets, and the speaking of the ass was a communication

from God, of whom it is expressly stated, that He opened the mouth of the ass, we must assume from this general ground, if there is no reason to the contrary, that the affair was purely an inward one."—But, as we shall presently see, there are many reasons to the contrary. Even granting, however, that this was not the case, how thoroughly inconclusive such reasoning is! Balaam was certainly a prophet; and, according to Num. xii., prophets as a rule received the revelations, which they were to make known to others, in visions and dreams, and in an ecstatic state. This was the case with Balaam, when he was discharging the functions of a prophet in the presence of Balak. His eyes were closed; he fell upon the ground, and the use of his external senses was entirely suspended. But was Balaam discharging the functions of a prophet on the present occasion, with regard either to his ass or to the angel of the Lord? Was he engaged in receiving Divine revelations, which he was afterwards to make known to either the one or the other? Besides, how thoroughly mistaken is the notion, that the speaking of the ass was a communication from God to the prophet (!), or that in *substance* its words were a Divine revelation! The ass said, "What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?" We ask, Are these the words of God? Are these Divine instructions and revelations? Are they not much rather the simple utterances of the feelings of an ill-used animal, complaints of unmerited chastisement and ill-treatment, such as every domestic animal is constantly uttering, in similar situations, if not in "the words of human speech," yet by perfectly intelligible signs? It is true that we are told, that "*Jehovah* opened the mouth of the ass, and she spoke." But does this refer to *the substance* of what she said, and not rather to the *form* in which she said it,—to the fact, that is, that instead of giving utterance to her feelings and sensations in her own natural way, as the blindness of Balaam would have prevented him from understanding her, she spoke to him, through the power of God, in the words of human speech?

*c.* He still further argues (p. 383) that "Balaam, in the introduction to his third and fourth prophecies (chap. xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16), designates himself as the man with closed (bodily) eyes,

who hears the words of God, and sees the visions of the Almighty, and whose eyes are opened *when he falls down in a state of prophetic ecstasy*. What such a man, a seer by profession, sees and hears in his own peculiar province, decidedly presupposes that the process is an internal one; and consequently those who hold an opposite view ought to bring forward the most unanswerable arguments."—No doubt this is true, WHEN *he falls down in a state of prophetic ecstasy*. But, we ask, did Balaam fall down on the present occasion in a state of prophetic ecstasy, before he was able to comprehend the words of the ass, which could only be heard by the inward ear? By all means, what "*such*" a man experiences "*in his own peculiar province*," that is, in connection with his own profession, when engaged in the duties of his avocation, decidedly presupposes that the process is an internal one. But, we inquire again, was Balaam performing the duties of his avocation? Was he not doing the very opposite? And does it follow, that because he was a seer by profession, the fact of his seeing and hearing what the messengers of Balak, and afterwards Balak himself said to him, when engaged in the duties of his vocation, decidedly presupposes that the process was an internal one?

*d.* "Finally," he proceeds to observe on the same page, "there can be no doubt, that the appearance of the angel, which immediately preceded the speaking of the ass, was of an internal character, though it is no more stated in the one case than in the other." The arguments by which this is established are, *first*, that Balaam did not see the angel,—a fact which would be inconceivable if the phenomenon had belonged to the gross, material world; and *secondly*, that the narrative states that "God opened the eyes of Balaam,"—a statement which cannot possibly be understood of anything but the inward eye.—Seeing the angel, then, and hearing the words of the ass were precisely analogous processes,—both internal, both simply perceptions of the inward sense, the one a seeing with the mental eye, the other a hearing with the mental ear? On looking more closely, however, we find that the two things were by no means analogous, even in the opinion of Hengstenberg himself. There was, in fact, a very essential difference between them (if the views of our opponent be correct), and one which he himself cannot deny, namely, that the words which Balaam *heard* with his inward ear,

as spoken by the ass, must have been heard *by him alone*, and not by his two servants, or the Moabitish princes who were with him, and, as Hengstenberg admits, must certainly have been close by. But, on the other hand, what Balaam *saw* with his inward eye as the angel of the Lord, was seen by another, as the scriptural record expressly declares, *viz.*, by the ass, who actually saw it before Balaam himself. The words which he heard, then, were purely subjective—the vision which he saw was objective? But what is objective is outward; and therefore the appearance of the angel must also have been outward, notwithstanding the fact, that Balaam did not immediately perceive it. The fact that the ass *saw* the angel, is somewhat perplexing to *Hengstenberg* (p. 385); but he imagines that he has succeeded in removing the difficulty. In the first place, he asserts, that the ass did not see the angel clearly and distinctly—(but it is stated in ver. 23, that "the ass saw *the angel of the Lord* standing in the way, *and his sword drawn in his hand*)—"for if she had, she would necessarily have told Balaam precisely what she had seen" (?!); and as she did not do this, she had "evidently nothing but the obscure feeling of the *presence* of something formidable and terrible."—There *was* something *present* then, *objectively present*,—present, that is, *not merely* to Balaam's *inward*, spiritual sense, but the outward, *bodily* senses of the ass as well! *Hengstenberg*, it is true, assures us, on the strength of *Passavant's Animal Magnetism* (p. 316 sqq.), that animals are gifted with the so-called second sight; they start, become uneasy, shy, and refuse to advance, at times when a susceptible man can perceive something by means of second sight. He could have cited from *Kerner's Magikon*, and (if we are not mistaken) from his *Seherin von Prevorst*, a number of instances, in which animals, particularly domestic animals, have seen ghosts or spectres quite as distinctly as men have done. But does this affect the question? If the facts really did occur—and we need not enter into this subject now—they merely prove that in cases of second sight, and when ghosts really have appeared, there has been some external object, by which the senses in some way or other have been affected.

No doubt there must be something peculiar in such appearances, that one man should see them and another not. And this applies to the appearance of the *Maleach Jehovah* here, who was seen by the ass, but was not seen by Balaam till God opened his

eyes. *Hengstenberg* is right in quoting, as explanatory analogies, the New Testament occurrences mentioned in John xii. 28, 29; Acts ix. 7, and xxii. 9; but we must dissent from the application which he has made of these passages.—According to John xii., in reply to the prayer of Christ, "Father, glorify Thy name," there came a voice from heaven. The people who stood by heard this voice, and thought it thundered. Others thought an angel had spoken to Jesus. But the Evangelist himself knew that the voice had said, "I have both glorified it, and will also glorify it again." At the conversion of Paul, as described in Acts ix. and xxii., Paul himself is said to have seen the risen and exalted Lord, in His bodily form, and with the majesty of His heavenly glory, and to have understood the words which He addressed to him; whereas his attendants merely saw a brilliant light, without discerning the outlines of a bodily form, and heard a voice, but no articulate words. In both these cases, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, it is obvious that "*in the main* the appearances belonged to the province of the inner sense, whilst to the outer senses there was nothing but a hollow sound (or a flash of light without shape or form). . . . It was merely the outermost part of the phenomenon which came within the range of the outward senses." In reply to this, we have only to ask two very modest questions. If the whole affair took place within the souls of Christ and Paul, how could the bystanders have seen or heard even "the outermost part?" Or are we to suppose, that the brilliant light which the latter saw, and the sound of thunder which they heard, passed outwards from the souls of Christ and Paul into their eyes and ears? And if the outermost part only of the appearance came within the range of the senses, whilst *in the main* it belonged to the province of the inner sense, we should like to know what was the main. Was it not the self-conscious, discriminating perception of what was seen and heard? But even in the case of simple hearing and seeing, perception is *never* an affair of the bodily eye and ear, but always of the inward eye and ear of the mind. Therefore *such* inward experience is not essentially different from that which is outward. If this be clearly understood, it will not be so difficult to explain the matter. *Hengstenberg* is quite right in saying, that "only those who have received a certain amount of spiritual development perceive distinct words. Those who are less advanced may certainly ob-

serve the fact, that something is said, but cannot tell what. The great mass hear nothing but a noise, . . . see nothing but a light." Just as the words spoken in a foreign language are understood by none but those who understand the language, and it is to them alone that they convey intelligent thoughts; or just as the language of a philosopher is intelligible to none but those who have received a philosophical training: so is it with appearances from the heavenly world. To understand them fully and clearly, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a mental fitness, a heavenly mind, an abstraction from earthly pursuits, and a susceptibility of soul for Divine operations. Whoever is destitute of all this, and is bound up in low, worldly pursuits, the slave of covetousness, ambition, love of pleasure, and other such things, either perceives nothing at all of the heavenly vision, or receives nothing but an indistinct impression. The former was the case with Balaam. He was thinking of Balak's treasures, considering how he could make sure of *them*. At the moment, therefore, he had no mind for anything higher than this, and with his eyes wide open was dreaming of Balak's glory and gold. It was not till he was drawn away by force from this dreamy state, and his thoughts and reflections were violently torn away from the earthly objects in which they were fettered, and turned to higher and heavenly things, not till "God opened his eyes," that he perceived the heavenly appearance, which was already there. He *saw* it with the outward eye, but he perceived it with the eye of his mind; for the eye of the mind is reached through that of the body.

Such are the arguments with which *Hengstenberg* supports his own opinion. We will now proceed to the objections which he offers to our opinion, and the arguments by which it may be defended.

*e.* "There would be *no meaning* whatever," he says, "in the fact of an ass speaking. The point of real importance was what was said,—not the mere fact of its being said by the ass. It was not the latter, but the former, which put Balaam to shame. And the *substance* of the address remains the same, even if the affair is regarded as purely inward."—*Hengstenberg* looks upon the speech of the ass as a message from God to Balaam. This is a thoroughly mistaken notion, as we have already shown under letter *b*. Her words were simply an utterance of animal feelings

and emotions. We should be glad if Hengstenberg would tell us, where the *divine* elements of the speech are to be found. If he cannot do this,—and he certainly cannot,—he must then admit, that the point of chief and primary importance was the *fact* of its speaking, and not *what* it said. The ass had already by its actions given expression to just the same feelings as it now uttered in words; and it had done this in so unmistakeable a manner, that any thoughtful rider, unless absorbed like Balaam in other thoughts, might and would have gathered quite as much from her actions, as she afterwards expressed in words, when God had opened her mouth.—*Hengstenberg* saw that the design of the whole occurrence was to put Balaam to shame. "The affair with the ass," he says, "was necessary to startle him, put him to shame, scatter the mists of passion, and open his mind to Divine impressions." If his thoughts and meditations had not been engrossed to so great an extent by discordant and ungodly objects, if his heart had not been enslaved and blinded by avarice and ambition, he would have seen the angel as soon as he stood in the way, and the occurrence with the ass would never have taken place. But Balaam did not see the majestic, threatening appearance, though it was visible enough to the ass. Yet the conduct of the ass, which backed, shied, and eventually fell to the ground, might and ought to have led him to the conclusion, that there was some outward cause for its acting in a refractory manner, such as he had never seen before. And as a seer, travelling by such a road, engaged in such a calling, and after such antecedents, he might well have surmised, or rather have assumed with certainty, that there was some unearthly power or apparition in the way. The fact that the ass saw what he, a seer, could not see,—this was the source of shame, which was to scatter the mists of his passion, and open his mind to Divine impressions. If he had paid attention to her whole conduct (turning aside, then backing, and ultimately falling to the ground), and had reflected upon it till he could understand it; this would have been quite sufficient, and there would have been no necessity at all for the ass to speak. But he was too deeply sunk in thoughts at variance with his calling, too beclouded by passion, for this. It was necessary, therefore, that he should receive a more powerful shock, before his gift as a seer could be awakened out of sleep, and his consciousness aroused from the dreamy state

into which it had fallen. And when natural resources failed, the effect of miracles must be tried. By the power of God, therefore, the complaint of the ass, which had hitherto found utterance in its actions alone, was now expressed in the complaining tones of a human voice. And a phenomenon, so unnatural and unheard-of as this, eventually roused the seer from his lethargy, startled him, recalled him to self-consciousness, scattered the mists of passion, and opened his mind to impressions from the divine objects by which he was surrounded.

*f.* "What rider," says *Tholuck*, p. 410, "would sit quiet, if his beast should really utter such a complaint, and would not leap off and cry for help, rather than stop to give it an intelligent answer?" *Hengstenberg* also says (p. 386), "The advocates of the external view have always been greatly perplexed by the fact, that Balaam expressed no astonishment at the circumstance of an ass speaking."—We cannot admit, however, that this has caused *us* any very great perplexity. For, as *Hengstenberg* himself acknowledges, there is not much force in an *argumentum e silentio*. This may all have taken place, and yet there may have been no necessity for expressly mentioning it in the Biblical account. *Hengstenberg*, however, is of opinion, that the supposition that he was at all astonished is precluded by Balaam's first reply in ver. 29 (to the question, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times? Balaam replies, "Because thou hast mocked me: I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee"). We certainly cannot see that the supposition that he had been astonished before, or was astonished at the time, is absolutely precluded by this reply. Moreover, we would call attention to the fact, that the reply was an utterance of passionate and *inconsiderate* wrath and excitement, which may have restrained his astonishment within narrower bounds.

*g.* Another argument of *Hengstenberg's* is this:—"There were two servants with Balaam (ver. 22), as well as the Moabitish messengers (vers. 20, 21, 35). Now, if the events which occurred had been really of an outward character, they would certainly have been eye-witnesses of the whole. . . . But it is remarkable that the feeling of the advocates of the external view is decidedly opposed to such a supposition, though they have failed to discover the reason why it is actually im-

possible (? !), namely, because the Moabitish messengers could not have the least idea of what was taking place."—To this we reply: (1.) That it by no means so clearly proved, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, that the Moabitish messengers were present at the time. It is true, the idea which immediately suggests itself,—viz., that as soon as they approached the Moabitish territory, the messengers hastened forward to inform Balak that the expected magician was on the way,—is apparently precluded by ver. 35, where we read, "The angel said unto Balaam, Go with the men; . . so Balaam went with the princes of Balak;" although it is evidently favoured by ver. 36, which states, that "Balak went out to meet him unto a city of Moab." But ver. 22 renders it probable that, from some cause or other, they were *not* present. For the express statement, that Balaam's two servants were with him, is apparently equivalent to saying that no one else was with him at the time. And it is certainly not an unlikely thing, that Balaam and his two servants may have gone a little way ahead of the main body, or may have remained a little behind; and, in such a road as this (in the midst of the vineyards), with its windings, corners, and passes, the distance would not require to be very great, for all that occurred to be hidden from the messengers of Balak.—(2.) Even supposing that the messengers were present, as well as Balaam's servants, though they would no doubt hear what the ass said, yet there was not anything in what she said "of which it was necessary that they should not have the least suspicion;" and, so far as seeing the angel and hearing *his* words were concerned, it may possibly have been the same with them as it was with the persons referred to in John xii. 28, 29; Acts ix. 7, and xxii. 9 (see above, under letter *d*).—(3.) And lastly, granting that Balak's messengers were not only present, and heard the ass speak, but saw the form of the angel, and heard what he said, even this would not disconcert us in the least. On the receipt of the very first message, Balaam said to the messengers (ver. 13), "Get you into your own land, for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you;" but notwithstanding this, Balak persisted in his desire, and in the hope of seeing it fulfilled. If there were any force in the argument, that his ambassadors ought not to have had the least suspicion of what took place upon the road, Balaam ought not to have said to the first messengers, "Get you into

your own land, for Jehovah refuseth to give me leave to go with you;" and after his arrival in the country of the Moabites, he ought not to have spoken to Balak in a doubting tone, as he is said to have done in ver. 38, where the very words are repeated, which the angel had addressed to him by the way: "The word that God putteth into my mouth, that shall I speak." It had not been expressly and unconditionally declared to him, that he would only be permitted to bless, and not to curse. He was merely told that he would have to speak the words that Jehovah commanded him. Upon this ambiguity in the words of Jehovah, the heathen minds of Balaam and Balak could always found the hope, that after all they might possibly succeed in their designs. And they could easily construe the gradual change in the answers received from Jehovah, from the first *absolute prohibition* (ver. 12) to a *conditional permission* to go (ver. 20), and then again to a *command* to go (a conditional one, no doubt, but with the conditions expressed in a very ambiguous form), into a constantly increasing connivance on the part of Jehovah, from which more might still be expected. It might, indeed, be thought that it was a necessary thing for Balak's messengers to be eye-witnesses of these occurrences, that it was important and essential to the further development of the drama—essential for *Balak*—to convince him more strongly of the futility of his undertaking, and, if he was still open to instruction, to induce him to desist from his perverse attempt.

*h.* Lastly, *Hengstenberg* argues (p. 387), that "the speaking of the ass, when transferred into the province of external reality, appears to *disturb the eternal laws* which are laid down in Gen. i., and which establish the boundary between the human and the brute creation." We will not cite the example of the serpent's speaking in Paradise; for that would no doubt be explained away by our author as an internal process, or something of the kind. Nor will we adopt *Baumgarten's* reply (p. 359): "This is the argument employed by those who deny the possibility of a miracle; for if there are eternal boundaries fixed in creation which cannot possibly be passed, no miracle can ever take place." *Hengstenberg* certainly did not mean anything so bad as this; and we regard it as ungenerous to twist the words of an opponent, which were no doubt spoken incautiously, in such a way as this, just because they were not sufficiently ex-

plained and defended. There are limits laid down in Gen. i. (in this we agree with *Hengstenberg* and not with *Baumgarten*), which no miracle ever will or can set aside. We should imagine that *Baumgarten* himself would admit that Ovid's Metamorphoses are inconceivable, even with the firmest belief in miracles, within the range of sacred history.—There must be limits, therefore, which miracles cannot break through, just because God, from whom the power of working miracles comes, and who has determined these limits, never will allow them to be broken down. The limit, it appears to us, may be easily pointed out. It is the line, which is drawn between nature and spirit, between the free, personal creature, and the impersonal, which has not been endowed with freedom. This line God will not, and *cannot* disturb. For example, He can never will to change a beast into a man, or a man into a beast. In the province of nature His interference is absolute; but where a created spirit is concerned, it is regulated by certain conditions: for He has created man in His own image,—has endowed him with freedom and personality, which have been denied to all other earthly creatures. And because He has willed that man should be free, He has regard to the liberty, though in a fallen, rebellious, and even hardened man. And because God has willed that the beast should be a beast, and the plant a plant, He will and must also will that they should remain what He made them, for otherwise He would contradict Himself. A miracle, therefore, of which any creature is the medium, will of necessity be kept within the limits that circumscribe the creature itself; in other words, it will never take a creature out of its own sphere, and transfer it to the sphere of another, essentially different from itself. And if the ass's speaking broke through these limits, we should certainly give our support to *Hengstenberg*. But this is just what we deny. We shall be told, perhaps, that the gift of speech is one of the most essential characteristics of humanity. But not speech as a mere form, not the ability to give utterance to certain articulate tones by means of the organs of speech; but the *material* elements of speech—*viz.*, that the words are utterances of the *mind*, vehicles of *thought*,—this is the essential characteristic of humanity. Experience has proved that many animals—for example, parrots, magpies, etc., and even some quadrupeds—may be trained to utter words of human language.

But the gift of speech, so far as it distinguishes man from beast, is as remote and foreign as it was before. If, then, when language is referred to, as one of the features which distinguish man from the rest of the animal creation, it is not the mere words, but the entire substance of speech; then a miracle, which puts the words of human speech into the mouth of an animal, does not transgress the limits which separate the two, provided the meaning of the words is still beyond the comprehension of the animal that utters them. If Balaam's ass, to come back to the case before us, had received the commission which was entrusted to the angel of the Lord; if it had been the ass which heaped reproaches upon Balaam, for resisting the will of God from avarice and ambition, and for setting out with the desire to curse, where he should only bless, it might, indeed, have been justly said that the limits set by Gen. i. had been overstept. But there is not the least trace of this in the words of the ass (see above, under letter *b*). All that it said, was nothing more than an expression of feelings, in accordance with the nature given to it at the first. Even an animal has a soul; even an animal has sensations and emotions, and (at least in the higher stages of animal existence) has a sense of right and wrong within its proper sphere. It can also give utterance to these sensations and emotions, though only imperfectly, by peculiar actions, and by certain modulations of its animal voice. What the ass said in the case before us, was not a revelation of God to Balaam, but a declaration made by the animal itself. There was nothing pneumatical in what it said, it was purely psychical. When the ass, urged forwards on the one hand by Balaam, who continued to strike it in a most irrational manner, and kept back on the other hand by the drawn sword of the angel, gave utterance to its emotions, to its terror and pain, and to the feeling of injustice, both by its actions and voice; this was undoubtedly the result of a purely animal impulse. But when such modulations were given to this *animal* voice, that they fell upon Balaam's ears as words of human speech; this was the result of an immediate interposition on the part of God,—in other words, it was a miracle.

In attempting to demonstrate the necessity for regarding the occurrence as an outward one, we may be somewhat more brief after what has already been said.

In the *first* place, there is not the slightest indication of Balaam having fallen into a state of ecstasy. We have already shown (under letter *d*) that this interpretation cannot be given to the words, "God opened the eyes of Balaam." And even if such an interpretation were the correct one, and the words really did denote, as *Hengstenberg* supposes, an opening of the inward eye, and a consequent closing of the outward, we should be compelled to regard the affair with the ass as an outward one; for we should then have an express statement in the narrative itself, to the effect that the ass spoke *before* the ecstasy commenced. Or will any one suggest, perhaps, that although Balaam was thrown into a state of ecstasy, in order that he might hear the ass speak, it was nevertheless also necessary that he should be thrown again into a peculiar condition, to enable him to see and hear the angel? The outward senses are five in number, they are distinct the one from the other, and may therefore be opened separately. But the inward sense is so purely *one*, that if it be opened for hearing, it is also *eo ipso* opened for seeing as well. And why does not the narrative state that God opened his ears, as it afterwards mentions that God opened his eyes?

*Secondly*. The words of ver. 28, "*Then Jehovah opened the mouth of the ass*," irresistibly compel us to the conclusion, that it was the ass which was the object of the Divine operations; whereas, according to *Hengstenberg*, God did not operate upon the ass at all, but simply and solely upon the mind of Balaam. It manifests extraordinary self-delusion on the part of *Hengstenberg*, that he should imagine that this argument can be set aside by simply replying that, "although the words represent the result as produced by the power of God, they do not inform us how it was produced, and whether it affected the inward or the outward sense."—But the passage does not contain a single allusion to any effect produced upon the *ear* of Balaam (either inward or outward), it refers exclusively to the MOUTH of the ass.—The words of 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, are still more precise and conclusive. "Balaam, the son of Bosor," he says, "loved the wages of unrighteousness, but was rebuked for his iniquity; the *dumb* ass, *speaking with man's voice*, forbade the madness of the prophet."—The prophet, it is true, was rebuked (put to shame), not so much by the ass's speaking, as by the fact that an irrational animal should see what was hidden from so gifted a seer,

just because he was degraded by his passion below the level of the brute. But it was from the fact of its speaking, that Balaam first became conscious that it had actually seen; and therefore it was really its speaking which put him to shame.

*Thirdly*, as the ass itself was visible as an outward and corporeal object, its words must have been audible as something also external.[1]

[1] Balaam's speaking ass is a convincing proof, according to *Daumer* (*der Feuer- und Molochsdienst der alten Hebräer.* Brunswick 1842, p. 136 *sqq.*), that Balaam was a priest of the Baccho-Priapian ass-worship of Baal-Peor. It was of course a falsification of a later date, which led to his being introduced in the passage before us as a prophet of the Moloch-Jehovah. That this ass-worship, which enlists Daumer's undivided sympathy, prevailed in Israel along with the old orthodox cannibal form of Moloch-worship, may be proved, in Daumer's opinion, from the statements of classical writers, who affirm that when the Jews were in the desert, and were on the point of perishing from exhaustion, they were led by a troop of wild asses to some copious springs of water; in commemoration of which event, the image of an ass was set up in the temple as an object of worship (*vid.* Tacitus, Hist. 5, 3; Plut. Symp. 4, 5). It is apparent, however, he maintains, from the account before us, that it was Balaam who introduced this ass-worship into Israel (particularly from chap. xxv., as compared with chap. xxxi. 16). Though constantly persecuted by the supporters of the Moloch-Jehovah worship, and suppressed by the most cruel means (*vid.* Num. xxiv. 7 *sqq.*, xxxi. 1 *sqq.*), this form of worship was maintained till the time of Christ, with whose history the legends have interwoven elements taken from both forms, though with a most decided preponderance of the Moloch-worship with its human sacrifices. In the Feast of Tabernacles especially, which was a primitive Canaanitish festival of the ass, associated with Bacchic and Phallian pleasures, we find a relic of this ancient worship. Daumer has a great deal to say in favour of this Priapian ass-worship. According to his account (p. 144), it was of an intensely speculative character, pervaded by a spirit of mildness and humanity, which did it the greatest honour, so that even Christianity itself would not be disgraced by a comparison with it. "It was perfectly harmless, very gentle, and free from cruelty. . . . Its god was a god of light, of water, of wine, of Bacchic and Phallian pleasures, of whatever would support and excite the most unbridled hilarity. Christianity, unhappily, has taken most from the gloomy, unfriendly, and cruel form of Moloch-worship. The unnatural elements of Moloch-worship predominate, and the necessity for human sacrifice has been made the very centre of the Christian religion; whereas the beautiful, intelligent, deeply speculative and humane ass-worship, with its apotheosis of fleshly desires, has been thrust into the background, and appears at the most not more than once, *viz.*, in the truly Bacchic conduct of Christ at the marriage-feast at Cana (John ii.)"—We congratulate Young Germany on the antiquity of its family.

(2.) The *behaviour of Jehovah* towards Balaam has been sometimes regarded as extremely surprising. "The unchangeable God," says *Hartmann* (p. 499), "one day forbids Balaam to go with the people (ver. 12), and the next day alters His mind, and commands him to undertake the journey in their company (ver. 20). And then, when Balaam has set out upon the road, the anger of Jehovah is kindled against him (ver. 22). But directly Balaam, who is overpowered by so inexplicable a phenomenon, offers to return, he is met by the answer, 'No, thou shalt go with the people.'"

To this *Hengstenberg* very properly replies: "It is apparent, at the very outset, that the argument is based upon a misunderstanding. The very name *Jehovah* ('I am that I am,' Ex. iii. 14) is a sufficient pledge, that it could never have entered into the mind of an Israelite, to attribute such childish fickleness to God. And Balaam himself says immediately afterwards (chap. xxiii. 19), 'God is not a man, that He should lie; neither the son of man, that He should repent. Hath He said, and shall He not do it? or hath He spoken, and shall He not make it good?'"

On the receipt of the first message, the only question was, should he go for the express purpose of cursing? This was forbidden; and the prohibition was never recalled. When the second message came, he received permission to go, but only on condition that he went to say what God commanded. This was a step in advance in the conduct of Jehovah towards Balaam, which was regulated according to the conduct of Balaam himself, but it was not an inconsistency. From the very beginning it was the will of God, that Balaam should either not go at all, or that he should go to discourage Moab and inspirit Israel by what he said, and by both to glorify Israel's God. But as such going as this would necessarily bring Balaam loss and disgrace, instead of glory and gain, God did not *demand* it of him, He merely *prohibited* his going as he desired, namely, unfettered by any conditions, to do whatever Balak might require. When the second message came, if Balaam's heart had not been corrupt, he would not have asked permission again, before giving a reply. This was what he did, however; for he would have been only too glad to obtain the reward. This time God *permitted* him to go, but *conditionally:* he was to say whatever *God* com-

manded him; and, on unbiassed reflection, he might at once have concluded that the words put into his mouth would be words of blessing and not of cursing. Balaam's sinful desires were certainly not satisfied by a conditional permission of this kind; but he thought that if he could once obtain permission to go, the rest would follow in due time. And he set out with the wish and intention to curse and not to bless. It was *on this account* that the wrath of God was kindled against him, and He met him with reproof. Balaam now replied, yielding with half a heart, that he would go back again; but God *commanded* him to go forward, and bless the Israelites. Balaam wanted to use God merely as the means of furthering his own designs; and, as a punishment, he was now to be compelled to further the designs of God. Though even now his position was not altogether a hopeless one. He *was obliged* to submit, it is true, to further the designs of God; but he might still have done this of his own free will. He *was obliged* to do what would bring him nothing but anger and scorn from the Moabites, instead of gold and renown; but he *might* still have done it in such a manner, that it would bring him honour and favour from *God*. *Bless* he must; but everything depended upon whether he did this with willingness and pleasure, with a ready mind and cheerful obedience, or merely with reluctance and of constraint (*vid. Hengstenberg*, Pentateuch, vol. ii., pp. 385–487, and Balaam, p. 373 sqq.).

## BALAAM'S PROPHECIES.

§ 56. (Num. xxii. 36–xxiii. 24.)—To do all honour to the seer, Balak went to the very borders of his kingdom to meet him. But Balaam somewhat damped the pleasure caused by his arrival, by distinctly telling him that he could only speak the word which Jehovah put into his mouth. He knew that it was possible, or rather probable, that the issue might be altogether at variance with the expectations of the king, and he thought it advisable to prepare his mind. The next morning they both proceeded to the work in hand. Balak conducted the seer to the *Heights of Baal* (Bamoth Baal), from which he could see the whole camp of Israel to its utmost extremity (1). By

Balaam's direction seven altars were erected, and upon every one of them there were offered, not only by Balaam himself, but by Balak also, a bullock and a ram, to secure the favour of Jehovah and incline Him to prosper their undertaking. Balaam then went aside to a hill, that he might prepare himself for prophesying, in heathen fashion, by means of auguries (2). On his return, he gave utterance to the following words, which Jehovah had put into his mouth :

(Ver. 7.) Balak sent for me from Aram,
The king of Moab from the mountains of the east :
" Come, curse me Jacob,
And come, defy Israel!"
(Ver. 8.) But how shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed,
And how defy, whom Jehovah hath not defied?
(Ver. 9.) For from the top of the rocks I see him,
And from the hills I behold him :
Behold, it is a people, dwelling apart,
Not reckoning itself among the heathen.
(Ver. 10.) Who tells the dust of Jacob,
And the fourth part of Israel by number?
Let me die the death of the righteous,
And let my last end be like his! (3).

Balak was highly incensed, that his enemies should be blessed instead of cursed, but comforted himself with the hope, that possibly the unfavourable nature of the place itself might be to blame. He took the seer therefore to the *field of the watchers*, upon the top of *Pisgah*, from which only a small portion of the camp could be seen (1). The same preparations were made as upon the heights of Baal, after which Balaam spoke as follows :

(Ver. 18.) Rise up, Balak, and hear!
Hearken to me, O son of Zippor!
(Ver. 19.) God is not a man, that He should lie;
Neither the son of man, that He should repent :
Should He say, and not do it?
Should He speak, and not carry it out?
(Ver. 20.) Behold, I have received words of blessing :
He hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.
(Ver. 21.) He beholdeth not iniquity in Jacob,
And seeth no wrong in Israel :
Jehovah, his God, is with him,
And the shout of a king is in the midst of him (3).

(Ver. 22.) God brought them out of Egypt:
Their strength is like that of a buffalo.
(Ver. 23.) For there is no augury in Jacob,
And no divination in Israel:
At the time is told to Jacob,
And to Israel, what God performeth.
(Ver. 24.) Behold, the people riseth, like the lioness,
And raiseth himself like the lion:
He lieth not down till he eat of the prey,
And drink the blood of the slain.

(1.) On the heights of Baal, and the field of the watchers upon the top of Pisgah, see § 51, 1.—If we compare Num. xxii. 41 with xxiii. 13, a difficulty presents itself, which *Hengstenberg* has not only by no means satisfactorily solved, but, on the contrary, appears to have rather increased (Balaam, p. 421). In the *former* passage we read, that from the heights of Baal Balaam could see the *end of the people* (קְצֵה הָעָם). But when the oracle, as uttered by Balaam from this spot, proved to be so thoroughly opposed to the wishes and expectation of Balak, it was attributed by the latter to the unpropitious character of the locality, and he said to the seer, "Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see it (the people); but only the *outermost of its end* (אֶפֶס קָצֵהוּ) wilt thou see, and *the whole of it* thou wilt *not* see" (chap. xxiii. 13). It is obvious at once, that there must have been a certain difference, in the views obtained from the two points of the camp of the Israelites. This even Hengstenberg admits. But he starts with the assumption, that in both passages the meaning is the same, namely, that *only* the end (*i.e.*, a small portion) of the people could be seen; and consequently, in his opinion, nothing remains, but to regard "the end" in the second passage as embracing more than in the first, where only the *outermost* end is intended. But such an explanation is as much at variance with the words themselves, as with the context. For it is not in the first of the two passages, but in the second, that the *outermost* end is spoken of; and since there is unquestionably a contrast between the two places, the words, "only the end of the people wilt thou see, but *the whole thou wilt not see*," necessarily lead to the conclusion, that the distinction consisted in this, that from the first point the whole of the people could be seen, and that they could *not* be all seen from the second. The πρῶτον ψεῦδος in Hengstenberg's explanation is this, that

in *both* passages he puts "only" into the text. In the second passage the context unquestionably warrants this, or rather renders it imperative; but in the first passage there is not the slightest warrant for it, to say nothing of necessity. And if we remove the "only," which inevitably misleads, and abide by the simple words of the text, "and he saw from thence the *end* of the people," there is nothing (at least so it appears to us) to hinder us from understanding this expression as meaning, that "he surveyed the *whole* people, even to the very extremity." *Gesenius* adopts this explanation: "Vidit *extremum populum*, *i.e.*, universum populum usque ad extremitates ejus" (*Thesaurus*, p. 1227). There can be no doubt that קצה is used in this sense. Compare, for example, Gen. xlvii. 2, where Joseph is said to have taken מִקְצֵה אֶחָיו (*i.e.*, from the whole number, from the *entire body* of his brethren) five men, to present them unto Pharaoh. The word is used in precisely the same sense in Ezek. xxxiii. 2. And just because קְצֵה הָעָם in the verse before us denotes the sum-total of the people, it was necessary that in Num. xxiii. 13, where only a fragment of the whole is alluded to, the limiting word אפס should be introduced as *nomen regens*. The real meaning of אפס is vanishing, ceasing, coming to an end. אֶפֶס קְצֵה הָעָם, therefore, can only mean the outermost extremity of the whole people, the end of the entire body of the people. What an intolerable tautology would it be, to say here also, the end of the end of the people; and how thoroughly unmeaning would such an expression be, if the "end of the end" was applied to a larger portion, and the "end" denoted a smaller part of the whole! Hengstenberg falls back, it is true, upon his conclusions with regard to the geographical situation of the two places, according to which the heights of Baal were at a very much greater distance from the camp of Israel than the Pisgah was. But so long as the rule holds good, that what is uncertain and questionable must be determined from what is certain and unquestionable, and not *vice versa*, his conclusions, with regard to the situation of the Bamoth Baal, which rest upon such uncertain, vague, and questionable conjectures and combinations, must be pronounced entirely false, if they are not in harmony with what we have proved above to be the actual meaning of Num. xxii. 41.

Balak took for granted, as *Hengstenberg* correctly observes,

that Balaam must necessarily have Israel in sight, if his curse was to have any effect. He therefore selected, as the first standing-place, a spot from which the seer could overlook the *whole* of the people. But when the result was the very opposite of what he had expected, he thought that the sight of the whole of the vast camp, with its myriads of tents, was too overpowering for the mind of the seer. To prevent the recurrence of this, when the second attempt was made, he selected a spot from which only a very small fragment of the camp could be seen.—This is the only explanation which renders his words in chap. xxiii. 13 at all intelligible; on every other supposition they are perfectly unmeaning.

There is only one thing which might appear to throw some difficulty in the way of our explanation, namely, that Balak selected Mount Peor as the third spot, and thence, according to the prophecy itself (chap. xxiv. 5), and the express statement of the writer (chap. xxiii. 28, xxiv. 2), Balaam could see the whole of Israel according to their tribes, and the orderly arrangement of the camp and its tents, both distinctly (from no great distance) and at one glance. But we need not be greatly surprised at this. For the failure of the second attempt must have convinced Balak, that the supposed cause of the first failure was not the real one; and he would naturally be induced to try again, from some spot which commanded quite as complete a view, and one much clearer and more distinct, than the spot from which the first attempt had been made.

(2.) After the sacrifice had been offered, Balaam went out for AUGURIES (נְחָשִׁים, Num. xxiv. 1). "I will go," he said to Balak in chap. xxiii. 3; "peradventure Jehovah will come to meet me; and whatsoever He causes me *to see*, I will report to thee." And Jehovah "came to meet him (ver. 4), and put a word into his mouth." Then he returned to Balak filled with the Spirit, and uttered his saying (מָשָׁל). This was also the case with the second prophecy (chap. xxiii. 15, 16). But the third and fourth times he did not go ("And when Balaam saw that it pleased Jehovah to bless Israel, he went *not*, as at other times, for auguries"). It was a custom with heathen soothsayers, if the auguries were unfavourable at first, to repeat them in still greater number, in the hope that the gods might be influenced by their importunity, and more favourable signs might be ob-

tained. This was Balaam's notion also; but when he was disappointed a second time, he left off seeking for auguries altogether, and gave himself up entirely to the immediate inspiration of Jehovah.

(3.) In both prophecies Balaam speaks of Israel as an UPRIGHT and RIGHTEOUS NATION, a nation in which Jehovah could find no spot or blemish, and which was therefore free from suffering and oppression. Of course this did not apply to the Israelites as individuals, to their personal sins and sufferings, but to Israel as a whole, and its character as a nation. Still, even then, there is something in such a description which cannot fail to astonish us, so vivid is the recollection of their constant rebellion, disobedience, and ingratitude, of the trouble they caused their God, and of the numerous punishments and plagues with which He had to visit them. It is evidently not sufficient to appeal to the fact, that the generation which had been rejected was now perfectly extinct, and that a new race had grown up, of better and more obedient hearts;—for the existing generation had taken part in the perversities of the former one, which had continued to the very last year, and the next chapter shows that enough of the perverseness of the old generation was still left in the young one. We must look deeper for an explanation. Balaam's prophetic glance and saying, just because they were truly prophetic, pierced through the merely outward shell to the very heart and essence of things. This discourse was not concerned with what Israel might be at any one particular time, in its outward and variable appearance, but with its calling and election in every age. In this sinful world, there is always a contrast, of less or greater strength, between the idea and the outward manifestation. We find it in Israel; and on many occasions it became most terribly glaring. But the imperishable seed of the promise, which had been deposited in the outward Israel by Him who had begotten the spiritual Israel, was still there. A genuine Israel, to whom the predicate of honourable and righteous might justly be applied, still continued to exist, in the most deeply degraded periods, as a counteracting leaven, though it might be confined to the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. And even at such periods as these, according to its calling and election, which must eventually be realised, Israel was a nation of just and righteous men

(יְשָׁרִים). So essential a characteristic was this of Israel, so inseparable was the inward call from the outward manifestation, that the Deuteronomist, whom no one could charge with unduly glorifying and idealising his nation, has incorporated this idea in the word Jeshurun (יְשֻׁרוּן), which he adopts as a proper name for Israel[1] (*vid.* Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2). Balaam looked upon Israel in its separation from the heathen (ver. 9); and in this respect, notwithstanding all its wanderings, it was, and remained, a people of *Jesharim*, a *Jeshurun;* since its wanderings were only for a time. Under the guidance, and teaching, and chastisement of Jehovah, it always returned from its wanderings and rose up from its fall, whereas the way of the heathen was from first to last a false way.

It is very striking, that in ver. 10 Balaam should pour out the longings of his mind (his better self) for fellowship with Israel, not in a wish to be united to Israel in *life*, and to participate in the privileges it enjoyed, but in a desire *that he might die such a death as the righteous Israelite died.* We cannot subscribe to *Hengstenberg's* opinion, that he gave utterance to this desire from a foreboding of the death which he really died (Num. xxxi. 8), *viz.*, by the avenging sword of Israel. The wish to die the death of the Israelite involved something more and something loftier, than the wish to live his life. The former includes the latter, but goes very far beyond it. For death is the end of life; and such a death as Israel died, presupposes the life that Israel lives. Balaam wished to enjoy the full, complete, indestructible, and inalienable blessedness of the Israelite, of which death is the conclusion and completion, the attestation and seal. Only he who remains an Israelite until death, preserving the disposition of an Israelite, amidst all the trials and temptations of this life, till the hour of his departure, can be pronounced an Israelite indeed.

[1] According to the current interpretation, the word *Jeshurun* is an *appellatio poetica eaque blanda et caritativa*, and denotes the beloved, righteous nation, the righteous one. But *Hengstenberg* has proved that the termination *un* in Hebrew generally, and particularly in this word, is not a diminutive of affection, but simply serves to form a proper name. *Kimchi* admits that the name *Jeshurun* is applied to Israel, in contradistinction to the heathen, as being the righteous nation, "ita appellatur Israel, quoniam est justus inter populos."

The question arises, however, What did Balaam, with the light which he possessed, suppose to be included in the peculiar happiness of an Israelite's death, that he should wish to die such a death himself? The earlier commentators were unanimous in regarding this as a clear proof, that belief in the retribution of the life to come was the source of consolation and hope to believers, even under the Old Testament. But the words of Balaam express nothing more, than that the death of a pious Israelite was happier than the death of a heathen. In what the greater happiness consisted, they do not say. This must be supplied, therefore, from what are known to have been the eschatological views of that particular age. Now, the conclusion to which we are brought by an impartial exegesis, and which is hardly ever disputed in the present day, is this: that up to the time of the Captivity, the doctrine of eternal retribution beyond the grave fell into the background, behind that of retribution in the present life; and that a full, clear, and well-defined development of eschatology was reserved for subsequent stages in the history of revelation (vol. ii. § 8, 1). And, altogether apart from a clear conception and expectation of retribution in the life to come, there was quite enough in the views which then prevailed, to excite the wish in Balaam's mind to die a true Israelite's death. The pious Israelite could look back with calm satisfaction, in the hour of his death, upon a life rich in "proofs of the blessing, forgiving, protecting, delivering, saving mercy of God." With the same calm satisfaction would he look upon his children, and children's children, in whom he lived again, and in whom also he would still take part, in the high calling of his nation and the ultimate fulfilment of the glorious promises which it had received from God. "The more an individual lived in the whole nation, and the father regarded his posterity as the continuation of his own existence, the more would his mind be occupied in the hour of his death by the future which God had promised to his race, and thus the bitterness of death be taken away" (*Hengstenberg*). And for himself, the man who died in the consciousness of possessing the mercy and love of God, knew also that he would carry them with him as an inalienable possession, a light in the darkness of Sheol. He knew that he would be "gathered to his fathers,"—a thought which must have been a very plenteous source of consolation, of

hope, and of joy, to an Israelite who looked upon his fathers with the greatest reverence and love.

The "*shout of a king*," of which Balaam speaks in ver. 21, was evidently a shout of joy caused by the fact, that Jehovah Himself was King in Israel, as the parallelism clearly proves. There is no ground whatever for *Baumgarten's* supposition, that the Messiah is specially alluded to,—the future King in Israel.

§ 57. (Num. xxiii. 25–xxiv. 25.)—When the second attempt had also failed, Balak was at first inclined to have nothing further to do with the seer, who had so thoroughly failed to answer his expectations. But he soon altered his mind, and requested him to make a third attempt in another place. It was now doubly important that he should attain his end; since the double blessing had injured his cause. He led Balaam this time to the top of *Mount Peor*, which rose immediately above the plain in which Israel was encamped, and where the whole camp lay spread out before the eyes of the seer, like the contents of an open book (§ 56, 1). Altars were erected, and sacrifices offered, as before; but Balaam did not go and seek for auguries. As soon as he lifted up his eyes and saw Israel encamped according to its tribes, the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied:

(Ver. 3.) "Thus saith Balaam, the son of Beor,
And thus saith the man with closed eye,
(Ver. 4.) Thus saith the hearer of the words of God,
Who seeth visions of the Almighty,
Falling down, and with open eye.
(Ver. 5.) How fine are thy tents, O Jacob!
And thy dwellings, O Israel!
(Ver. 6.) Like valleys are they spread out,
Like gardens by the river's side,
Like aloes, which Jehovah planted,
Like cedars by the waters.
(Ver. 7.) Water will flow from his buckets,
And his seed dwelleth by many waters;
And higher than *Agag*, be his King!
And let his kingdom be exalted! (2).

(Ver. 8.) God leadeth him out of Egypt;
His strength is like that of a buffalo;
He will eat up the heathen, his enemies,
And crush their bones,
And break their arrows in pieces.
(Ver. 9.) He stretcheth himself out, he lieth down like a lion,
And like a lioness, who can rouse him up?
Blessed be he who blesseth thee!
And cursed he who curseth thee!"

Balak's wrath was kindled at this; and he drove the seer from his presence, with violent words of reproach and threatening. Balaam was ready enough to go. But the Spirit constrained him to finish his prophecy; and before his departure he announced to the Moabitish king what glory awaited Israel, and what destruction was in reserve for their heathen foes:

(Ver. 15.) "Thus saith Balaam, the son of Beor,
And thus saith the man with closed eye,
(Ver. 16.) Thus saith the hearer of the words of God,
And he who knoweth the knowledge of the Most High;
Who seeth visions of the Almighty,
Falling down, and with open eye.
(Ver. 17.) *I see him, but not now;*
*I behold him, but not nigh.*
*Out of Jacob goeth forth a Star,*
*And out of Israel riseth up a Sceptre* (1),
And shattereth Moab right and left,
And destroyeth all the sons of tumult.
(Ver. 18.) And Edom becometh his possession,
And Seir becometh his possession, his enemies,
And Israel doeth mighty things.
(Ver. 19.) A ruler riseth out of Jacob,
And he destroyeth, what remaineth, out of the cities."

And he saw Amalek, and took up his saying, and said:

(Ver. 20.) "The beginning of the heathen is *Amalek*,
But his end is destruction."

And he saw the Kenites, and took up his saying, and said:

(Ver. 21.) "Durable is thy dwelling,
And placed on a rock thy rest.
(Ver. 22.) Nevertheless *Kain* is for a desolation,
How long, till *Asshur* carries thee captive."

And he took up his saying, and said:

(Ver. 23.) "Woe! who will live, when God does that,
(Ver. 24.) And ships come from the side of the *Chittim*,
And press *Asshur*, and press *Eber*,
And he also hastens to destruction!" (2).

(1.) Balaam introduced his *fourth* prophecy with this address to Balak: "And now, behold, I will *counsel* thee what this people will do to thy people at the end of the days (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים)." As this prophecy represented the victory of Israel over all the heathen, as the ultimate issue of the world's history, it was well adapted to convince Balak of the absolute hopelessness and perversity of his attempts, and to lead him to reflection and conversion; and consequently it could justly be described as a well-intentioned and thankworthy *counsel*.

The period when the events announced by Balaam were to take place, is called the "END OF THE DAYS;" and this expression denotes, not only here but in every other place, the time when the promises and hopes of salvation, indulged by any age, should all be fulfilled. As *Hävernick* has aptly observed, they always denote the horizon of a prophetic announcement (*vid.* vol. ii. § 4, 1). For any particular age, the end of days commences when such anticipations of salvation, as are not yet fulfilled, but occupy the forefront of hope, patient waiting, and ardent longing, first begin to pass, by means of their fulfilment, into the sphere of reality. The commencement, therefore, was not the same for every period and stage of sacred history. On the contrary, the more the actual fulfilment advanced, the further the end of days receded into the distant future. For *Jacob*, the horizon of whose hopes and prophecies was bounded by the settlement of his descendants in the promised land, the "end of the days" commenced with the time when these hopes were fulfilled, in other words, with the time of Joshua (vol. ii. § 4). For Moses and Balaam, who lived immediately before the fulfilment of all that Jacob had desired and predicted,—or rather in whose days the fulfilment had already begun, but who could also see, from the hostile attitude of surrounding nations, that the possession of the promised land would not be followed by perfect rest, and that the struggle for its possession would even then not be entirely over,—the "end of the days" had already

receded into a more remote future. The commencement would consequently be looked for at a period when these obstacles should all be removed, and when the hostile nations, whose friendly accession could no longer be hoped for, would be defeated, subjugated, and destroyed. It was with David that this period actually commenced. Consequently it was in David's time that the *Acharith-hajamim* (the "end of the days") of Balaam began. But just as the hope of rest, which Jacob cherished, was only provisionally and imperfectly fulfilled with the conquest of the promised land, and therefore the fact of its non-fulfilment became a prophecy of a subsequent fulfilment of a more perfect and decisive character;—so did it also become apparent in David's time, that although his victories were, in their own way—that is to say, relatively—perfect, they by no means effected the complete subjugation of hostile heathenism in every form. So that, even after this first and provisional fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy, there still remained a considerable ingredient, the fulfilment of which could only be anticipated in a future still more remote.

If we look more closely at the prophecy itself, it is very soon apparent that the centre and heart are to be found in ver. 17, namely, in the announcement of the STAR OUT OF JACOB, and the SCEPTRE OUT OF ISRAEL. Even if the whole substance and context of the prophecy did not lead to this conclusion, the parallel between the sceptre and the star would convince us, at the very first glance, that we have here the description of a royal, renowned, and victorious ruler. "The star is so natural an image and symbol of the greatness and splendour of a ruler, that nearly all nations have employed it. And the fact that it is so natural an image and symbol, may explain the general belief of the ancient world, that the birth or accession of great kings was announced by the appearance of stars" (*Hengstenberg*). There is greater difficulty in the question, whether by this king, we are to understand one, single, personal king of Israel, or merely an ideal person, namely, the personified Israelitish monarchy; and if the former, whether David or Christ is intended. *Hengstenberg*, who denied, in the first volume of his Christology, that there was any allusion whatever to the Messiah, has since altered his opinion, and now maintains the possibility, or rather necessity, of such an allusion; in this sense,

however, that the star and sceptre do not denote any one particular king, either David or the Messiah exclusively, but the whole Israelitish monarchy, and that they represent its two culminating points—*David* the type, and *Christ* the antitype. *Hofmann*, on the other hand, appears to refer them exclusively to David (*vid. Weissagung und Erfüllung* i. 153 sqq.); *Baumgarten* and *Delitzsch*, exclusively to Christ.

All that has been said against the admissibility of any allusion (either exclusively or jointly) to the Messiah, we feel constrained to pronounce utterly insignificant. We are told that Balaam's prophecy is completely exhausted, if we refer it to David alone, since David really conquered and subjugated the Moabites and Edomites, and all the other neighbouring nations that were hostile to the theocracy (2 Sam. viii. 2, 11, 12, 14). But this does not exhaust the prophecy. Such a total extinction of the Moabites, for example, as is here predicted, did not take place under David. For, not only did they recover their freedom (2 Kings i. 1) and maintain it (2 Kings iii. 4 sqq. 13, 20), but in many prophetic passages (*e.g.*, Is. xv. 16, xxv. 10; Jer. xlviii.; Amos ii.; Zeph. ii.) they are still classed among the enemies of the theocracy, and their complete destruction is still spoken of as a future event. But this is not only not the sole point, but not even the principal point in hand. *Hengstenberg* has very properly said (Balaam, p. 479), "Even supposing that the Moabites had been completely destroyed by David, the prophecy could not be said to have been completely fulfilled by him. What is said here of the Moabites, is only one particular application of the idea. The Moabites are merely to be regarded as a part of the great body of *enemies of the kingdom of God*. To imagine, therefore, that the disappearance of the Moabites in their historical individuality would suffice for the fulfilment of the prophecy,—that it would be a matter of indifference, whether their essential characteristics were perpetuated in other powerful foes,—is to overlook the difference between *prophecy*, which never has to do with the *drapery* alone, and in which the *mutato nomine* is always valid, and mere *soothsaying*. Nothing less than the entire and permanent conquest of *all* the enemies of the kingdom of God could be regarded as consummating the fulfilment of the prophecy. Where there are *enemies*, there are *Moabites*, and the words spoken by Balaam are still in

process of fulfilment. This remark will serve to answer another objection, which has been brought against the Messianic application; namely, that at the time when the Messiah appeared, the Moabites had entirely disappeared from the stage of history. This is certainly true of the Moabites with reference to the body, but not with reference to the soul, which alone is the point in consideration here,—their quality as enemies of the Church of God. If the prophecy was fulfilled upon the Moabites, when they existed as a nation, not as *Moabites*, but as *enemies* of the people of God, the limit of their existence cannot be the limit of the fulfilment of the prophecy. The Messianic allusion could only be denied, if it could be proved that, at the time when the Messiah appeared, the Moabites in the *wider* sense, namely, as enemies of the kingdom of God, had been already destroyed; and this no one will maintain."

When *Tholuck* (i. 417) argues, in opposition to the Messianic character of the prophecy, that "we could not expect the vision of such a seer as Balaam to extend beyond the horizon of earthly events;" it is sufficient to reply, that, so far as the position assumed in this argument is tenable (*i.e.*, without losing sight of the statement in chap. xxiv. 2, "the Spirit of God came upon him"), it does not invalidate the Messianic interpretation. Balaam's insight into the mode and effects of the Messiah's operations, as we should not only expect from his character as a seer, but as the prophecy itself actually proves, was certainly one-sided, very one-sided. He saw nothing but the outward effects of the Messiah's work; and these were restricted, in the most partial manner, to the heathen nations, who persevered in their hostility to the kingdom of God, and were therefore doomed to destruction. He neither described nor discerned the spiritual and material blessings, which the Messiah would bestow not upon Israel only, but also upon such of the heathen as should willingly submit to His sway; for he had neither the inward qualification, nor the outward occasion and impulse. That his prophecy, however, merely *leaves* this out, and does not *shut* it out, is evident from chap. xxiv. 9, "Blessed be he who blesseth thee, and cursed be he who curseth thee." Another argument upon which *Hengstenberg* formerly relied, and which merely forms the opposite pole to the one just considered, must also fall along with it; namely, that according to this interpretation, the Messiah, who had hitherto been

described as a blessing for all people, the bringer of rest and of peace, to whom the nations would cheerfully submit themselves, would all at once be introduced as causing the overthrow and destruction of the heathen, without the slightest intimation of His benefits and blessings, which are mentioned in every other case in which He is represented as a conqueror and judge (*cf.* Ps. ii. cx.).

So far as the positive arguments that may be adduced in favour of the Messianic allusion are concerned, we must give up the one which, until the time of *Verschuir*, was universally based upon בְּנֵי שֵׁת in ver. 17. This was generally rendered, "He will destroy *all the sons of Seth*;" and, as allusion was supposed to be made to Seth, the son of Adam, the passage was understood as celebrating the victory of the Messiah over the whole human race,—an interpretation which entirely precluded any reference to David. But, apart from the fact that the passage speaks of the utter destruction and annihilation of the *Bne Sheth*, which would be diametrically opposed to the Messianic idea; according to the standing view and mode of expression throughout the entire Scriptures, we should expect *Adam* or *Noah*. Seth is never introduced as the progenitor of the whole human race; and *he*, who took the place of the pious Abel, and was the ancestor of Noah who was to be saved, would have been the last to serve as the representative and progenitor of the human race that was to be destroyed. The only admissible interpretation was first of all given by *Verschuir*, and is now generally adopted, namely, that שֵׁת is an abbreviated form of שְׁאֵת, which is found again in Lam. iii. 47 in parallelism with שֶׁבֶר (= breaking in pieces), and which is derived from שׁאה, and synonymous with שְׁאוֹן (= tumult). "Designantur tumultuosi," says *Verschuir*, "irrequieti, quorum consuetudo est, continuis incursionibus, certaminibus et vexationibus aliis creare molestiam. Qui titulus optime convenit in Moabitas Israelitis semper molestos."[1]

This explanation is confirmed by the fact, that in Jer.

[1] *Lengerke* gives a somewhat different explanation. "The בְּנֵי שֵׁת (sons of tumult)," he says, "are the *bragging* Moabites, who prided themselves upon their bravery (Jer. xlviii. 4), and were therefore regarded as haughty and boasters (Is. xvi. 16, xxv. 1; Zeph. ii. 8; Jer. xlviii. 2, xxix. 30; Ezek. xvi. 49)."—*Ewald* reads, without the slightest reason, שֵׁת for שׁאת, *i. e.*, sons of loftiness, or pride.

xlviii. 45, where the prophet imitates this passage, he places בְּנֵי שְׁאוֹן in parallelism with Moab; and also by the allusion to the passage before us in Amos ii. 2.—On the other hand, the argument based upon the expression, "in the latter days," retains its full force; for this expression always denotes the period of the ultimate completion of the kingdom of God, in other words, the Messianic age. The "star out of Jacob" evidently denotes the Israelitish monarchy in its highest personal culmination, which was in the person of the Messiah. If Balaam's prophecy centred in David, as fulfilling its announcements, it centred in the Messiah also. But the later fulfilment of the prophecy must not divert our thoughts from *David;* for not only did the overthrow of the heathen enemies of the kingdom of God *commence* with him, but in a certain sense it was *completed* by him, inasmuch as David really subjugated all the nations whose names are specially mentioned here.

The result to which we are thus brought,—namely, that Balaam's prophecy was fulfilled on the one hand in David (though only provisionally, and therefore not exhaustively); and that on the other hand the Messiah must not be left out (in whom it was perfectly, finally, and exhaustively fulfilled),—appears so evident to *Hengstenberg* (Balaam, p. 476), that he interprets the star out of Jacob, and the sceptre out of Israel, as relating equally to the *ideal King of Israel* (*i.e.*, to the *Israelitish monarchy personified*). In this I cannot agree with him. It is true that he has a number of arguments ready; but when looked at closely, we see at once that they all prove nothing. (1.) He says, "The reference to one particular Israelitish king is contrary to the analogy of the other prophecies of the Pentateuch. The Messiah alone is ever foretold as a single person (Gen. xlix. 10). The rise of kings is predicted, it is true, but only in the plural (Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); and, according to this analogy, the star from Jacob must be regarded as marking a plurality of kings, in other words, the kingdom in general." To this I reply, that if a single individual, apart from the Messiah, can ever be the subject of prophecy (and this *Hengstenberg* will not dispute), we cannot possibly see why this should be denied of the Pentateuch prophecies alone. If the Messiah is foretold in the Pentateuch as a single person, analogy requires that we should interpret the star out of Jacob in the same way, especially if, as Hengstenberg main-

tains, Balaam was undoubtedly acquainted with such a prediction (Gen. xlix. 10), and based his own upon it. And lastly, what presumption it is to say, that because kings are spoken of in the *plural* in Gen. xvii. 6, 16, and xxxv. 11, therefore the prophecies of the Pentateuch can none of them speak of a *single* king!—(2.) "A reference to one particular king would not be in harmony with the rest of the *prophecies of Balaam*, which never relate to one particular individual." This reason may add to the *number*, but it does not add to the *weight*, of the arguments adduced.—(3.) "The word שֵׁבֶט does not necessarily point to any particular individual; and in Gen. xlix. 10 it is not of an individual that it is actually employed." But the *Star* does point all the more decisively to a concrete and individual personality. And the state of the case is really this: שֵׁבֶט *may* be understood as relating to one particular king, כּוֹכָב *must*.—(4.) "The words of ver. 19, וְיֵרֵד מִיַּעֲקֹב, *i.e.*, out of Jacob will one rule, or dominion will go forth from Jacob,—serve as a commentary to the "sceptre from Israel." But should not the same words be employed if the meaning were, "out of Jacob will a ruler proceed?"—(5.) "Look, again, at ver 7, "Let his king be higher than Agag,—where the king of Israel is an ideal person, the personification of royalty." But the king mentioned here is not an *ideal* person, but a *real* one, *viz.*, the reigning sovereign at any particular time. In ver. 17, on the other hand, where distinct and individual actions are attributed to the Star out of Jacob, we must of necessity think of them as performed by one particular individual. When Balaam exclaimed, "I *see* a star proceed out of Jacob, and a sceptre out of Israel, there can be no doubt that the image of a *concrete* appearance presented itself to his prophetic eye, and that we have no right to dissipate it into an abstraction, a pure and unsubstantial idea.

But what follows from this? The star is said to point to David, and also to Christ; not to David or Christ exclusively; and yet it does not relate to the monarchy, as the thing common to both! How do these harmonise?—What remains, then, as a third or fourth supposition? We have no difficulty as to the reply. In the interpretation of every prophecy there are two points of view, to be kept distinct,—that of the period from which the prophecy dates, and in which, therefore, the fulfilment was expected as still in the future, and that

of the period of its actual fulfilment. With regard to this particular case, then, we have to distinguish, on the one hand, in what sense Balaam himself and Balak understood the words, and what Moses and the Israelites of his age understood them to mean; and, on the other hand, what prediction they would be supposed to contain by the believing Israelite after the time of David, and the believing Christian after Christ. Did Balaam, when he saw the star from Jacob, which was also a sceptre, and therefore necessarily denoted royal splendour, see *one*, *two*, or a still larger number, a whole series of kings? We reply, he saw only *one* king. Whether he would be called David or Jesus, neither Balaam nor Moses knew. From the fulfilment, however, we know, that what Balaam predicted of this *one* king was certainly fulfilled in David, but only in a provisional, imperfect, and not exhaustive manner. It was not till the coming of Christ that the fulfilment was complete and final. The conclusion to which *we* are brought, therefore, is, that the prophecy refers first of all to David, and that it really was fulfilled in David, who as king was a type of Christ, the everlasting King. But it also refers to Christ; and the fulness of the completion in Christ exceeded that in David, to the same extent to which the sovereignty of Christ, the antitype, exceeded that of David, the type. Now, the stand-point upon which Balaam stood was one from which the type and the antitype could not yet be distinguished. The type covered the antitype, and David passed for the Christ. Nor was there any error in this; for David *was* the Christ, according to the standard of his age. And when David had appeared, and had accomplished all that was given him to do, the believing Israelite could perceive that David was the star of which Balaam had prophesied. But when, upon closer examination, he found that, notwithstanding the relative completeness of the victories of David, the heathen foes of the kingdom of God were not absolutely defeated and destroyed, and therefore that Balaam's prophecy was only provisionally and not finally fulfilled in David,—the examination might have led him to false conclusions as to the prophecy itself, if this had not been prevented by a continued course of prophecy. But just at the time, when the want of harmony between Balaam's prophecy and the fulfilment forced itself upon the mind, the course of prophecy entered upon a fresh stage of

its historical development, and the announcement was made, that a second David would arise from David's seed, in whom the typical attitude of David to the heathen would find its most complete and antitypical realisation.

We agree with Hengstenberg, therefore, so far as the interpretation which Balaam's prophecy has received from the fulfilment is concerned; but we do not agree with him in regarding this as the interpretation given to it in the time of Balaam and Moses.

In conclusion, we must return to the star, which shone above the manger at Bethlehem, and showed the wise men of the East the way to the new-born King of the Jews. From time immemorial Balaam's star out of Jacob has been placed in direct and immediate connection with the star of the wise men, of which it has been regarded as a direct prediction. We cannot admit, however, that there was any such connection as this. The star above the manger merely announced the coming of Christ; it served as a guide to the place of His birth. But the star which was seen in the future by Balaam's prophetic eye was Christ Himself. Balaam's star, therefore, was not a prediction of the star of the wise men, but they were both witnesses of the coming of Christ,—the former as a prophecy of the future, the latter as a symbol for the time then present.

(2.) On the PROPHECIES OF BALAAM AGAINST ALL HOSTILE HEATHEN NATIONS, the last branch of which reaches into a point in the future more distant, so far as this particular feature is concerned, than any which came within the range of vision of any subsequent Israelitish prophet until the time of Daniel, *Baumgarten* has aptly observed (i. 2, 377): "Since Balaam, as a heathen, whose home was on the Euphrates, the great river of Assyria, saw all these events in spirit from the stand-point of the movements among heathen nations, we can easily understand how it was, that in *this* respect his view extended far beyond the range of either earlier or later prophecy among the Israelites; and that Daniel, who, though an Israelite by his place of residence, his training, and his official standing, was led to look at things from the same point of view as Balaam, was the first to resume the thread and carry it further still." This does not affect what *Delitzsch* has observed in connection with this subject, in opposition to the idea that prophecy is *ab-*

*solutely* tied down by personal and historical circumstances, occasions, and motives. Let it be fully admitted, that the Spirit of God in the prophets both could and frequently did look further than the historical occasions, necessities, and tendencies, or the personal disposition, training, and bent of mind of the organ of prophecy would have led one to expect;—but let it also be admitted, that prophecy was no *Deus ex machina*, taking no account whatever of historical circumstances and requirements, and entirely ignoring the disposition and mental characteristics of the prophets themselves. As surely as the prophecy which issued from the mouth of an Isaiah bore a totally different character, and took a totally different course, from that of Ezekiel, whilst this again took a different direction from that of Daniel; so certain is it that this obvious difference is to be attributed to the peculiar circumstances and personal characteristics of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Prophecy, again, is always and without exception connected with the historical circumstances of the age. The form and direction which it takes have some regard to the necessities of the age.—*But*, it not merely unfolds itself according to the extent to which the germs of the future exist in the present, and have been brought into existence by the ordinary course of history; it also impregnates it with *new germs*, which it is afterwards the task of history to unfold. For prophecy, history is certainly not the generative principle, but simply the receptive womb; at the same time, it is not every age that is adapted to its purposes, but only one sufficiently matured, just as the *mature* womb alone can conceive and foster a fruitful germ.

If we look now at the details of Balaam's prophecy with regard to the future history of the heathen, there is no difficulty at all in his announcement respecting *Moab* and *Edom*. In ver. 20 Amalek is called the *beginning of the heathen*, רֵאשִׁית גּוֹיִם. The explanation adopted by *Ewald*, *Lengerke*, and others, *viz.*, that the Amalekites are called the *beginning* as being the *oldest* of the nations, as having already become a powerful and independent people, when the rest of the nations mentioned here were but just in process of formation, is opposed to historical tradition (§ 4, 2), and, to say the least, is not supported by the usage of the language; for in Amos vi. 1 Israel is also called ראשית הגוים, by which the prophet certainly did not intend to say that

Israel was the *oldest* of the nations.—In his Dissertation on the Pentateuch, Hengstenberg interpreted the expression as meaning, that Amalek was the first of all the heathen nations which rose up in hostility to Israel (§ 4, 3). But he has given up this explanation since then, because, although גוים does not merely mean *nations*, but nations in contradistinction to Israel, and therefore *Gentile nations*, yet it does not imply *hostility* to Israel, which the former explanation presupposed. The view which he now supports is this: Amalek is called the beginning of the nations, as being the foremost in glory and power; just as in Amos vi. 1 Israel is called the *beginning of the nations* in just the same sense, and in Amos vi. 6 רֵאשִׁית שְׁמָנִים means the first, *i.e.*, the best, the most excellent of salves. There can be no doubt whatever that ראשית may be used in this sense. At the same time, Hengstenberg's first explanation appears to me the most in harmony with the context and the general tenor of the prophecy. ראשית הגוים stands in unmistakeable antithesis to אחרית הימים (the end of the days) in ver. 14, on which the whole prophecy depends. If, then, "*the end*," so far as the range of this prophecy is concerned, was the period when all heathen hostility to Israel should cease, "*the beginning*" would be the period when this heathen hostility first commenced. And the commencement was actually made by Amalek; for the enmity of Egypt does not enter into consideration here, seeing that when Israel was in Egypt it was not a nation by the side of other nations. The Exodus first gave it this character. It is true enough that the word גוים does not necessarily denote a *hostile* attitude to Israel; but it acquires the meaning here, from the fact that the nations mentioned were all *hostile* to Israel. Full justice is not done by Hengstenberg's last explanation, even to the antithesis between אחרית and ראשית in ver. 20, "the *beginning* of the heathen is Amalek, his *end* hastens to destruction;" that is to say, Amalek, which was the first to engage in hostilities with Israel, shall be the first to suffer the overthrow which awaits all the enemies of Israel (1 Sam. xv.).—Even in Amos vi. 1 the expression ראשית הגוים, as applied to Israel, may denote not the *most eminent* of the nations, but literally and historically *the first* of the nations. I am also of opinion, that in this passage Amos makes some allusion to Num. xxiv. 20, but with Hengstenberg's interpretation I cannot perceive for what purpose the allusion is made. But

if we take the expression in both instances as denoting historical priority, the similarity, yet contrast, in the use of the words gives a peculiar significance to the allusion. Amalek and Israel are both "first-fruits of the nations;" but whereas Amalek was the first nation to oppose the kingdom of God, Israel was the first to enter it. In the same sense Israel is called "the first-born son of Jehovah" in Ex. iv. 22, and the "first-fruits of His increase" in Jer. ii. 3.—What pre-eminent importance must have belonged to the position of Amalek at the time of Balaam's prophecy is apparent from ver. 7, where the power and glory of the future monarchy in Israel are described in these words: "Higher than *Agag* be thy king." (*Agag* was not the name of one particular king of Amalek, as in 1 Sam. xv. 8, but the official name of all the kings; according to the Arabic, אגג meant the *fiery* one, *valde ardens*, *rutilans*, *splendens*.) Hence, as this prophecy proves (and history strengthens the proof), Amalek was the strongest and most warlike of all the nations with whom Israel came into conflict in the time of Moses, more powerful even than Edom; for otherwise the latter would have been selected as the standard of comparison.

In connection with vers. 21, 22, the question arises, What nation are we to understand by the KENITES mentioned here? We meet with the name first of all in Gen. xv. 19, in the list of nations, who are to be regarded as the (pre-Canaanitish) aborigines of the land of Canaan (*vid.* vol. i. § 45, 1). *Hengstenberg*, however, supposes them to have been a Canaanitish people, who were still in existence in the time of Moses, and whom Balaam singled out as the representatives of the Canaanites generally. But there are two objections to this. In the first place, they are omitted from the list of nations in Gen. x., which is equivalent to a positive proof, that in the time of Moses they were not in existence as an independent nation of any importance (vol. i. § 29, 5); and in the second place, they are not mentioned in any of the numerous lists of the Canaanitish nations whom Israel overthrew.—Again, we find the name of the Kenites in the Terahite nation of the Midianites. At all events, at a later period that branch of the Midianites to which Moses was related by marriage, and which had separated itself from the main body of the tribe, and maintained an alliance with the Israelites, appears to have been distinguished by

this particular name[1] (Judg. i. 16, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxvii. 10, xxx. 29: *vid.* vol. ii. § 19, 6, 7, and § 52, 3). Since, then, for the reasons assigned, we cannot possibly think of the Kenites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19; and since the name of the Kenites unquestionably occurs among the Midianites, and a curse directed against this nation, which was now allied with the Moabites for the purpose of compassing the destruction of Israel, would be perfectly in place here, we have no hesitation in regarding the curse directed against the Kenites as intended for the Midianites. The reason why Balaam preferred the more uncommon name, is evident from ver. 21. The appearance of their homes in the rocks rendered the similarity in sound between קֵן and קֵינִי peculiarly welcome. How the name of Kenites[2] came to be applied to the Midianites,—whether it arose spontaneously and independently among themselves, or whether it is to be traced to an admixture of the Midianites with the Kenites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19, who may perhaps have been subjugated by them (as was the case with the Avvites, whose name occurs among the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 3),—must be left undecided.—The arguments adduced *in support of* his opinion (which we have shown above to be inadmissible), and *against* our own, have no weight whatever; and, when examined more closely, tell somewhat against the former. It would be a strange thing, he says, if Balaam had never mentioned the *Canaanites* among the enemies of Israel; and all the more strange (? !), from the fact that the conflict with the Canaanites was by no means simply a future one, but already the Canaanitish king of Arad,

[1] *Ewald's* conjecture, that the Kenites in Gen. xv. 19, and also in Num. xxiv. 21, 22, were a smaller branch of the Amalekites (the aborigines, in his opinion)—a conjecture which he bases upon 1 Sam. xv. 6—is perfectly unfounded and imaginary. All that this passage proves, is that the branch of the Midianites which was friendly to the Israelites, who bore the name of Kenites in the later books, dwelt in Saul's time *near to* (possibly *in*) the territory of the Amalekites. From what is stated in 1 Sam. xv. 6,—*viz.*, that Saul said to the Kenites, "Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you among them; for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt,"—the more natural conclusion would certainly be, that there *cannot* have been any blood-relationship between these Kenites and the Amalekites.—Compare chap. xxx. 29, where David is said to have shared the spoil, which he took from the Amalekites, with the allied cities of the Kenites.

[2] It denotes a lancer, an armed man, a warrior.

in the country to the west of the Jordan, had been defeated, and the Canaanitish kings, Sihon and Og, in the country to the east of the Jordan, had been both defeated and placed under the ban. To this I reply, that it would have been incomparably more strange if Balaam had not mentioned the *Midianites* among the enemies of Israel; and the more so, because at this very time the Midianites were in league with the Moabites, to effect the overthrow of Israel. And if the king of Arad, with his people, and the Canaanites on the east of the Jordan, were already conquered and placed under the ban, and therefore removed from the list of the enemies of Israel, of what use would it have been for Balaam to curse them? No doubt, there were still Canaanites enough remaining in the country to the west of the Jordan; and, with the evident intention of the Israelites to conquer their land, they would probably not be very friendly towards them. But Balaam could not include them in his prophecy; for the simple reason that, as he himself distinctly stated, he did not intend to predict what would take place in the time then coming, but what would take place in the far distant future (ver. 17), the "end of the days" (ver. 14).

We take for granted, then, that the prophecy before us is directed against the Midianites, who were opposed to Israel. But by whom was Kain to be wasted? *Hengstenberg* replies, "By *Israel*." But Balaam himself says, "How long, and *Asshur* will carry thee away." For it is as clear as daylight that the suffix can *only* relate to Kain, of whom he is speaking, and cannot possibly refer to Israel, to whom there is not the slightest allusion in the entire strophe.—*Hengstenberg* brings forward *three* arguments in support of his opinion, which we will now proceed to examine. The *first* is, that "Kain is mentioned just before in the third person." This is quite correct; but is it so unwonted a thing for the second person to be changed into the third, and *vice versa*, in a poetic discourse? The poet first addresses Kain in the second person, and then speaks *of* him in the third person, and then speaks *to* him in the second again. What life does this interchange throw into the discourse! And what meaning there is in the change! The seer begins with the direct address, "Lasting is thy dwelling, O Kain!" he then turns to the hearer, "And yet Kain will not escape destruction;" and he concludes by addressing the

exclamation to Kain, "How long, and Asshur will carry thee away."—By the side of this highly poetical liveliness, what avails an objection which destroys all the spirit of poetry by the introduction of the most sober reflection; such as this, for example: "That the words are addressed to Israel (?!), is indicated by the prophet himself by the very fact (?!), that in the first half of the verse he drops the address to the Kenites, which he had carried through ver. 21, and which he would otherwise have continued (?!)." And now listen a little further: "Israel is also addressed by Balaam elsewhere, namely, at the beginning and end of the second (it should be *third*) prophecy."—Yes, truly, he there exclaims (ver. 5), "How goodly are thy tents, O JACOB! and thy dwellings, O ISRAEL!" And so, because the poet addresses Israel here in the second person, and expressly mentions its name; in another prophecy, where there is also an address in the second person, Israel *must* be intended, though its name is not mentioned, and the name of Kain has been mentioned immediately before!—(2.) "The carrying away, therefore, can hardly relate to the Kenites, because the stress lies upon *the destruction*. A nation that has already been destroyed, cannot be afterwards carried away." Certainly not! But nothing has been said about Kain having been already destroyed; and *Hengstenberg* himself renders the clause, "Kain becomes for a desolation." This it became simply through the fact of its being carried away. Strictly speaking, however, it does not mean "for a desolation," but "for a burning" (לִשְׂרֵפָה). The *home* of the Kenites is burned, but *they themselves* are carried away. Does not this harmonise perfectly?—(3.) "If we refer the clause, 'Asshur shall carry thee away,' to the Kenites, we are at a loss what to do with the sequel. There will then be nothing to indicate the relation in which it stands to the leading thought of the prophecy. The overthrow of Asshur comes into consideration here, only so far as he is the enemy of Israel. But if the words in question do not apply to Israel, he is never pointed out in this light at all." Was it necessary, then, that he should be expressly so pointed out? If the leading idea of the prophecy is precisely this, that the heathen nations must perish on account of their hostility to Israel, it follows, as a matter of course, that it must be on this account that Asshur is doomed to perish. But what renders Hengstenberg's explanation inadmis-

sible, is the character of the prophecy itself. Balaam was to pronounce on Israel blessings, and not curses; whereas the captivity of Israel by Asshur would be a curse, and not a blessing. The seer has already solemnly declared that there is no fault or calamity in Israel; and yet to the very same Israel he announces a calamity no less grievous, than the captivity of the entire nation!—I am fully convinced that *Hengstenberg* would have opposed with all his might an interpretation, so obviously opposed to the character of the whole prophecy, and so destructive of the impression it was intended to produce, if he had not been shut up to it by the πρῶτον ψεῦδος in his exposition, *viz.*, the identification of the Kenites with the Canaanites: for of course the Canaanites, who had been entirely destroyed by Joshua, could not be carried away by Asshur.—It is true, there is no historical account of the Midianites being carried away captive by Asshur. But they are only mentioned once, subsequently to their overthrow by Gideon, *viz.*, in Is. lx. 6. There is no improbability, therefore, in the supposition, that they were carried into captivity by the Assyrians.

The last heathen nation, whose overthrow Balaam predicted, was ASSHUR. In the parallel clause, the name of *Eber* is placed by its side. That the Israelites cannot be intended (Balaam never speaks of them under any other name than Jacob or Israel), is evident from a single glance at the character and drift of the prophecy. *Eber* denotes those who live beyond the Euphrates (*vid.* vol. i. § 46, 4), and therefore is essentially synonymous with *Asshur*, though not so definite. It was the great imperial power of Asia, which was as yet too far off for the Assyrian and Babylonian empires to be distinguished. The exclamation of woe with which Balaam commenced this last section of his prophecy, is supposed by Hengstenberg to have arisen from the fact, that he took this judgment more to heart than any of the others, on account of its affecting the children of his own people.

The destruction of Asshur was to be effected by a power, coming in ships from the west to the lands of the Euphrates. It comes *from the side of Chittim* (מִיַּד כִּתִּים). It is now generally admitted that CHITTIM originally meant *Cyprus* (*vid. Gesenius*, Thesaurus s. v.); and *Hengstenberg* has shown that it was originally restricted to Cyprus, and did not embrace all the islands

and countries of the west. Cyprus is introduced here as the principal mart of commerce in the Mediterranean, the medium of communication between the east and the west; and only in this capacity was it the representative of the countries of the west in general. It is not stated that destruction is to be brought upon Asshur by ships of Chittim; but only by ships which come *from the side* of Chittim, that is to say, from the west. The fact, that the event which the seer here beholds, an event which shakes the world, and fills him with the greater terror and dismay, from the fact that it touches the children of his own nation, is mighty and irresistible in its character, is expressed without ambiguity in the words, "Woe, who will live, when God doeth this!"

To an expositor who retains the least impartiality, and is not altogether enslaved by dogmatic prejudices, it cannot for a moment be doubtful, that the destruction of the imperial power of Asia by Greeks and Romans is predicted here (like the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, they are still classed together as one); and therefore (*horribile dictu!*) that we have here a prophecy in the strictest sense of the word, the prediction of an event which no human wisdom or acuteness could have foreseen or calculated upon, either in the time of Moses, or David, or Malachi. But in this case all the foregone conclusions of our rationalistic critics, who consider themselves so free from everything of the kind, and all the dogmatic prejudices of those who boast that they have no prejudices at all, would be overthrown in a moment. "No," they reply, "prophecy and miracles are impossible. That is *a priori* certain, and therefore it cannot be admitted that there is any prophecy here." But what can be done to bring the dogma of the impossibility of prophecies, in the strict sense of the word, from so fatal a situation? Just look, and perhaps you may find in some small corner of history an account of some Greek ships arriving in Asia, upon which the prophecy might be fastened, as a *vaticinium post eventum*, whether it be suitable or not. True enough! The hope is realised. When the *Chronicon* of Eusebius became known, the thing desired was actually found, and the happy discoverer was *Hitzig* (Begriff der Critik, p. 54 sqq.). *Von Bohlen* now began to huzzah at the admirable explanation; and *v. Lengerke* could not imagine anything that could stand against

it. *Hitzig* himself also thought that "no other allusion could possibly be imagined."

The account referred to has respect to "an invasion of Asia by the Greeks in the time of *Sennacherib*, about which Alexander Polyhistor, probably from Berosus, writes as follows (*Euseb.* Chron. ed. Ven., p. 21) :—Quum autem ille fama accepisset, Græcos in Ciliciam belli movendi causa pervenisse, ad eos contendit; aciem contra aciem instruxit, ac plurimis quidem de suo exercitu cæsis, hostes tamen debellat, atque in victoriæ monumentum imaginem suam in eo loco erectam reliquit, Chaldaicisque literis fortitudinem ac virtutem suam ad futuri temporis memoriam incidi jussit.—Compare the shorter account given by Abydenus of the same event, "ad litus maris Ciliciæ Græcorum classem profligatam depressit."

It really requires a very strong power of imagination to find it quite "conceivable," that the prophecy before us was written some years after this event, and is to be traced to the impression which it left upon the minds of the Israelites. The landing of a few Greek ships upon the shores of *Cilicia* (although the attack was repulsed, if not entirely without loss, yet immediately and with complete success, and therefore was followed by no results whatever), produced such an impression upon the minds of the Israelites, that three or four years afterwards an Israelitish poet proceeded to describe it in such terms as these! An attack upon the shores of Cilicia he describes as an oppression of Asshur and Eber! The defeat of the Greeks, who were compelled to return immediately and altogether without success, is a striking judgment of God upon Asshur and Eber! And a victory of Sennacherib, which this monarch himself caused to be recorded upon a monument as one of his glorious achievements, is represented as the overthrow of Asshur and Eber! Can we believe it possible, that so insignificant an event as this, of which not the slightest mention is made, either in the historical or prophetical books of the Bible, or in the whole of the literature of Greece, and which had passed away, without leaving any traces behind, long before the time of the poet, should be introduced in such terms as these, "Alas! who shall live when God doeth this?"

To complete what we have already written, we subjoin the following extracts from *Hengstenberg's* reply to Hitzig's theory

(Balaam, p. 502):—(i.) Had this event been of such importance as *Hitzig* assumes, and had it made such an impression upon the Israelites as to call forth this prophecy, we should expect to find some reference made to it in other parts of the Old Testament. But nothing of the kind is to be found; the supposition that there is such a reference, has been given up (and very properly) even by *Hitzig* himself, in his *Die Psalmen historisch krit. unters.* 1836, p. 42 sqq.—(ii.) Even admitting that the account of Alexander Polyhistor is perfectly trustworthy, and not too highly coloured in the Oriental style, in which the enemies are usually made more terrible, that the victory over them may appear the more splendid; yet it by no means suggests the idea of a hostile invasion of such a character, that even the most timid could have expected it to be followed by the ruin of Asia. The Greeks never advanced farther than the coast; and a single battle sufficed for their complete expulsion.—(iii.) The idea of an expedition from Greece against Asia, on anything like a large scale, in the time of Sennacherib, is completely at variance with all the historical circumstances of the age. All that they will allow us to think of, is a dash at the coast (*Streifzug*), a predatory incursion, or an attempt to found a colony. This remark was made by *Niebuhr* himself, who was the first to call attention to the notice, and who received it with some prepossession in its favour. He says: "The state of Greece at this time forbids our thinking of a combined expedition, at all resembling the Trojan war" (p. 205). *Plass* (*Vor-, und Urgeschichte der Hellenen*, ii. 5, 6) says of the condition of Greece during the whole period 1100–500 B.C.: "In these six centuries, the Greeks were not attacked by a single foreign enemy; nor did they all, or even a considerable number of the separate parts, combine together to engage in any splendid expedition abroad. We do not even need the express testimony of the well-informed Thucydides (i. 15) to convince us of this. The complete silence of every writer as to any such enterprise is amply sufficient. . . . The Hellenic tribes enjoyed a peculiarly good fortune during all this period; for, just at the time when they were occupied with their internal culture, they continued entirely free from outward attacks. Nor could they take in hand an expedition against any foreign nation; for they were so thoroughly occupied with themselves and their own organisation,

and so broken up into tribes and again into smaller states, that a combination of the whole, or even of any considerable number, for a common purpose, could never take place without external pressure."

Although *Hitzig* has declared that "no other allusion is conceivable," Ewald has nevertheless set up a still more wretched solution, not only as "conceivable," but, like all his discoveries, as absolutely certain, and not leaving the smallest room for doubt. He says: "The words of the poet, who has taken the name of Balaam to hide his own, from their position, certainly allude to an event which must have been the most recent occurrence in history, and the mention of which would bring to mind the actually existing circumstances. A piratical fleet from the Kittæans, *i.e.*, from the Phœnician Cyprians, *must* (?!), a short time before this, have visited the Hebrew, that is to say the Canaanitish or Phœnician shores, and also the Assyrian, which were still farther to the north, in other words, the coast of Syria. Of this event, the consequences of which cannot have been very lasting, no other distinct record has been preserved. But, as we learn from the Tyrian Annals of Menander (in Josephus, Antiquities, 9, 14, 2) that Elulaeus, the king of Tyre, conquered the Kittæans, who had revolted, and then (evidently because the revolt was of sufficient importance) Salmanassar, who was at war with Tyre, endeavoured to turn it to account; we may justly assume that the revolt of the Kittæans lasted for a long time, before Elulaeus put it down."—Nearly everything that can be said against Hitzig's hypothesis, applies with even greater force to this miserable attempt at an explanation. Even *Lengerke*, who is generally ready enough to follow Ewald, is obliged to reject it. "On the one hand, it is quite inconceivable," he says, "that Eber should stand for Phœnicia or Canaan; for Canaan was a Hamite by descent. On the other hand, however, it was only the modern Jews who applied the name of Asshur to Syria; and it was first of all applied to the succeeding monarchies" (i. 597).

If Balaam's prophecies are set down as free poetical productions, *vaticinia post eventum*, their composition *must* necessarily be placed in the time of David, or the age immediately following; for the achievements of David are too evidently the heart, the centre, and the occasion of the prophecies. But there are

*two* things at variance with such a supposition. In the *first place*, the words respecting Asshur, which critics who reject all prophecy never can assign to this period, and on the strength of which *Lengerke* regards it as "*a priori* certain that vers. 23, 24 are later interpolations." But ver. 22 also presupposes the importance of Asshur as an imperial power,—an importance which it did not possess till the time of Isaiah and Micah,—and therefore it is to this period that the majority of critics assign the composition of the prophecies.—In the *second place*, the words of the third prophecy in ver. 7, "Let his king be higher than Agag," irresistibly compel us to assign the composition of the prophecy at least to a period *anterior* to Saul; for, after the total defeat of the Amalekites under Saul (1 Sam. xv.), which broke their power and destroyed their importance for ever, it would have been an unparalleled absurdity for a poet to suppose that he could find no more glowing terms in which to describe the glory and might of the Israelitish monarchy, than by saying that the king of Israel was more glorious than even the king of Amalek.—There are allusions and distinct references to Balaam's prophecies even in the ancient prophets; compare, for example, chap. xxiv. 21 with Obadiah ver. 3; chap. xxiv. 18, 19 with Obadiah ver. 17; and chap. xxi. 28 with Jer. xlviii. 45. The prophecies of Balaam are also mentioned in Micah vi. 5, though without any verbal reference to their contents.

## CONFLICT WITH THE MIDIANITES.

§ 58. (Num. xxv.–xxxi.)—When Balaam parted from Balak to return to his home, he stopped by the way among the *Midianites*, who dwelt upon the table-land of the Moabitish territory (1) (§ 52, 3). No sooner had the avaricious seer come down from the height of the inspiration, which raised him above himself, than he was unable to bear the thought, that he had been compelled to turn his back so completely upon the "wages of unrighteousness." His heart was filled with hatred and malice towards the Israelites, for whose sake he had been obliged to give up the rich reward. This was the actual moment of deci-

sion, the hour of the hardening of his heart. The Midianites followed his advice (Num. xxxi. 16), and, pretending friendship and good-will to the Israelites, endeavoured to tempt them to participate in the unbridled licentiousness of the worship of their god Baal-Peor. The plan was successful. The Israelites accepted the invitation to the festival; and, forgetting their God Jehovah and their own calling, rushed into idolatrous adultery with the daughters of Midian and Moab (2). Moses, incensed at this abominable apostasy, commanded the judges of Israel to proceed with unsparing rigour and put the guilty to death. The vengeance of *Jehovah* now broke forth in a plague, by which many thousands were destroyed. But in spite of all this, an Israelite named Zimri, a chief of the tribe of Simeon, had the unparalleled audacity to take Kosbi, a daughter of one of the Midianitish chiefs, whom he had chosen as his mistress, and bring her into his tent, before the eyes of Moses and the whole congregation, for the purpose of performing the idolatrous and abominable act in the very midst of the camp of Israel, in which the holiness of Jehovah dwelt. Phinehas, the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron, stirred with holy indignation at so unparalleled a crime, seized a spear, rushed after them into the tent, and pierced them through whilst indulging their idolatrous lusts (3). For this act of priestly zeal, Phinehas and his seed were promised the priesthood in perpetuity, as a covenant of peace with Jehovah. And the zeal for the honour of Jehovah, which had arisen spontaneously in the midst of the congregation, brought its reward to the whole congregation, just as the plague of Jehovah had come upon the whole congregation as a ban, on account of the sinners in the midst. From this moment the plague was stayed; but twenty-four thousand had already fallen. Upon this the Israelites received a command to repay the hypocritical and crafty friendship of the Midianites with open and avenging enmity, "that the zeal of Phinehas, by which the guilt had been expiated, might be appropriated by the whole congregation." But before this command was executed, a fresh

numbering was ordered and completed. The people were now about to be led against the Midianites, to engage in the holy battle for Jehovah, and therefore (since the first numbering at Sinai [§ 20] was no longer valid, in consequence of the rejection of that generation and the death of all who composed it) it was necessary that they should first of all be recognised as the army of Jehovah; and this was accomplished by means of the new census, which was taken by Moses and Eleazar (4). But as this census was to serve, not merely to raise an army against Midian, but also to prepare for the immediately approaching conquest of the promised land on the other side of the Jordan, there was very appropriately connected with it the command to set apart Joshua as the successor of Moses, since Moses himself was not to tread the land of promise, on account of his sin at the waters of strife (§ 44). And lastly, in order that the fresh recognition of Israel, as the congregation of the Lord, might also be sealed on the part of the Lord Himself; the giving of the law, which had been suspended for thirty-eight years, was resumed; and sundry commands were issued, respecting offerings and vows. Twelve thousand picked warriors were then collected together, to wage the avenging war of extermination against the Midianites. So little resistance was offered by the latter, that not a single man of the Israelites perished. The five Midianitish chiefs (kings) were put under the ban, along with all the males. Among these was Balaam, who now received the proper "wages of unrighteousness." The Israelitish soldiers had preserved all the Midianitish women alive; but, as it was really with *them* that the temptation originated, Moses issued a command that they should also be slain, and that none should be preserved except the virgins who had never known a man (5).

(1.) In chap. xxiv. 25 it is stated that "Balaam went away, and turned to his place (וַיָּשָׁב לִמְקֹמוֹ), and Balak also went his way." But, although it would appear from these words that Balaam returned home, we find him afterwards among the Midianites, to whom he gave advice which proved destructive to

Israel, and among whom he found his death. Early commentators explained למקמו, according to the analogy of Acts i. 25 ("to his own place"), as meaning *hell*. Others were of opinion that the *place* referred to was not Balaam's home beyond the Euphrates, but *the place* where he had been staying immediately before. (*Steudel* still adopts this interpretation.) Others, again, either gave the verb an inchoative meaning, "he *began to* return, or supposed that Balaam actually returned to his native town, and then came back to the Midianites again. *Hengstenberg* (p. 508) has very correctly stated, that all these assumptions are set aside, by the simple remark that שׁוּב literally means to *turn away*, and then to *turn back*. The attainment of the object forms no part of the word." וישב למקמו, therefore, is strictly speaking equivalent to "he set out upon the journey home." At the same time, it is evident from what follows, that he never actually reached his home.

But *Hengstenberg* proceeds to observe, at p. 512: "Balaam's ambition and avarice sought among the *Israelites*, upon whose gratitude he considered that he had just claims, the satisfaction which the interposition of God put beyond his reach among the Moabites. He betook himself first of all to the Israelitish camp, which was not far from the spot where he had taken leave of Balak. But he did not meet with such a reception as he anticipated. Moses, who saw through his heart, which was not right before the Lord, perceived that the thanks were not due to *him*, who had done all he could to gratify the wishes of the Moabitish king, but to the *Lord*. He therefore treated him coldly; and it was but natural that his ruling passion, which was continually recalling to his memory the words of Balak, 'I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me,' impelled him to seek out a new way of gratifying it."—We inquire with amazement, Where has the author learned all this? There is nothing about it in the Biblical record, and not the slightest hint from which we could infer that it was at all a probable thing. Still *Hengstenberg* is quite certain that he is right. He says: "It is scarcely conceivable, that Balaam should have allowed so excellent an opportunity for gratifying his passion to pass by unimproved;—and we have almost as strong a proof as we should have in an express assertion, in the circumstance, that the contents of Num.

xxii.–xxiv. could *only* be obtained from communications made by himself to the elders of Israel." We must observe, in the first place, however, that this hypothesis is perfectly irreconcileable with the statement in ver. 25 (וישב למקמו, he turned to his place), even according to Hengstenberg's own (correct) interpretation of the words. For if שוב means to *turn back;* when Balaam parted from Balak, he cannot have gone from the heights of Peor into the Arboth Moab, for this would have been *going forwards*, instead of *turning back*. And beside this, we very much doubt whether the "psychological probability" is so unquestionable, as *Hengstenberg* thinks that he has shown it to be. In my opinion, it would be a far more correct conclusion, from a psychological point of view, that it is by no means a probable thing that Balaam turned to the Israelites, after the frustration of his hopes and desires. The only circumstances under which we can imagine his doing this, would have been, if what had already transpired had altered his mind and changed his heart, and if faith had led him to seek the camp of the Israelites. But there is no necessity to prove that this was not the case. And if his avarice and ambition were not destroyed, but increased, by the frustration of his hopes; his feelings towards Israel, who was the cause of his failure, would be turned into hatred, and his relation to Jehovah for ever disturbed. In such a state of mind as this, he would take good care not to venture into the camp of Israel, where the holiness of Jehovah dwelt. Of this holiness he had already experienced too much that was adverse, to have the least hope of finding gold and honour there.

But what more especially surprises us, is to find *Hengstenberg* maintaining, that it is only on this supposition that Israel's acquaintance with the contents of Num. xxii.–xxiv. is at all conceivable. This is a concession to the destructive critics, which we should have expected Hengstenberg to be one of the last to make. For if his psychological argument breaks down (and he can hardly hide its weakness even from himself), he must give himself entirely into their hands.—We are by no means inclined to take refuge in the *ultima ratio* of perplexity, namely, that the historian learned all that is recorded in chap. xxii.–xxiv. by direct inspiration of God. But are there not many other ways in which the Israelites might have obtained the information? Balaam himself fell into their hands at a later period. If, then,

what appears to us to be a very unimportant and unessential question is to be answered by *possibilities;* is it not *much safer* and more advisable to point to the *probability*, that when Balaam was a prisoner and threatened with death, he told the Israelites what had occurred, and what was so flattering to them, in the hope of thereby securing their favour, and saving his own life?—Not to mention a hundred other possibilities of their obtaining the information through the medium of Moabitish or Midianitish men or women! An occurrence which rushed like wildfire over the whole of Midian and Moab, could not be permanently concealed from the Israelites.

(2.) The unprejudiced or inconsiderate manner in which the Israelites listened to the cunning invitation of the Midianites, renders it very probable, that as yet nothing was known in the congregation of what had transpired between Balak and Balaam (and this would be a fresh argument against Hengstenberg's hypothesis, which we have just refuted). For if the Israelites had known anything of the hostile dispositions and intentions of the Moabites and Midianites, who were allied together for this very purpose, and whose hostility was manifested in the invitation sent to Balaam, they would hardly have fallen so heedlessly into the snare. Not to mention anything else, they would certainly have suspected that some stratagem or hostile attack was hidden behind the friendly invitation which they received; and they would therefore have been upon their guard against accepting it. And even if there were individuals who were imprudent enough to yield, or sufficiently tempted to do so by the prospect of the indulgence of their fleshly lusts; Moses, and Eleazar, and such of the princes and judges of Israel as continued firm in their adherence to Jehovah, would certainly do everything in their power, and in this case would hardly fail, to restrain them from the road to destruction. For this same reason, it is probable that the invitation given by the Midianites was not at first a direct invitation to join in a feast of Baal-Peor, but merely to certain festivals of which no precise description was given. When once the Israelites were there, as the Midianites may possibly have thought, the power of sensuality would do the rest.

(3.) On the example of Phinehas, the later Jews founded their so-called *right* (jus zelotarum), according to which even

persons who were not qualified to do so by any official position, had the right, where the honour of Jehovah was concerned, to obey the impulses of holy zeal, and proceed of their own accord to the infliction of vengeance, in cases in which the theocratic institutions and interests were endangered by an act of presumptuous denial and contempt. Next to the act of Phinehas, the *jus zelotarum* derived its chief support from the similar examples of Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 33) and Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 24). A similar occurrence in the New Testament was the stoning of Stephen (see *Budde*, de jure zelotarum in Oelrich's Collectio, vol. i., Diss. 5, and Salden otia theol., p. 609 sqq.).—With reference to the moral character of this act of Phinehas, and the unqualified approbation expressed in the sacred records, we point first of all to the words of Christ in Luke ix. 55, which determine the rule for every case in which there is a desire to give effect to zeal, which would have been justifiable and praiseworthy under the Old Testament, without the "*mutatis mutandis*" required by the different stand-point of the Gospel. Holy zeal is to be cherished at all times, even under the New Testament, and however the circumstances may change; but the form in which it is expressed is not to be the same under the Gospel as under the law. Even in zeal, the new commandment of love is to rule and regulate the whole. But, above all, is care to be taken (and this applied to the Old Testament as well as the New) that, where love necessarily assumes the form of vengeance, it does not of its own accord interfere with the authority appointed by God, to which He has entrusted the sword for the purpose of inflicting vengeance on evil-doers. And in this light many might regard the act of Phinehas as questionable. But, apart from the fact that, as a priest and the appointed successor of the high priest, Phinehas really did hold an official position, and that the command of Moses (ver. 5) to slay the guilty had been already issued, there are extraordinary circumstances, of a dissolute and abnormal character, when the audacity of crime, the danger to which the highest blessings of life are exposed, and the necessity for immediate action, entrust every one who takes the cause to heart with the temporary right of authority, and the consecration of an actual call to check and avert the evil, even by the employment of force.

(4.) The result of the census is expressly stated to have

shown, that among all who were numbered, not a single one was left of those who had previously been numbered at Sinai. The whole number was now 601,730. It was very little less, therefore, than the number obtained from the former census, *viz.*, 603,550. The difference, however, in the case of particular tribes is very striking. The numbers were as follows :—

| | At Sinai. | Now. |
|---|---|---|
| Reuben, | 46,500 | 43,730 |
| Simeon, | 59,300 | 22,000 |
| Gad, | 45,600 | 40,500 |
| Naphtali, | 53,400 | 45,400 |
| Ephraim, | 40,500 | 32,500 |
| Judah, | 74,600 | 76,500 |
| Issachar, | 54,400 | 64,600 |
| Zebulun, | 54,490 | 60,500 |
| Manasseh, | 32,200 | 52,700 |
| Benjamin, | 35,400 | 45,600 |
| Dan, | 62,700 | 64,400 |
| Asher | 41,500 | 53,400 |
| Levi, | 22,000 | 23,000 |

The most remarkable difference is in the case of Simeon. This has been accounted for from the last plague; and the 24,000 who fell in this plague have been supposed to have been for the most part taken from Simeon. The reason for this conjecture is the probability that the example of *Zimri*, a prince of this tribe, was both the proof and the occasion of a more general participation of this tribe in the idolatrous crime.

The claim put in by the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xvii. 1–11; compare chap. xxxvi.) will be more particularly discussed in connection with the laws of inheritance.

(5.) That this account of the attack and extermination of the Midianites has reference to the Midianitish tribes upon the table-land of Moab, the chiefs of which are spoken of in Josh. xiii. 21 as having been formerly the vassals of Sihon (*vid.* § 52, 3), is placed beyond all doubt by the express statement to that effect in Num. xxxi. 8. The main body of the Midianites does not appear to have taken part at all, and therefore there is nothing surprising in their subsequent hostile and powerful attacks upon the Israelites (Judg. vi.–viii.) Moreover, the fact

that only twelve thousand Israelites (a thousand from every tribe) were engaged in the battle, is a proof that the foe was neither numerous nor strong.—To those who regard it as something improbable, if not impossible, that not a single Israelite was missing, as was proved by the numbering of the victors on their return, we would simply beg to say, that there is nothing impossible in such a victory, when the attack was so unexpected. It is also apparent, from the *data* mentioned in § 52, 3, that *these* particular Midianites were anything but a courageous and warlike race. (For similar examples from profane history, see *Rosenmüller* on this passage, and *Hävernick*, Einleitung, i. 2, p. 513.)—The command of Moses to slay all the women who had already known a man, was issued in consequence of the idolatrous intercourse of the Israelites with the Midianitish women. The booty brought home by the conquerors was extraordinarily rich, especially in cattle; from which we may infer that the rearing of cattle was the occupation of the tribe. For the Israelites, whose cattle must have diminished very considerably during the journey through the wilderness, such booty as this must have been doubly valuable. The quantity of golden ornaments and jewels is quite in harmony with the unwarlike and luxurious character which evidently distinguished the Midianites.—There was something very peculiar in the manner in which Moses and Eleazar distributed the booty. The whole of it, consisting of 675,000 sheep, 72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, and 32,000 persons, was divided into two equal parts, one of which was allotted to the victors, the other to those who had taken no part in the battle. As the 12,000 men who were selected to fight did not go to war on their own responsibility, but as representatives of the whole congregation, it was but right that the whole congregation should share in the booty; but as the twelve thousand had had all the trouble and fatigue, it was just as proper that *they* should receive an incomparably larger share. And since the war was also a war of Jehovah, whose presence and aid had given the victory to the Israelites, and therefore the booty, strictly speaking, belonged to Jehovah, a certain quota was to be allotted to the priests and Levites as His servants and representatives. The priests were to receive two parts in a thousand from the share of the warriors; the Levites, two in a hundred from that of the congregation. "The propor-

tion which the share of the priests bore to that of the Levites, therefore, was one to ten; and thus was very nearly the same as the proportion maintained in the distribution of the customary tithes (*vid.* Num. xxvi.)." (*Baumgarten.*)—The fact which was brought out by the numbering of the warriors after their return, namely, that not a single man was missing, led the superior officers to present a further (free-will) offering, as an expression of their gratitude to Jehovah. They therefore brought the jewels which they had taken, "to make," as they said, "an atonement for their souls." On this *Baumgarten* has aptly remarked: "The evident and miraculous protection of Jehovah brought them to a consciousness of their unworthiness, and led them to confess before Jehovah that they were more deserving of death than of such protection as this."—To mark the whole affair as a holy war, a war of Jehovah, Phinehas, the son of the high priest, accompanied the army, and took the holy vessels with him (ver. 6). The participation of Phinehas in the present war was all the more significant, from the fact, that it was he who stopped the plague, through his holy zeal to take vengeance upon the Israelitish sinners. "The Israelites were to follow this resplendent example, by which the wrath of Jehovah had been appeased. . . . The fact that a priest accompanied them to the field, showed at once the relation of the war to Jehovah. And in this case it was the very priest whose simple presence immediately called to mind the close connection between Israel and Midian" (*Baumgarten*). It is also worthy of note, that the law relating to such as should be defiled by touching a corpse (Num. xix.) was here applied in its full extent to those who returned from the battle, in consequence of their being all defiled by the Midianites that had been slain (vers. 19–24).

### DIVISION OF THE LAND ON THE EAST OF THE JORDAN. REGULATIONS WITH REGARD TO CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY TO THE WEST OF THE JORDAN.

§ 59. (Num. xxxii.–xxxvi.)—The tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, which were peculiarly wealthy in cattle, presented a petition to Moses and Eleazar, that the land on the east of the Jordan, which had already been conquered, and was particularly adapted for

grazing, might be allotted to them (1). Moses was indignant at what appeared to be so selfish a request, and one which, if granted, would not only disturb the pleasure with which the rest of the tribes would proceed to fight for the country to the west of the river, but would bring down the wrath of Jehovah once more upon the congregation. He therefore reproached them in the most serious manner, for the want of national feeling, and the indifference towards their brethren, which such a request apparently indicated. But when the two tribes solemnly declared that they were ready to send their fighting men across the Jordan, and that they should remain there till the country to the west of the river had been conquered by the combined efforts of the Israelites, he no longer hesitated to accede to their request, with this modification only, that part of the land should be given for an inheritance to the *half-tribe of Manasseh*, which had been peculiarly zealous and active in effecting its conquest (2). The precise limits of their possessions were left to be determined when the general distribution should take place. But they immediately settled down in their relative positions, namely, *Reuben* in the south, *Manasseh* in the north, and *Gad* in the centre of the land. Their first care was to rebuild and fortify a number of the cities that had been destroyed, for the safer protection of their families and flocks, which they were about to leave behind (3).

As Moses had received repeated intimations that his end was approaching, he issued the requisite orders, under the special direction of Jehovah, for the approaching conquest and division of the country to the west of the Jordan. All the inhabitants were to be driven out; and their idols and high places were to be destroyed. Joshua and Eleazar, with the co-operation of the heads of the twelve tribes, were to distribute the land by lot; and forty-eight cities, including six cities of refuge, were to be allotted to the tribe of Levi, throughout the whole land on both sides of the Jordan (4).

(1.) The REQUEST OF THE REUBENITES AND GADITES is

generally supposed to have been made with the intention of leaving merely their families and flocks on the east of the Jordan; in which case, the stern rebuke which their request elicited from Moses was founded upon a mistake. But it is certainly very improbable, that so prudent, circumspect, and experienced a leader as Moses was, would have jumped to so rash and hasty a conclusion. Moreover, his interpretation of their request was actually and expressly supported by their own words: "Give us this land," they said, "*and bring us not over Jordan.*" At any rate, it must be admitted that no one, on first hearing these words, would put any other construction upon them than Moses did. Undoubtedly, the issue showed that their hearts were better than their words would have led one to suppose; for, as soon as the reproof administered by Moses had made them conscious of the unseemly and inadmissible character of their request, they at once declared themselves ready and willing, with all their hearts, to carry out to the fullest extent the just demands of the other tribes.

(2.) The HALF-TRIBE OF MANASSEH had not presented a petition for the land which Moses assigned it. On the contrary, he gave it to them of his own accord, and to satisfy the claims of justice. To render this procedure on the part of Moses intelligible, it was necessary that the fact upon which it was based, and which had been passed over in the previous history (Num. xxi. 33 sqq.), should be recorded here; and this is done in Num. xxxii. 39–42. The supposed discrepancies between this account and other passages (Deut. iii. 4, 13–15; Judg. x. 3–5; 1 Chr. ii. 21 sqq.), which critics have brought forward as discrediting the testimony of the Pentateuch, have been examined by *Kanne* (*Untersuchung* ii. 109 sqq.), *Rosenmüller* (*Alterth.* ii. 1, p. 282 sqq.), and *Hävernick* (*Einleitung* i. 2, p. 514 sqq.), who have suggested various ways of solving the difficulty. But they have been most thoroughly and conclusively discussed by *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 221 sqq.). The expositions of *Welte*, *Keil*, and *v. Lengerke*, are founded upon that of Hengstenberg.

In Num. xxxii. 39 sqq. it is stated that "the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, went to *Gilead*, and took it, and dispossessed the Amorites who were in it (the subjects of Sihon therefore); and Moses gave Gilead unto Machir, the son of Manasseh, and he dwelt therein. And *Jair*, the son of Ma-

nasseh, went and took their (*i.e.*, the Amorites') dwelling-places (חַוֹּת[1]), and called them *Chavvoth-Jair*. And Nobah went and took *Kenath* and its daughters, and called them *Nobah*, after his own name."—Still further light is thrown upon this passage by Deut. iii. 12–15: "Half Mount Gilead gave I unto the Reubenites and the Gadites. And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half-tribe of Manasseh; all the region of *Argob*, with all Bashan, which was called the land of the Rephaim. *Jair*, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of the Geshurites and Maachathites, and called them, that is *Bashan*, after his own name, Chavvoth-Jair. And I gave *Gilead* unto *Machir*." From this it clearly follows: (1.) That Reuben and Gad received southern Gilead;—(2.) that the half-tribe of Manasseh received northern Gilead, with all Bashan (or Argob), and for this reason, that it was solely or chiefly to this tribe that the conquest of the land was due;—(3.) that the share of half-Manasseh was in the hands of two leading proprietors, *Machir* and *Jair*. Machir received the most northerly part of Gilead; Jair, all Bashan or Argob.—So far everything is clear. But this difficulty remains, that in Deut. iii. 14 *Jair* alone is mentioned as the conqueror and possessor of Bashan, whereas according to Num. xxxii. 41, 42, *Nobaḥ* shared it with him. In addition to this, the number of Chavvoth-Jair is said to have been sixty in Deut. iii. 4; but in 1 Chr. ii. 22, 23, it is stated, that "Jair had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead (according to the later usage, the name Gilead embraced the land of Bashan also). And Geshur and Aram took the Chavvoth-Jair from them (the descendants of Jair), and (in addition to these) Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities (in all)." *Hengstenberg* very properly observes, that the passage means either this or nothing. The whole number, therefore, was sixty, of which twenty-three were *Chavvoth-Jair* in the stricter sense of the term. The other thirty-seven, namely, Kenath and her daughters, belonged to the same category, it is true, though in certain respects they differed from the rest. The twenty-three

[1] *Kanne*, speaking of the word *Chavvoth* (from חוה *to live*), which appears at first sight rather a singular name to apply to a settlement, points out the fact, that precisely the same idiom is found in many cases among the Germans, in the names of towns and villages.

cities of Jair, mentioned in 1 Chr. ii. 22, were those which had been taken by Jair *himself*. The sixty referred to in Deut. iii. 4 and 1 Chr. ii. 23, on the contrary, were all that were under the supremacy of Jair, including the thirty-seven that were held by Nobah as his vassal. Instead, therefore, of 1 Chr. ii. 22, 23, being irreconcileable with Deut. iii. 4, it serves rather to explain the difference between Deut. iii. 14 and Num. xxxii. 41, 42, and to produce the most complete harmony between all the four passages in question.

There are other respects, also, in which this passage in the Chronicles is of very great importance. It solves what would otherwise be an insoluble enigma in Josh. xix. 34, and at the same time enables us to determine in what part of Bashan the three and twenty cities were situated, which were called *Chavvoth-Jair* in the stricter sense of the term. In the description of the boundary of the tribe of Naphtali, given in this passage, it is stated that it reached "to Judah on the Jordan" (בִּיהוּדָה הַיַּרְדֵּן) towards the east. From time immemorial, commentators have wondered whereabouts on the Jordan there can have been a Judah, which was at the same time exactly opposite to Naphtali in the extreme north of Palestine, seeing that Judah dwelt in the extreme south. It was reserved for the acuteness of *K. v. Raumer* (in *Tholuck's* Anzeiger 1836, and also in his own Palästina, Ed. 3, p. 405 sqq.) to untie this knot in the most satisfactory manner, by means of 1 Chr. ii. 21, 22, after other commentators had all attempted it in vain. We learn from this passage that *Hezron*, the Judahite, went in to a daughter of *Machir*, the son of Manasseh, and the illegitimate offspring resulting from this connection was *Segub*, the father of *Jair*. Jair, therefore, by his father's side, was a Judahite—by his mother's, a Manassite. The maternal descent determined his place in the family registers, contrary to the usual custom (Num. xxxvi. 7), on account of his father, who was a bastard, remaining in his mother's house. But his paternal descent was still recognised in the name given to his family inheritance, which was designated "Judah on the Jordan."[1] From this we

[1] We cannot enter further into this question till we come to the history of Joshua. We shall then discuss *Ewald's* objection to *Raumer's* hypothesis (Geschichte der Israeliten ii. 294, and Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft iii. 183, 184).

see that Jair's territory, *i.e.*, the twenty-three *Chavvoth-Jair*, embraced the most northerly portion of Bashan (from the sources of the Jordan along the left bank, to the Lake of Gennesaret). Southern Bashan would then remain for the territory of Nobah. This is confirmed by the situation of Nobah (= Kenath), the town that was called by his name, which *Burckhardt* discovered in the modern Jolan (Gaulonitis), in nearly the same latitude as the northern extremity of the lake.

There are some who have brought forward Judg. x. 3–5, where *Jair* the Gileadite is said to have judged Israel twenty-two years, and to have had thirty sons, and the same number of Chavvoth-Jair, as giving ground for the charge, that the writer of the Pentateuch has transferred events and circumstances from the times of the Judges to those of Moses. This is done by *Vater* and others. *Studer*, on the other hand (*ad* h. l.), exculpates the author of the Pentateuch, but brings a similar charge against the writer of the Book of Judges. *Lengerke* and *Bertheau* admit that it is possible that there may have been a *Jair* in the time of Moses, as well as in that of the Judges. The former is proved by the passage already referred to, *viz.*, 1 Chr. ii. 21 sqq., from which it is evident that Zelophehad, who died in the wilderness (Num. xxvii. 3), was a contemporary of Jair (*cf.* Josh. xiii. 30, 31). The latter may be explained from the custom, which may be shown to have prevailed among the Israelites, of frequently repeating the names of celebrated ancestors. Nevertheless, *Winer* still persists in maintaining that either the author of the Pentateuch or the writer of the Book of Judges must be guilty of an anachronism (Reallex i. 534), seeing that the former speaks of the name Chavvoth-Jair as *already* in existence in the time of Moses, whereas the other refers to it as originating in the time of the Judges; for this is unquestionably implied in Judg. x. 4, where it is stated that the thirty sons of Jair "had thirty cities, which are called *Chavvoth-Jair* unto this day." It may be conceded, however, that in this passage the name is connected with the second Jair, without our being also obliged to concede, that if this be the case, it *cannot* have been in existence before. The very fact that in Judg. x. 3 sqq. we read, not of sixty, but of thirty *Chavvoth-Jair*, renders it probable that the entire district may have been lost by the family in the confusions of the time of the Judges, whilst at

least a half of it may have been recovered by the *second Jair*. And if so, it is very conceivable that the ancient name, which had been previously lost, may have been restored either by himself or to commemorate his fame.—This supposition is expressly confirmed by 1 Chr. ii. 23, where the Geshurites and Aramites are said to have taken the whole district, with its sixty cities, from the descendants of Jair.

(3.) It might excite astonishment, that flocks, women, and children should have been left with so little anxiety in the country to the east of the Jordan, seeing that it was surrounded on all sides by such tribes as the Geshurites, the Aramites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Midianites, the Edomites, and the Amalekites, who were all of them, to say the least, unfavourably disposed, if not positively hostile. But the words of Moses, "Whoso is equipped (חָלוּץ) among you, let him go with the rest across the Jordan," are certainly not to be understood as meaning that the whole body of fighting men was to go, but only those who were in the prime of life. The very young and those of advanced age, who were very well able to undertake the defence of fortified cities, no doubt remained behind.

### REPETITION AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

§ 60. (Deut. i.–xxx.)—Moses had now finished his work, and the hour was close at hand in which he was to be gathered to the fathers of his people. Israel was standing upon the banks of the Jordan, and was ready to cross over into the land of its fathers' pilgrimage, which was promised it as an everlasting possession. But Moses knew that his own feet would never tread its soil, and but a little while before (Num. xxvii. 12) Jehovah had reminded him of the fact. But as he was permitted, from the summit of the mountains of Abarim, to survey with his bodily eye the land into which his nation was about to enter; so did he also, by prophetic inspiration, behold with the eye of his mind the future which awaited the nation there, and survey the temptations, dangers, and transgressions which would mark their future career. He knew that the true prosperity of Israel was inseparably connected with a faithful and unwavering adherence to the law of God, of which he had been

the mediator and herald; and he also knew that in the unrenewed nature of Israel there still remained a great distaste for this law, and a strong inclination for heathenism, from which it had been severed by the grace of its high vocation. This troubled his soul, and impelled him to place once more before the new generation, which had now grown to maturity, the gracious dealings of Jehovah with their fathers, the fruit of which they were now to reap, and to repeat and impress His law upon their minds. With all the emotions with which a dying father gathers his children round him for the very last time, that he may give them his fatherly counsel and warning, did Moses, in the prospect of his speedy end, gather around him the people, whom he had hitherto led and trained with a father's faithfulness, and watched and fostered with all the tenderness of a mother, and who were henceforth to go forward, without his faithful guidance and discipline, to a great and glorious, but at the same time a dangerous future. He commenced his last addresses to the people with a historical survey of the forty years' wanderings in the desert, during which the mercy and faithfulness of Jehovah had been all the more gloriously displayed, in proportion to the perverseness of the people upon whom they were bestowed (chap. i.–iv. 43). He then recapitulated the entire law, bringing out the most salient points, passing over such of the details as related to the priests and Levites rather than to the nation as a whole (1), interspersing earnest appeals, and expanding or modifying as the clearness of his prophetic insight into the necessities of the future showed to be desirable. He then added a command, that when they arrived at the promised land they should write this law upon large stones covered with plaster on Mount Ebal, and at the same time solemnly proclaim the blessing and the curse which it contained (2). He held up before the people streams of blessings on wife and children, house and home, garden and field, if they would faithfully walk in the law of the Lord. He threatened fearful terrors from the curse which would follow apostasy and transgression; but he also pro-

mised mercy and a gracious reception, if they repented of their ungodly ways (chaps. xxvii.–xxx.).—Moses knew what he had been to his people through the mercy of God; how much the people owed, not to him indeed, but to his calling and office; what they would have become, had it not been for the mediatorial office with which he had been invested; and how quickly they would have become the prey of heathen magic and theurgy. But when he was gone, the office itself would disappear from the stage of history, or at all events would no longer possess the same force and comprehensive character; for to no other prophet did Jehovah draw so near as He had done to him, no other was entrusted, as he was, with the whole house of Jehovah (Num. xii. 6–8). Hence it is stated in Deut. xxxiv. 10, that "there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses." The thought of this might have troubled his mind in his dying hour; but Jehovah had comforted him with the promise, "I will raise them up *a Prophet* from among their brethren *like unto thee*"(3). This announcement he repeated to the people; and upon it he founded his warning against the abominations of heathen magic and soothsaying.

This repetition and renewed enforcement of the law in the Arboth Moab, accompanied by fresh promises and threats, and the summons to choose between a blessing and a curse, was a renewal of the giving of the law, and consequently also of the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai. It is therefore called *the covenant with the children of Israel in the land of Moab* (Deut. xxix. 1 (4). "See," said Moses at the close of his emphatic address,—"see, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love Jehovah thy God, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments, and His statutes, and His judgments, that thou mayest live and multiply; and Jehovah thy God shall bless thee in the land, whither thou goest to possess it. But if thine heart be drawn away, so that thou wilt not hear, . . I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish, and that ye shall not pro-

long your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan, to go to possess it. I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, etc."

(1.) We must reserve any further remarks upon the peculiar and distinctive character of this *repetition of the law*.—The name *Deuteronomy* is derived from the Septuagint, which renders מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת in Deut. xvii. 18, and Josh. viii. 32, τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο (and also from the Vulgate). *Delitzsch* (on Gen. i. 25) and others accordingly render the expression "The *repeated* of this law," and interpret it as meaning "this repeated law." But this interpretation is apparently by no means indisputably certain. In the Chaldee and Syriac versions, whose authority in such cases is at least as great, if not greater, than that of the Septuagint and Vulgate, מִשְׁנֶה is rendered פִּתְשֶׁגֶן, *i.e.*, *copy* (*vid.* Esther iv. 8 and iii. 14). As the two meanings may be deduced with equal facility from the primary signification of the word, the decision of the question in dispute depends upon which of the two had become fixed in the usage of the language at the time when the Pentateuch was written; and we have not the necessary *data*, to determine this with certainty. But the Chaldee rendering is favoured, not only by the fact that the translator may be presumed to have possessed a more accurate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, but also, and as it seems to me even more, by the circumstance that the expression *Mishneh hattorah* only occurs twice, and that *only* where there is an undoubted reference to a *copy* of this law; whereas in other passages, in which the same law in the original is spoken of, the word *Mishneh* is wanting (*e.g.*, Deut. iv. 44 and xxxi. 9).

(2.) We shall enter more fully into the manner in which the command *to write this law upon stones* could be, and was to be carried out, in connection with Josh. viii. 30 sqq. But there is another question which we must not postpone, namely, What are we to understand by "this law?" The law of Deuteronomy alone? or the whole law of the Pentateuch? or the whole of the Pentateuch itself, including the historical portions? *Vater*, *Hengstenberg*, *Keil* (Joshua, p. 222 translation; and *Einleitung*,

p. 129), and *Delitzsch* (Genesis i. 26) answer unanimously, and certainly correctly: "Deuteronomy only, or rather the legal sum and substance of it." We cannot follow Delitzsch, who adduces the *Mishneh hattorah* in Josh. viii. 32 as a certain proof of this; but it may be demonstrated with certainty from the context of Deuteronomy. It is evident from the words, "this law," in Deut. xxvii. 3; for the expression, "this law," from Deut. iv. 44 onwards, throughout all the addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy, can only be understood as relating to that particular law of which he was speaking at the time, namely, to the law in Deuteronomy; and in the case before us, this is still further attested by Deut. xxvii. 1: "Keep all *these* commandments which I command you *this day*." This is so very obvious, that there is no necessity to dwell upon other arguments which may be derived from the subject-matter itself. Compare § 62, 5.

(3.) The promise of the PROPHET LIKE UNTO MOSES is given in Deut. xviii. 13–19 in the following terms: "Thou shalt hold entirely to Jehovah thy God. For these nations, whom thou drivest out, hearken unto conjurers and soothsayers: but as for thee, Jehovah thy God hath not suffered thee so to do. *Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.* According to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And Jehovah said unto me, They have well spoken. *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words which he shall speak in My name, I will require it of him.*"—The first question which arises here, is whether the word נָבִיא is to be regarded as individual or collective, as personal or ideal; whether it relates to one particular prophet, that is, to the Messiah alone, or to the Israelitish order of prophets in general, either inclusive or exclusive of its completion in the Messiah.—*Hofmann* (Weissagung und Erfüllung i. 253, 254, and Schriftbeweis ii. 1, pp. 83, 84) defends the collective view, and is not "able to see the person of Christ the one Mediator glimmering through." He can

only see "that Moses did not know whether many or few mediators of the word of Divine revelation would be required, or whether only one single one would be sent, before Jehovah Himself would come to His people, to take up His abode with them in the glory of His everlasting kingdom." *Hävernick* and *Hengstenberg*, on the other hand, oppose the collective view; but they still maintain that allusion is made to a plurality of prophets. *Hävernick* (Einleitung ii. 2, p. 9 seq.) is of opinion, that "the writer had in mind the various occasions on which the people would stand in need of a prophet; and announces, accordingly, that on every such occasion a prophet would be raised up. A prophet will I raise up, namely, whenever circumstances require it." *Hengstenberg* (Christology, vol. i., p. 107 translation) finds here again that something or nothing, which he calls an ideal person: "The prophet here is an *ideal* person, comprehending all the true prophets, who appeared between Moses and Christ, inclusive of the latter. But Moses did not here speak of the prophets as a collective body, to which, at the close, Christ also belonged, as it were incidentally, and as one among the many; but rather, the plurality of prophets was comprehended by Moses in an *ideal* unity, for this simple reason, that on the authority of Gen. xlix. 10, and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, he knew that the prophetical order would at some future time centre in a real person—in Christ." In this explanation *Hävernick* also (alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 131) has eventually found rest. Wherever we have looked among the theologians of the present day, we have nowhere found the opinion reproduced, which prevailed both in the Synagogue and the Church down to modern times, namely, that we have here a pure and express prophecy of Christ. *M. Baumgarten* (i. 2., p. 483) alone veers round towards it, but without breaking away from the collective idea. He says: "Moses speaks of the prophet in such a way, that he may very well have had a plurality of prophets in his mind, namely, as many as Israel might need for its guidance. But when we consider that Moses foresaw a state of utter disobedience and universal confusion in Israel, he must have had his mind fixed especially upon *one* prophet, who would be like himself in the strictest sense of the word, that is to say, *who like himself would establish by the power of the Word an entirely new order of things in Israel.* But as the history of Israel,

when looked at in the spirit, appears throughout its entire course to be progressing towards its final goal, and as Moses himself foresaw and foretold the future conversion of Israel from its approaching general apostasy (chap. iv. 24), *he must also have set this prophet above himself.*"

I must declare myself unconditionally in favour of the exclusive reference to one distinct individual, *viz.*, to the Messiah; and congratulate myself on being able to adopt for the most part Hengstenberg's arguments against the collective view and the exclusion of the Messiah, especially as I am obliged to dissent from the view which he has advocated and the reasons which he assigns.

"That Moses," says *Hengstenberg* in his Christology (vol. i. p. 101 transl.), "did not intend by the word נביא, 'prophet,' to designate a collective body merely, but that he had at least some special individual in view, appears, partly from the word itself being constantly in the singular, and partly from the constant use of the singular suffixes in reference to it; while in the case of collective nouns it is usual for the singular to be used interchangeably with the plural. The force of this argument is abundantly evident from the fact, that not a few of even non-Messianic interpreters have been thereby compelled to make some single individual the subject of this prophecy. But we must hesitate to adopt the opinion that נביא stands here simply in the singular instead of the plural, because neither does this word occur anywhere else as a collective noun, nor is the prophetic order ever spoken of in the manner alleged." The word נביא is, in fact, neither in form nor in signification, in the least adapted to be used collectively. Why should not Moses have used the ordinary plural of the word, if he really wanted to speak of a plurality of prophets? I, at least, can find no answer to the question.—*Hofmann* should have been the last to bring forward so fallacious an argument as the following in support of his view: "There is not the slightest difference between the use of the singular נביא, and that of the singular מֶלֶךְ in Deut. xvii. 14–20." *Hengstenberg* has already met him with this reply: "The king mentioned there is no collective noun. An individual, who in future times should first attain to royal dignity, forms there the subject throughout. This appears especially in ver. 20, where he and his sons are spoken of. The first king

is held up as an example; and what is declared of him was applicable to the whole line of kings. But it is in favour of our view, that in the verses immediately preceding, the priests are at first spoken of only in the plural, although the priestly order had much more of the character of a collective body than the prophetic order had" (Christology, i. 101 transl.).

Again, כָּמֹנִי and כָּמוֹךָ are at variance with the collective view. It is undoubtedly true, that the resemblance to Moses does not primarily relate to "the substance of the words spoken by God through Moses or the future mediator, nor even to the essential identity in the substance of the words," as Hävernick maintains (alttest. Theol., p. 90); at least not in any such sense as this, that the promised prophet would proclaim nothing but what Moses had proclaimed already. For this would not only preclude a direct allusion to Christ, but any allusion to the prophetic order of the Old Testament, since all the prophets, or at any rate those whose writings have come down to us, went far beyond Moses in this respect. But the expression, "A prophet *like unto thee, like unto me*," cannot possibly have been employed without some further meaning, than that the promised prophet would possess whatever belonged to the prophetic character in general, and all that would necessarily be found in every prophet; such, for example, as "the human mediation of Divine revelation, in contrast with the manifestation of the power of God Himself" (*Hofmann*). If Jehovah or Moses represents it as something peculiar, that a prophet, or several prophets, would be raised up *like unto* Moses; it is evidently implied that there might be prophets who were *not like* Moses, and *yet* were *prophets* notwithstanding; and consequently there must have been something peculiar in the prophetic character of Moses, something that it would be in vain to look for in all the prophets. And the Pentateuch itself gives us distinct and authentic information as to the nature of this distinctive peculiarity (*vid.* Num. xii. 6–8). In the first place, it consisted in the mode in which the Divine communications were made. Jehovah spake with Moses *mouth to mouth*, and Moses saw the *Temunah* of Jehovah; whereas the other prophets only saw Jehovah in *Chidoth*, and received the revelations of Jehovah in a *vision* or a *dream* (*vid.* § 34, 4). But *secondly*, it consisted chiefly in the fact, that Moses was *entrusted with the whole house of Jehovah*. While

Moses lived, he was one and all in the house of Jehovah, the mediator between Jehovah and the people in all respects. He was commander-in-chief, deliverer, lawgiver, priest, teacher, chastiser, and judge. There was no function in connection with the representation of God, or the mediation of the words and acts of God, which he had not discharged, or was not warranted in discharging in the highest (human) form. And he was a prophet *in* all this, and *for* all this; that is to say, his prophetic gift controlled, pervaded, inspired, and regulated all these functions. He was a prophet when leading Israel, a prophet when reconciling Israel, a prophet when teaching Israel. A David wanted a Nathan at his side, to help him to fulfil his royal duties in a proper way. But Moses, the leader of Israel, had his Nathan within himself: he was both; in a word, was everything in himself. If, then, the Pentateuch itself represents this clearly and without ambiguity, as the distinctive peculiarity of the prophetic character of Moses, and does this with such emphasis as in Num. xii.;—we can come to no other conclusion than that, when the Pentateuch promises prophets *like unto Moses*, whatever it sets before us as constituting the distinctive peculiarity of Moses, we are warranted in looking for in the prophets referred to. But we would simply ask, whether, in the whole line of prophets from Moses to Malachi, there is a single one to be found who comes half-way towards answering this description, not to say whether they all of them do so. And we are brought to the following dilemma: either the prediction in Deut. xviii. promised something, which was not fulfilled in the case of the persons referred to; or the prediction did not relate to the whole series of prophets between Moses and Malachi, but to *one* prophet, who is not to be found among these, but must be looked for *outside* their ranks, and *after* them.

We have also another express and authentic proof of what is meant in the Pentateuch by a prophet *like unto Moses*. The account of the life and labours of this great man of God is brought to a close in Deut. xxxiv. 10 by the words, "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses," etc. The last editor of the Pentateuch (for there can be no doubt that he is the author of the last chapter) understood the expressions, "like unto me" and "like unto thee," very differently from *Hofmann*, as even the most prejudiced must admit. Otherwise he

would have placed himself in the most direct and irreconcileable opposition to Deut. xviii. It makes no essential difference, whether this editor is supposed to have lived in the time of Ezra, or in that of Josiah, or Joshua. In any case, he had been acquainted with prophets *after* Moses. And when he says that "there arose not a prophet *like unto Moses*," he means, not that no prophet at all had risen up, but that, although prophets had risen up, *not one* of them was *like unto Moses*.

But even apart from everything else, the Pentateuch itself bears express and unmistakeable testimony *against* the collective, and *in favour of* the personal-individual view,—*in favour of* a reference to the Messiah, and against any reference to the entire prophetic order of the Old Testament. Before proceeding further with our proofs, let us look at the historical soil from which our prophecy sprang, or rather *into* which it was planted by the hand of the spirit of prophecy, as into a susceptible soil prepared by the hand of the spirit of prophecy, like fruitful seed in fruitful ground.

We must attach our present remarks to what has already been said in vol. ii. § 4, 3 on the course of Messianic prophecy, and its historical foundation in the patriarchal age. If we omit Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob (vol. ii. § 4, 1), which belongs to the same epoch as our own, this announcement of a prophet like unto Moses is the first express Messianic prophecy since the blessing of Jacob on his sons, and especially on Judah (Gen. xlix. 8–12). *Hengstenberg*, who has not given a correct interpretation of either prophecy, turns everything upside down, and obstinately persists in maintaining that this must be and is the order:—first, perfect clearness, sharp definition, concrete personality; then, with further progress, mistiness, indefiniteness, and obscurity;—first of all, the prophecy appears like a full-grown man, and then during the long period of history which intervenes, it grows up to the stature of—a child (!).—*Jacob* beholds the Messiah as one single, concrete person, with such clearness and certainty as was only attained by the latest prophets; to Moses, on the other hand, who was not only acquainted with Jacob's prophecy, but whose Messianic consciousness was based upon it, it was like a dissolving view, which changed as soon as the eye was fixed upon it, at one time into a host of prophets, at another again into a single individual.—

*Jacob* knew that the one personal Messiah would spring from the tribe of Judah; the progress made by *Moses* was back to the indistinctness and generality which Jacob had already succeeded in overcoming: for, as *before* the time of Jacob the prophecy ran thus, "from thy seed," so does Moses now say again, "from thy brethren, out of the midst of thee."—*This* view is certainly not *naturalism;* it is rather unnatural. I can perceive in the prophecy something more than nature, but something above nature and not opposed to it; and if this is naturalism, I have no objection to be called a naturalist (Christology, vol. i. § 70).

Jacob's prophecy in Gen. xlix. looks to the "end of the days," and sees the hopes and expectations of the patriarchal age, of which there was already a distinct consciousness, perfectly fulfilled, its necessities satisfied, its defects supplied, the object of its endeavours reached, its labour at an end. There were only two things, with which the patriarchal age was acquainted, as preliminary conditions to the manifestation of salvation, and to which all the earlier promises of God had pointed, namely, the development of the family into a great nation, and the peaceable and undisturbed possession of the promised land. It was ignorant, therefore, that there were any other impediments in the way than the defects of the time being; namely, the fact that the chosen seed was confined within the limits of a single family, and that this family was leading a restless nomad life in a foreign land. But at the period to which our prophecy belongs, these conditions were fulfilled, and these impediments removed; or, at all events, the accomplishment of both was so near at hand, that it belonged to the immediate present, instead of the distant future. In the meantime, however, other wants and defects had come to light with the onward course of history; and these had given rise to fresh hopes and expectations. The unity of the family had expanded into a plurality of populous tribes; but it had also become apparent that this plurality, which had proceeded from unity, would converge into a central unity again; that the broad base would run up into one apex, and the members of the body be organically united under a single head. What would have become of the nation, in spite of its strength and numbers, if it had not possessed in Moses a common head, a common leader, and instructor? And how far was even Moses from attaining,

exhibiting, and performing all that was included in the idea of the head of Israel?—So, on the other hand, the promised land was already, to some extent, actually in possession, and the capture of the rest was guaranteed as immediately at hand. But we have already shown, that the possession already secured, or to be secured immediately, was not the quiet, undisturbed, and undisputed possession, which Jacob had foreseen and predicted. For now the promised land was entirely surrounded by hostile tribes, who thought of nothing else than the destruction of Israel. How far, therefore, was this provisional fulfilment from the final and absolute accomplishment! To what a distance in the future was the period removed, when all nations should willingly bend beneath the sceptre of Judah, and participate in its blessings, and when all nations should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! It had by this time become fully apparent, that the victory of Israel over the nations could not be achieved without a previous conflict; that active hostility would precede and accompany willing obedience on the part of the nations; and that the streams of blessing which were to flow from Israel to the nations would have a dark side, in fearful manifestations of rage, revenge, and destruction.

Into this soil the spirit of prophecy dropped some new seeds, which promised the ultimate fulfilment of present wants and desires, and gave to present hopes a divine approval, a definite direction, a firm hold, a clear prospect, and a substantial reality. This was effected by Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob, and Moses' prophecy of the Prophet like unto himself. In both the limits were broken through, which had hitherto confined the Messianic expectations to the sphere of generality; in both, the prospect of salvation, which had hitherto been associated simply with the entire seed of Abraham, was condensed into the distinct consciousness of one single, personal author of salvation, of the seed of Jacob, and out of the midst of Israel. *Balaam* announced him as a king, avenging hostility and overcoming opposition; *Moses* as a prophet, who would continue and complete the work which he himself had begun. Whether the Israel of that day was aware, or even surmised, that the Star out of Jacob and the Prophet like unto Moses were one and the same person, simply described according to two different departments of His work, we must leave for the present undecided. I cer-

tainly cannot admit that this is impossible; for even in Moses, the commander-in-chief (the type of the King) and the prophet (the type of *the* Prophet) were associated in one individual.

Again, the correctness of the interpretation, which refers this prophecy to a personal Messiah, is unanimously attested by the very earliest tradition. The testimony of this tradition in the present instance is of all the greater importance, and is even decisive in its character, from the fact that it issued in a confirmation of the view in question by Christ and His apostles. As the first and oldest link in the chain, we have already mentioned Deut. xxxiv. 10. The later prophets even "disclaimed the honour of being the Prophet like unto Moses. The predictions in Is. xlii. xlix. and l. lxi., in which the Messiah is distinctly introduced as the Prophet, are based upon the passage before us. To Him is assigned the mission to restore Jacob, and to be the salvation of the Lord to the end of the world" (*Hengstenberg*). The testimonies in favour of our view crowd together in the period subsequent to the Captivity. We cannot, indeed, adduce 1 Macc. xiv. 41, as is frequently done, where Simon is appointed "governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a credible prophet." *Hengstenberg* is certainly right when he says, "That by the 'credible prophet,' *i.e.*, one sufficiently attested by miracles or the fulfilment of prophecies, we are not to understand the Prophet promised by Moses, is shown, partly by the absence of the article, and partly by the circumstance, that a *credible* prophet is spoken of. The sense is rather this: Simon and his family should continue to hold the highest dignity until God Himself should make another arrangement by a future prophet, as there was none at that time, and thus put an end to a state of things which, on the one hand, was contradictory to the law, and on the other, to the promise;—a state of things into which they had been led by the force of circumstances, and which could, at all events, be only a provisional one. It is not on the passage under review that the expectation of a prophet there rests, but rather on Mal. iii. 1, 23, where a prophet is promised as the precursor of the Messiah" (Christology, vol. i., p. 97 translation).

Nevertheless, we can confidently maintain, that the opinion, that the passage before us related to the Messiah, was decidedly the prevailing one, and probably the *only* one, in the

period subsequent to the Captivity (for in John i. 21 and vii. 40, allusion is made to Mal. iv. 5), for the simple reason, that the words with which the book of Deuteronomy closes, "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses" (chap. xxxiv. 10), certainly expressed the conviction of all the writers after the Captivity. And even down to our own day, in which it is considered advisable on polemical grounds to depart from the traditional explanation, it has held almost exclusive sway in the Synagogue. That the *Samaritans* had adopted it, may unquestionably be proved from the New Testament. "The woman of Samaria says to Jesus, 'I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ; when He is come, He will tell us all things.' As the Samaritans accepted the Pentateuch alone, the notion here expressed, that the Messiah would be a divinely enlightened teacher, cannot have been derived from any other source than the passage before us. The words of the woman bear a striking resemblance to ver. 18, 'He shall speak unto them all that I shall command Him'" (*Hengstenberg*). Again, when *Philip* says to Nathanael, "We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law did write," he can only have thought of this prophecy; for throughout the entire Pentateuch there is only one other Messianic prophecy of a personal character, namely, that of the Star and Sceptre out of Jacob, the predicates of which were but little adapted to lead Philip to the opinion which he here expressed. This is also true of the Shiloh passage in Gen. xlix. 10, if we suppose that Philip gave to this a personal application. Moreover, the words of Philip compel us to think of a prophecy of which Moses himself was the author.—There is also an allusion to this passage in John vi. 14, where the people say, after the feeding of the five thousand, "This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world." And Christ undoubtedly had it in His mind when He said, "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me" (John v. 45, 46). "It is evident that the Lord must here have had in view a distinct passage of the Pentateuch,—a clear and definite declaration of Moses. But if a single declaration (a direct Messianic prophecy) forms the question at issue, this is the only passage that can possibly be meant; for it is the only prophecy of Christ

which Moses, on whose person such stress is laid, uttered in his own name,—the only one in which Divine judgments are threatened to the despisers of the Messiah" (*Hengstenberg*, pp. 99, 100). When *Lücke* states, that Jesus referred this passage to Himself, according to the exposition which was current at the time, he is certainly correct; but we also see from this, that he recognised and sanctioned the exposition as perfectly correct.—Nor is the allusion to Deut. xviii. 18, 19 less unmistakeable in the words of Christ in John xii. 48–50.—Again, it is impossible to overlook the connection between the words, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: *hear ye Him*," and the expression in ver. 15, "*Unto Him ye shall hearken*," or to deny that it was the intention of the voice from heaven to point out Jesus as the Prophet of whom Moses had spoken here.—Both Peter and Stephen regarded the prophecy respecting the "Prophet like unto Moses" as fulfilled in Christ (Acts iii. 22, 23 and vii. 37). *Hofmann* argues that "Peter did not say that Jesus was a prophet, to whom Israel ought to have hearkened, but left the Jews to infer from the fact, that, on the one hand, Moses had enjoined it as a duty to yield the obedience of faith to the words of the prophets, and, on the other hand, that the words of all the prophets had pointed to what had been fulfilled in Christ, what their conduct ought to have been, and ought still to be, towards Christ and the preaching of the apostles." But this is a subterfuge, rather than an argument. The collective interpretation of the word *prophet*, as descriptive of "all the prophets," is inadmissible in itself, and is rendered absolutely *impossible* by the expression, "Hear that prophet," in ver. 23, which places it beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Peter supposed the "Prophet like unto Moses," of whom Moses had prophesied, to be one distinct person, and in fact, as the context shows, to be that one Person of whom God had spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began.

At the same time, the unanimity and confidence with which modern theologians adhere to the collective interpretation of the word "prophet," and the fact that even a theologian like *Hengstenberg*, who had seen so clearly and proved so conclusively that the collective view is inadmissible, should at last have felt obliged to bring in the whole line of Old Testament prophets (and that in a manner still more objectionable than the collec-

tive view itself)—we say all this would lead us to expect that there must be some elements in the passage, which make it natural to understand it as referring to a plurality of prophets. *Hengstenberg* crowds together a mass of arguments for the purpose of proving that the prophets must also be referred to.—We will commence with the weakest. "There is not wanting," he says, "a slight hint in the New Testament that the reference to Christ is not an exclusive one. It is found in Luke xi. 50, 51." The passage runs thus: "That the blood *of all the prophets*, which was shed *from the foundation of the world*, may be required of this generation; *from the blood of Abel* unto the blood of Zacharias, . . . verily, I say unto you, *it shall be required* of this generation." It must be apparent to every one, that notwithstanding the resemblance between ἐκζητεῖν ("it shall be required") and the word דרש ("I will require it of him") in Deut. xviii. 19, the passage rests upon Gen. iv. 9 sqq., rather than upon the words of Deuteronomy (see especially Gen. iv. 10, and compare also Heb. xi. 5). Unwillingness to hear, which is the chief point in Deut. xviii., is not noticed here; and the blood crying for revenge, which is the chief point in the words of Christ, is not alluded to in Deut. xviii., though it is so distinctly mentioned in Gen. iv., that there is hardly any necessity to bring forward the striking expressions employed by Christ, "from the foundation of the world," and "from the blood of Abel."—Again, *Hengstenberg* argues, that "if the passage were referred to Christ exclusively, the prophetic institution would then be without any legitimate authority; and from the whole character of the Mosaic legislation, as laying the foundation for the future progress and development of the theocracy, we *could not well conceive* that so important an institution should be deficient in this point. Moreover, the whole historical existence of the prophetic order necessarily presupposes such a foundation."—We reply, No; on the contrary, the law presupposes prophecy. It is prophecy which must give its credentials to the law, not the law to prophecy. Prophecy was in existence before the law, from the days of Abraham (Gen. xx. 7), or rather, according to the words of Christ which have just been quoted, from the time of Abel, and from the foundation of the world. *Marriage* is also left without any formal appointment or legal authority. It did not need it, for it was instituted and invested with legal

authority long before the law. The same may be said of circumcision, and the same applies to prophecy. But the law did require to be accredited by prophecy. It was the fact that Moses possessed authority as a prophet of God, which gave authority to the laws he issued.—The following arguments are undoubtedly of still greater importance: "The *wider context*," he says, "shows that the prophets of the Old Testament are not to be excluded. In Deuteronomy provision was made for the period immediately succeeding the approaching death of Moses. In chap. xvii., xviii., the magistrates and powers, the superiors to whose authority in secular and spiritual affairs the people shall submit, are introduced. First, the civil magistrates are brought before them (chap. xvii. 8–20), and then the ecclesiastical superiors, the priests and prophets (chap. xviii.). In such a connection, it is not probable that *the prophet* is one particular individual. —Again, an exclusive reference to Christ is precluded by the more immediate context (*viz.*, within the section relating to the prophet). Moses prohibits Israel from employing the means by which the heathen seek to pass beyond the boundaries of human knowledge (such as soothsaying, augury, conjuring, necromancy, etc.). 'Thou shalt not do so,' is his language; for that which these are seeking after to no purpose, and in this sinful manner (?!! Where do we find all this? Compare vol. ii. § 23, 1, 2, and § 54, 5), thy God shall actually (? this must mean in a truly Divine manner) grant to thee. And this was done through the prophets. *Moreover*, as Moses himself attests, he had received the prophecy on Sinai, on that very occasion on which the people were seized with terror at the dreadful majesty of God, and prayed that God would no longer speak to them directly, but through a mediator. Accordingly, we should expect to find an allusion to the continuation of the revelations of God through the medium of the Old Testament prophets." Another argument still remains, namely, that "the exclusive reference to the Messiah is inconsistent with vers. 20–22. The marks of a false prophet are given there. But if there is no allusion at all to the true prophets of Israel in what precedes, it would be almost impossible to trace any suitable connection in the thoughts."

This is *Hengstenberg's* case. He willingly admits, that notwithstanding all these points in the context, if Moses knew any-

thing at all about a Messiah, not only would some allusion to His coming be most fitting, but we should necessarily expect to find it. We accept the acknowledgment; and for our parts we willingly admit, that if the expression, "A prophet like unto Moses," could properly be interpreted as relating to a plurality of prophets, and if the substance of the passage were really applicable to the prophets before Christ (neither of which is the case, as we have already shown), such a view would be very appropriate and in perfect harmony with the context;—we go even further, and admit that, if we look at the context from the stand-point of the fulfilment, instead of that of the prophecy itself, it certainly appears to be faulty, seeing that there is a long interval between Moses and "the prophet like unto Moses," which is left entirely vacant; whereas from the three points alluded to by *Hengstenberg*, we should be led to expect some reference to the fact, that the mediatorial work would be carried on by a constant series of prophets.

Is this, however, to force us to have recourse, as *Hengstenberg* has done, to the mere phantasm of an ideal person? Certainly not. For to our mind there is something utterly inconceivable in the thought of a single person, who resolves himself into a plurality of persons; in a concrete notion, which is an abstract at the same time; in a person, which is nothing more than an idea; and an idea, which is a person as well!

We have already hinted at the solution of the enigma. The difficulty vanishes at once, if we take as our stand-point the prophecy and not the fulfilment. When the necessity for Moses to act as a mediator between Jehovah and the people became so obvious at Sinai, and Jehovah not only approved and accepted his mediation, but promised that the same thing should be renewed in the future, Moses might easily be led to suppose that this promise would be fulfilled immediately after his departure. And when he wanted to turn away his people from heathen soothsayers and augurs, and also from false prophets, to the genuine revelations of God, the image of this Great Prophet, who had been already announced to him, and who, as Jehovah had told him, would be like unto him, stood so distinctly in the foreground, as the eye of his mind was directed to the future, that he pointed the people to Him alone. And if he really thought that the appearance of this Prophet was much nearer at

hand than was actually the case, the apostles did just the same, when they saw the day of the Lord in spirit, and spoke of it as close at hand.

But there is undoubtedly a certain amount of truth in *Hengstenberg's* representation; arising from the fact, that all the prophets subsequent to Moses were precursors and heralds of the Great Prophet, in the same manner as Moses was; that they declared themselves to be so, and were regarded as such by the believing portion of the nation; and that the same Spirit (the Spirit of Christ, 1 Pet. i. 11) spoke in them, which afterwards dwelt in Christ. So long, therefore, as He Himself had not appeared, the faith of the people necessarily rested upon His forerunners; and the warning of Moses, directing the people to turn from heathen soothsaying and false prophecy to the future Messiah, the sole medium of Divine revelation, was not uttered in vain. For, however inferior the prophets of the Old Testament may have been to the Messiah, they presented the same contrast to heathen soothsaying and the false prophets of Israel, as He did Himself.

There is only one more point to which we have to direct attention in conclusion. There is this peculiarity in the description, "a prophet like unto Moses,"—and it is one deserving of close attention,—that whilst on the one hand the words themselves seem to indicate the most complete resemblance between Moses and the promised prophet, on the other hand there is a contrast involved, and in fact a marked opposition, like the parallel between the first and second Adam. If we look at the parallel in the case before us merely on the outward or *formal* side (and it is this undoubtedly which is the primary and chief point in consideration here, as the context and a comparison with Num. xii. 6–8 clearly shows), the resemblance is complete. Like Moses, He was entrusted with the whole house of Jehovah; like Moses, He communed with the Lord face to face. But if we look at the more inward and *essential* features, the resemblance quickly gives place to a contrast. A prophet who converses with God in a manner as perfectly unique as Moses had previously done, and who is entrusted with the *whole* house of Jehovah as Moses *alone* had been before, must receive this extraordinary gift and peculiar position for purposes as extraordinary and peculiar as those for which Moses received them. Like Moses, He must

be a redeemer of the nation, a founder and author of a new covenant with Jehovah; and because a new covenant must be better than the last, the "Prophet like unto Moses" must on that very account be *greater* than Moses. It belongs, however, to the idea and essence of prophecy, which is the Divine knowledge of the future brought down into the heart of history, that the human understanding of it must become clearer, deeper, and more comprehensive in proportion as it approaches fulfilment. So long as the covenant which Jehovah had established through the mediation of Moses was still new, so long as the faith of the people found satisfaction in this covenant, and the consciousness of the necessity of one still better and higher was not yet felt, the prophecy before us would continue to be understood only on its formal side. But as soon as the historical development, aided by later prophecy, had demonstrated the insufficiency of this covenant to secure the manifestation of complete salvation, the view entertained of this prophecy passed from the form to the substance, from the shell to the kernel; and the interpretation given to our prophecy in the Jewish theology of the period subsequent to the Captivity is a proof that this really was the case. What the later prophets proclaimed respecting a new covenant, which Jehovah would conclude with His people, and respecting the Mediator of this covenant (the "Angel of the covenant," Mal. iii. 1), rested upon this prophecy, and was but a further expansion of its interpretation.

(4.) The COVENANT IN THE LAND OF MOAB was based upon, and presupposed the covenant at Sinai. The renewal of the covenant in the Arboth Moab arose from the fact, that the *whole* of the generation, which had taken part in the covenant at Sinai, had cut itself off from that covenant at Kadesh, and had consequently been rejected and had died in the wilderness. But if the family of the desert was rejected, the covenant of the desert was not rejected in consequence. On the contrary, the covenant had been in existence even during the thirty-eight years of rejection. The Israelites in the Arboth Moab were a new generation, a renewed Israel, and hence the renewal of the covenant. But as they were also the children and heirs of those who had entered at Sinai into the duties and privileges of the covenant with Jehovah, and as this covenant was for children and children's children, even for all the future generations of Israel,

nothing more was needed than a verbal renewal of it, without either a covenant sacrifice or a covenant meal. The ceremony which Moses now performed with Israel in the Arboth Moab, was a renewal of the covenant, just in the same sense in which that at Mizpah in the time of Samuel (1 Sam. vii.), and every other renewal after a period of general apostasy, may be called a renewal of the covenant.—There is a certain progress apparent, however, if we compare this covenant with that at Sinai, partly in the greater adaptation of the law in Deuteronomy to the necessities consequent upon the possession of the Holy Land, and partly in the prophecies relating to their future history there. In this respect, especially, the blessing and curse which Moses set before the people for their choice, was the new element of progress.

### DEATH OF MOSES.

§ 61. (Deut. xxxi.–xxxiv.)—After Moses had written out the Deuteronomical law, with its blessings and curses, he gave it to the priests with a charge to place it by the side of the ark of the covenant in the Holy of Holies, that it might remain there, as the original record of the renewed covenant, a testimony against Israel. He also commanded them to read it to the assembled people every seven years, at the Feast of Tabernacles.—At an earlier period (Num. xxvii. 22, 23) Moses had laid his hands upon Joshua, and ordained him to be his successor in the command of Israel, and had presented him to the whole congregation in this capacity. And now, having finished his charge to the people, he turned once more to Joshua, and said to him in the name of Jehovah, "Be strong and of a good courage; for thou shalt bring the children of Israel, into the land, which I sware unto them, and I will be with thee." This warning and promise were given to his successor by the departing leader in the tabernacle, whither he had summoned him for this very purpose, and in the sight of Jehovah, whose presence was attested by the fact that the pillar of cloud came and stood at the door of the tabernacle. Jehovah now announced most dis-

tinctly to Moses, what he had already dimly suspected and feared, —namely, the future apostasy of the Israelites. He also commanded him to write a song with this as the subject, and to impress it upon the memory of the people, in order that when the curse denounced should come upon them, this song might testify against them as a witness (chap. xxxi. 21). On the same day, therefore, Moses went, according to the command, and wrote, from the fulness of the Spirit which dwelt within him, a *song*, as majestic in form, as it was terribly earnest and electrifying in its substance (chap. xxxii.) (1). Being warned once more of his approaching end, he pronounced his *blessing* upon the tribes of Israel (2), as Jacob had formerly done upon his death-bed, and then betook himself to Mount *Nebo*, where he was permitted to enjoy an extensive view of the promised land (3). There Moses, the servant of Jehovah, died, being 120 years old; and Jehovah Himself *buried* him, so that no man has ever been able to discover his tomb (4).

(1.) Commentaries have been written upon the SONG OF MOSES by *Camp. Vitringa* (Opus posth., ed. H. Venema, Harling 1734), *J. A. Dathe* (Leipzig 1768; also Opuscula ad crisin et interpret. Vet. Test. spectantibus, Lps. 1796), and *C. W. Justi* (*National-gesänge der Hebräer*, ii. 100 sqq.). See also *Lowth's* Hebrew Poetry. The assurance of *De Wette*, that "the spurious character of this song has long been acknowledged" (Krit. d. isr. Geschichte, p. 393), is met by *Rosenmüller*, in the most decided manner. "I should like this most learned man," he says, "to point out any one of the erudite scholars before his time, who denied that Moses was the author of this song, or any one who has brought forward sound arguments to prove that it is not his." On the poetic worth of the song Rosenmüller says: "Cui adhortationum vi et gravitate, sententiarum præstantia imaginumque sublimitate haud facile simile inveneris."

(2.) On the BLESSING OF MOSES, see J. F. Gaab (Explic. nova c. 33 Deuteron. in the Theological Commentary published by *Velthuisen*, *Kuinoel* and *Ruperti*, iv. 374 sqq.); *Herder's Briefe über das Studium der Theologie; Justi's National-gesänge*, iii. 1 sqq.; *A. Th. Hoffmann*, Observationes in difficiliora Vet.

Test. loca, Part I., Jena 1823; *Bleek* in Rosenmüller's bibl. Repert., i. 25 sqq.; and *L. Diestel, der Segen Jakobs*, Brunswick 1853, p. 114 sqq.

The first thing which strikes us, on examining this blessing, is the omission of the tribe of Simeon. *M. Baumgarten* observes, that "we are not to imagine, from the fact that Simeon is passed over, that he is to be regarded as left without a blessing. In any case he was included in the general blessing in vers. 1 and 29, just as even the sons of Jacob, to whom threatening words were addressed by their father, were still called blessed. But the fact that Simeon is not mentioned by name, and that the harsh words addressed by the patriarch to him, as well as to Reuben and Levi, are not softened down in his case, has been correctly explained by Ephraim as denoting that the sentence of dispersion pronounced on Simeon, according to which he was not to have an independent possession, but to live within the boundaries of the rest, had not been repealed or mitigated, as in the case of Levi, in consequence of any act of obedience and faith, but on the contrary had been greatly strengthened by the wickedness of his prince Zimri (Num. xxv. 14). A striking proof of this, we believe, is to be found in the remarkably diminutive number of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 14)." This is probably the best solution of the difficulty, provided we are unable to adopt *Diestel's* conclusion, that the blessing has not come down to us in its fullest integrity.—Again, we cannot fail to be struck with the fact, that the blessing of Moses does not contain the slightest trace of any special Messianic allusion; whereas they are so very prominent in that of Jacob, and since his time the Messianic expectations had been so greatly enlarged by the prophecy of the Star out of Jacob, and the Prophet like unto Moses. But this may perhaps sufficiently account for the omission here. Since the time of Jacob the Messianic expectation had advanced so far, that it now assumed the form of a belief in one single personal Messiah; but from which of the families or tribes the personal Messiah would spring was not yet known. The prophecy of Balaam, like that of Moses, had simply intimated that He would spring out of the midst of Israel, and from the posterity of Jacob. It is true that even in Gen. xlix. the tribe of Judah is distinguished above all the rest, as the one to which belonged the supremacy among the tribes. But there was something too in-

definite in the description, for the belief to take root in Israel, that from this particular tribe a personal Messiah would spring. This did not take place till the time of David. It might even be said, that the distinction conferred by Jacob's blessing upon the tribe of Judah had fallen since then into the shade; for neither Moses, nor Aaron, nor Joshua belonged to this tribe.—The *authenticity* of Moses' blessing has been most conclusively demonstrated by *Diestel*. In fact, there is nothing in the particular blessings, which could give the least warrant for regarding it as a *vaticinium post eventum*. The introductory and concluding clauses, however, the critic just named feels obliged to set down as the additions of a later hand. But so far as the concluding words are concerned, I do not see on what ground the authorship of Moses can possibly be disputed. It is somewhat different with the introduction, seeing that there is at least one clause here, *viz.*, ver. 4 ("Moses commanded us a law"), which seems to favour Diestel's view. It must be admitted that these words sound somewhat strange from the lips of Moses. *Baumgarten* has offered a plausible solution of the difficulty. "With these words," he says, "Moses threw himself into the very heart of the people; and Moses, the mediator of the law and man of God, was to him an objective person, just as David appropriates the common sentiment of the nation, and speaks of the king of Israel in Ps. xx. and xxi." But the two expressions are not *perfectly* analogous. If the passage before us had read, "Moses gave *you* the law," there would be nothing strange about it. But when we bear in mind that Moses did not write down this blessing, as he had the song and the Deuteronomical law; that, on the contrary, he uttered them verbally to the people a short time, perhaps immediately, before his departure to Mount Nebo; and that they were probably first appended to the book by the last editor of the Pentateuch; there cannot be anything very dangerous in the assumption, that the introductory, and possibly also the concluding words, which were the production of some other divinely inspired psalmist, were also added by him.

(3.) That *Moses' view of the promised land* from the heights of Nebo was a view with the *bodily* and not with the *inward* eye, that he saw it in a state of perfect consciousness, and not in an *ecstatic* vision, is evident from the circumstances, as well as from the expression. There is not a word about ecstasy here. The

antithesis contained in the announcement, that he should not tread with his feet the land of promise, but should see it with his eyes, compels us to think of the bodily eye. We have only to read the words of Jehovah in chap. xxxiv. 4, "I have caused thee to see it *with thine eyes*, but thou shalt not go over thither," and the statement, which follows almost directly afterwards, that though Moses was 120 years old when he died, yet his eye was not dim. At the same time, the distinct and emphatic account of what he saw (vers. 1–3), and the expression, "*Jehovah* showed him the land," force us to the conclusion, that his natural power of vision was in some way or other miraculously increased.—The very unnecessary question,—where did the author of Deut. xxxiv. learn all this?—may be very simply answered. He was acquainted with the commands and promises of Jehovah in Num. xxvii. 12, 13, and Deut. xxxii. 49 sqq., and the Spirit of God, under whose teaching the whole was written, assured him that the announcements contained in these words were actually fulfilled.

(4.) "Moses *died* there," says the scriptural record, "according to the mouth (*i.e.*, according to the word) of God."—The Rabbins render this "*at* the mouth of God," and call the death of Moses "a death by a kiss" (*cf. Eisenmenger*, Entdeckt. Judenthum, i. 857 sqq.).—Immediately afterwards it is stated that "*He buried him in the valley in the land of Moab.*" Even if it were grammatically admissible to render the verb impersonally ("they [*man*] buried him;" *Sept.* ἔθαψαν αὐτόν), or to take the subject from the verb itself, "he buried him," *viz.*, whoever did bury him (this is *Rosenmüller's* rendering: *et sepelivit eum, scil. sepeliens*), the context would not allow it, but would still force us to the conclusion that Jehovah is the subject. The clause, "and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," unquestionably implies a peculiar mode of burial. The *valley*, in which Moses was buried, must have been a depression at the top of the mountains of Pisgah; at least we cannot possibly think of the Arboth Moab.

From the time of the Fathers, the answer given to the question, Why should Jehovah Himself have buried Moses? has almost invariably been this, To prevent a superstitious or idolatrous veneration of his sepulchre, or of his remains. But notwithstanding all the pious feelings of the nation, and their veneration of

the greatest of all the prophets of the Old Testament, such a result as this was certainly not to be apprehended at the time in question. The notions which prevailed, with reference to the defiling influence of graves and of the bodies of the dead,—notions which the law had certainly only adopted, sanctioned, and regulated, and had not been the first to introduce,—were sufficiently powerful to guard against any such danger as this. Abraham's sepulchre was known to everybody; but it never entered the mind of any Israelite under the Old Testament to pay idolatrous, or even superstitious, veneration to the sepulchre; however nearly the reverence of later Jews for the person of Abraham might border upon superstition and idolatry. The remains of Jacob and Joseph were carried to Palestine and buried there; but we cannot find the slightest ground for supposing that they were the objects of superstitious adoration.—If Moses, therefore, was buried by Jehovah Himself, the reason must certainly have been, that such a burial was intended for him, as no other man could possibly have given. That there was something very peculiar in the burial of Moses, is sufficiently evident from the passage before us; and this is confirmed in a very remarkable manner by the New Testament history of the transfiguration of Jesus (Matt. xvii.), where Moses and Elias appeared with the Redeemer, when He was shining with the glory of His transfiguration. We may see here very clearly that the Old Testament account may justly be understood as implying that the design of the burial of Moses by the hand of Jehovah was to place him in the same category with Enoch and Elijah, to deliver him from going down into the grave like the rest of Adam's children, and to prepare for him a condition, both of body and soul, resembling that of these two men of God. It is true that Moses was not saved from *death* itself in the same manner as Enoch and Elijah; he really *died*, and his body was really *buried*—this is expressly stated in the Biblical history;—but we may assume, with the greatest probability, that, like them, he was saved from *corruption*. Men bury the corpse that it may pass into corruption. If Jehovah, therefore, would not suffer the body of Moses to be buried by men, it is but natural to seek for the *reason* in the fact that He did not intend to leave him to corruption, but at the very time of his burial communicated some virtue by His own hand, which saved the body from corruption, and prepared for the patriarch

a transition into the same state of existence into which Enoch and Elijah were admitted, without either death or burial. On account of the one sin at the water of strife at Kadesh, Moses was sentenced by the ruthless severity of the justice of God to pass under the same ban of death as the whole generation of those who despised the covenant and promise. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his sin to theirs, like them he must die without treading the promised land; for judgment begins at the house of God, and the measure of its severity is determined by the measure of the call and grace of God. So much is demanded by justice; but when once the justice of God is satisfied, like the appearance of the sun after a fearful storm, the sun of Divine grace bursts forth with all the greater glory and beneficence upon those whom the wrath of justice has chastised but not destroyed. This grace of Jehovah bursting through the wrath was manifested here in the fact, that although, like the others, Moses was not to tread the promised land, yet, unlike them, he saw it before he died with his bodily eye, which was miraculously strengthened for the purpose; and that, although, like all the rest, he died, he was not buried like the rest. In the sight of the people the leader and lawgiver of the nation was visited with a punishment, which must have convinced them far more strongly of the unsparing character of the judicial severity of God than the most powerful admonition could possibly have done; but, at the same time, "though punished, he received due honour in their sight," that they might see the sun of mercy bursting through the storm of the judgments of God. As an example of justice, Jehovah caused him to die, before the people entered the land of rest and promise; but as an example of grace, He prepared for him an entrance into another, as yet unknown, land of promise and of rest.

The *state of existence* in the life beyond, into which Moses was introduced through his burial by the hand of Jehovah, was probably essentially the same as that into which Enoch was taken when he was translated, and Elijah when he was carried up to heaven, though the way was not the same. What the way may have been, we can neither describe nor imagine. We are altogether in ignorance as to what the state itself was. The most that we can do, is to form some conjecture of what it was not. For example, it was not one of absolute glorification and perfec-

tion, of which Christ alone could be the first-fruits (1 Cor. xv. 20, 23); nor was it the dim Sheol-life into which all the other children of Adam passed. It was something between the two, a state as inconceivable as it had been hitherto unseen.

The apostolical *datum* in the Epistle of Jude (ver. 9) appears to favour the correctness of our view. Mention is made there of a *conflict and dispute between the archangel Michael and the devil respecting the body of Moses*, in which there is certainly an allusion to the passage before us. The words run thus: "Yet Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, The Lord rebuke thee."—Of course, we have simply to do with the fact as narrated by Jude, not with the explanation, or the use which he makes of it in his own line of argument. The question that first suggests itself is, Whence did Jude obtain this account, to which no reference is made in any of the other canonical writings of either the Old or New Testament, and which he introduces into his epistle, not only as something with which his readers had been long acquainted, but as unquestionably possessing all the force of a thoroughly accredited fact?

*Clemens Alexandrinus* (Adumbrationes in Ep. Jud. Opp., ed. Potter, ii. 1008), *Origen* (de princ. iii. 2, 1), and *Didymus* (Enarr. in ep. Jud.) mention an apocryphal work entitled the *Ascension of Moses* (*ἀνάβασις* or *ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως*), in which this contest between Michael and Satan is also alluded to. *Clemens* (?), when discussing the passage in question from the Epistle of Jude, says, "Hic confirmat assumtionem Moysis."—*Origen*, when treating of the temptation of Eve by the serpent, says, "De quo in Ascensione Moysis, cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Judas, Michael Archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de corpore Moysis ait, a Diabolo inspiratam serpentem causam exstitisse prævaricationis Adam et Evæ."—Didymus says that the Manicheans rejected both the Ascension of Moses and the Epistle of Jude, because of this account of the contest between Michael and Satan. Now, if we infer from these expressions that Jude obtained the account from this apocryphal book, or that he adopted it simply on its authority, the inference would evidently be a very rash one. No one is in a position to maintain, on the ground of these patristic testi-

monies, that the Ascension of Moses was in existence at the time when Jude wrote his epistle; or, if it was in existence, that Jude was acquainted with it and actually made use of it; or, if he was acquainted with it, that he would admit such a statement on its authority alone. The two authors may have drawn from the same source, *viz.*, tradition, and quite independently of each other. This is rendered very probable by the fact that, according to all appearance, the Ascension of Moses was one of the productions of Jewish-Alexandrian *Pseudepigraphy*, with which we are hardly warranted in assuming that Jude was acquainted. That the legend of the conflict between Michael and Satan concerning the body of Moses was to be found, and was accepted as trustworthy, within the limits of the Rabbinical legendary lore, is evident from the frequent reference made to it by the Rabbins (*vid. Lightfoot*, Opp. i. 353, and *Wetstein*, ad ep. Jud. 9), and it certainly is a more natural supposition that this was the source from which Jude obtained it.

A further question which suggests itself is, Whether this account, which at all events was a traditional one, received apostolical confirmation from being thus accepted by Jude, and is therefore to be regarded as a historical fact? For no proof can be needed, that the author of this epistle regarded it, and employed it, as a genuine account. The answer to this question will depend, *first* of all, upon the opinion entertained as to the canonical authority of the epistle, which was disputed even in the early Church; and *secondly*, admitting its canonical character, upon the views held on the subject of inspiration. The discussion of these questions covers so wide an area, that we can hardly be expected to enter into them here. We may, therefore, content ourselves with stating, *first*, that in our opinion the epistle is canonical, and therefore written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and *secondly*, that the adoption and use of this tradition in a canonical epistle, to our minds, gives it all the sanction of apostolical authority, and all the more because the subject-matter relates to the development of the plan of salvation. However little we may feel obliged to ascribe absolute authority under all circumstances to apostolical statements as to chronology, geography, or historical events of a purely external character, when evidently based upon Rabbinical tradition or research, we must firmly maintain, that when they relate to the

development of the plan of salvation, or are purely doctrinal in their character, they do possess apostolical authority, in other words, are accredited by the Spirit of God.

How, when, and through whom this intelligence from the supersensual world was first communicated, are questions which cannot be answered. That the event occurred in immediate connection with the death of Moses, is apparently unquestionable. At the same time, there is every probability that all that is known of it is based upon the account in the book of Deuteronomy; as we may see, on closer inspection, that it is an expansion and extension of the information given there. The clue to the reconciliation of the two accounts is to be found in the fact, that all that Jehovah did in connection with the covenant with Israel was done through the *Maleach-Jehovah*, who was His personal representative (*vid.* vol. ii. § 36, 3; also § 10, 2 and 14, 3 of this volume),—though sometimes the agent is spoken of as the Angel of Jehovah, at other times simply as Jehovah,—and also in the fact, that in the later Jewish theology, subsequent to the time of Daniel, the Maleach-Jehovah was called the Angel-prince, or the Archangel *Michael* (vol. i. § 50, 2). On the ground of these facts, which can be, and indeed already have been, demonstrated, we may regard the expression in Deut. xxxiv. 6, "and He buried him," as equivalent to "the *Maleach-Jehovah* (*i.e.*, Michael) buried him." This Michael, then, is the same eminent person, belonging to the celestial world, of whom we read in Daniel and the Book of Revelation, who standeth as the great Prince of Israel for the children of the people (Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1), and consequently, as the Prince of the new Israel, fights also for the children of the people of the new covenant (Rev. xii. 7). This is not denied, even by *Hengstenberg* (in his Dissertation on the Pentateuch and Commentary on the Revelation); on the contrary, he maintains it. But both the Maleach-Jehovah, and Michael, who is identical with Him, he regards, not as the representative of the person of Jehovah, but as the person of Jehovah itself, the uncreated Logos. In every single passage, however, in which Michael is mentioned, it is obvious, at the very first glance, that this view is impossible; and therefore even commentators like *Stier*, who believe in the essential identity of the Maleach-Jehovah and the Logos (Pseudo-Jesaias, p. 758), are obliged to deny the identity of the angel-prince Michael and

the Logos (Brief Judä, p. 53). Stier, for example, says, "Michael undoubtedly buried on the part of God." This is certainly correct; but the most plausible support for the notion that the Maleach-Jehovah is essentially one with Jehovah is thereby given up.

Now, if it is a natural and well-founded conjecture, that the fact related in Deut. xxxiv. 6, that Moses was not buried by men, but by Jehovah Himself or His personal representative, was intended to open a different door into the future state from that through which other men passed, to prepare for him a different way to eternal life from that of the corruption of the body and the gloomy shade-life of Sheol; and if this conjecture is rendered almost a certainty by the history of the transfiguration of Christ, in Matt. xvii., the contest between Michael and Satan for the body of Moses admits of being looked at from a point of view, in which the statement will assume the appearance, "not of apocryphal absurdity, but of apostolical wisdom" (*Baumgarten*). If Satan is the originator of death in the human family, and therefore also the ruler of death, "he that hath the power of death," as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, it must certainly have been a matter in which he was interested, when God determined to rescue the body of Moses from the universal fate and judgment which await the sinful children of men, especially seeing that the death of Moses was not merely the penalty of sinfulness or sin in general, but of one particular sin, and that a sin within the department of sacred history. He died, not like other men in the capacity of a sinful child of Adam, but in that of the lawgiver and mediator of the covenant, because this covenant had been broken and violated by him. In the eminent position occupied by Moses in connection with the sacred history, it was a matter of peculiar importance to Satan, that Moses should pay the penalty of his sin in its fullest extent; for this sin, and the death with which it was punished, were, to a certain extent, a testimony of the insufficiency and imperfect execution of his mediatorial office, and therefore threw a dark shadow upon the covenant which he had founded. But for this very reason, after God had executed wrath in an extraordinary manner, He brought His mercy also into operation in an extraordinary way. *Satan*, "the accuser of our brethren, which accuseth them before our God day and night" (Rev. xii. 10), who knows that God will and

must be just even to him, insists upon his right,—but *Michael*, the exalted spirit-prince, the true prince and representative of Israel in the heavenly spirit-world, who standeth for the children of Israel (Dan. xii. 1) in every conflict that arises, carries out the work assigned him in spite of Satan's opposition, and silences him, not by railing and abuse (Jude 9), but by calm, holy, earnest resistance and threats.

As thus understood, the conflict between the two great spirit-princes for the body of Moses, which at first sight appeared so strange, acquires the greatest importance in connection with the development of the plan of salvation; and the fact itself, that in spite of Satan's protest Jehovah rescued the body of Moses from the common fate of the sinful children of men, becomes a type and prelude of infinitely greater and more glorious things to come. The fact, that the founder of the ancient covenant had to die on account of his sins, was a proof that he was not the true mediator; that the covenant established through him was not yet perfect; and that although it had been founded לְדֹרֹת עוֹלָם, it still needed to be made perfect by a second Mediator, who ever liveth. The death of Moses was not like the death of the first Adam, which issued in corruption; nor was it like that of the second Adam, which was followed by a resurrection. It was rather something intermediate between the two forms of death, just as Moses himself occupied an intermediate position between the first and the second Adam—between the head of sinful, dying humanity, and the Head of humanity redeemed from sin and death. As the death of Moses, though an actual one, was interrupted in its natural course, and as his condition was therefore an imperfect and oscillating one, requiring and expecting to be perfected, he himself became a prophecy of this very perfection. And if Moses, who was entrusted with the whole house of God, was not able to carry forward the organisation of the house of God to its absolute perfection, and therefore received the promise of a second Prophet and Mediator, we are warranted in discerning, in the peculiar and unparalleled mode of his death and burial, a memorable type of the death and burial of this Prophet like unto Moses, who was afterwards to come.

*Rampf* (Brief Judä) has made a collection of the opinions of the various Church Fathers and later commentators in reference to the occasion, the design, and the importance of the conflict between

the two spirit-princes. His own explanation is essentially the same as the one given by Stier and ourselves.

## COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 62. The real heart of the Pentateuch is unquestionably the *giving of the law*. The historical accounts, which form an introduction, or are interspersed throughout the work, are subservient to this; and the one thing which led to their being committed to writing, was the necessity for supplying the account of the giving of the law with a historical basis, drawing around it historical boundaries, and bringing distinctly out its historical antecedents, foundations, and accompaniments, that it might not appear like a *Deus ex machina*, but might present itself to the reader endued with life, and clothed with flesh and bones. In an inquiry, therefore, into the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, we must start with the giving of the law. But first of all the *fact* itself must be established. Did the event, known as the giving of the law, really take place? and if so, did it occur at the time, in the manner, at the place, and through the person, mentioned in the Pentateuch? Even the most incredulous critics are obliged to answer these questions in the affirmative (1). But the fact being admitted, that immediately after the Exodus from Egypt, the law was given through the mediation of Moses, in the desert and at Sinai, the question must still be asked, whether the law was committed to writing at once, or at a later period, and whether the Pentateuch contains an authentic copy.

From the nature and design of any legislation, it would be so imperatively necessary that the law should be immediately *committed to writing*, that any postponement of it would only be comprehensible, or even conceivable, on the supposition that the means and necessary conditions were wanting; such, for example, as the requisite acquaintance with the art of writing, the possession of writing materials, or sufficient time and leisure. But no one will venture to maintain, that any one of these conditions was

wanting when the Israelites were in the desert. On the contrary, they were all there in such a copious measure, that it is utterly inconceivable, that when the need was so pressing, no advantage should have been taken of them (2). We are therefore warranted in assuming, that the laws, which Moses gave in the desert, were committed to writing in the desert, either by himself or under his superintendence and by his authority.

Now we find in the *Pentateuch* a series of laws, which are expressly attributed to Moses. Are they substantially the laws which were given by Moses? And are they literally the same laws which Moses wrote, or which were written under his supervision? To this we may reply, that it is extremely improbable that laws given by Moses, and committed to writing under his superintendence,—laws, too, which were intended to form the basis of religious worship, and of both domestic and public life in Israel, should be entirely lost; and just as improbable, that the author of the Pentateuch (supposing that it was not written by Moses) should have overlooked the existing, authentic documents. But however great the probability may be, still it is only a probability, and not a certainty.—There are other ways, however, by which we may probably arrive at a more certain result. For example, if a law was given either before or under Moses, and a law of such scope and fulness, with such preparations and claims, as the Pentateuch describes, and if this law was committed to writing, the Israelitish literature of later times could not fail to furnish evidence of its existence, either in the shape of direct references and quotations, or of unmistakeable allusions; and there would be such agreement in all these, that where they related to the *substance* only, they would at least confirm the faithfulness of the description of the law contained in the Pentateuch, and where *verbal* quotations were made, they would demonstrate the existence of the law in the form contained in the Pentateuch. Now the whole of the sacred literature of Israel, to the very earliest times, fully answers this expectation. And as these references and allusions have respect, not merely to the legal part,

but also to the historical portions of the Pentateuch, the latter are attested as well as the former. And the frequency and variety of these allusions render it even probable, not only that various parts of the Pentateuch were in existence, but that all the parts were in existence and arranged as they are at present, at the period of the very earliest of all the productions of the sacred literature of the Israelites subsequent to the time of Moses (3).

The whole of the Israelitish *Tradition*, so far as we can trace its course upwards from Christ and His apostles, describes the Pentateuch (and unquestionably our present version of it) as the "Book of the Law of Moses" (כָּל־הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה ; סֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה). At the same time this tradition does not afford so much certainty with reference to the person of the author, as is required in the case of a result that lays claim to universal acceptance. For, on the one hand, such express and particular statements as to the authorship of the Pentateuch are only to be found in the historical books of the Old Testament; and the critics who deny the authenticity of the Pentateuch will not admit that their testimony is conclusive, as they place the date of their composition at so much later a period than that of the Pentateuch itself. And, on the other hand, even to the inquirer who receives the testimony as sacred and indisputable (especially as confirmed by the words of Christ Himself), this tradition is not so definite as we should naturally desire. For the expression, *the Book of the Law of Moses*, does not really affirm anything more, than that the law which it contains is the law given by Moses, and not that the book, in which this law is written, was composed by Moses himself, in the form in which it has come down to us (4).

In such a state of things as this, we must go to the Pentateuch itself for a decisive answer to our question. The first thing which comes under our notice there is the *testimony of the Pentateuch* as to its own composition. To this we should attach unconditional truth and credibility, even if the book in question were not canonical, and therefore theopneustic. Now there are actually various portions of the work in which we find the express state-

ment, that they were composed and committed to writing by Moses himself. Among other smaller sections, we find the so-called Book of the Covenant (§ 10, 4, 5; 11, 1) and the whole of Deuteronomy to chap. xxxi. 24. In other legal and historical portions no such express statement is to be found; but from this it cannot of course be inferred, that Moses did not compose them or commit them to writing (5).

To determine the question of authorship, then, with reference to those portions in which no direct statement is made, we must look to the *subject-matter*, and also to the connection between these particular portions and those which are expressly declared to be Mosaic. And here we cannot conceal the fact, that our examination of the middle books of the Pentateuch has brought us more and more to the conclusion, that several authors have taken part in the composition of the Pentateuch. Our inquiry, hitherto, has not been thoroughly critical in its character, but has been conducted primarily and chiefly in connection with the development of the plan of salvation, and therefore cannot be regarded as thoroughly exhaustive. As far as it has gone, it has brought us to the following conclusion, though our mind is still wavering and undecided. 1. It is probable that Moses composed, and committed to writing with his own hand, simply those portions of the Pentateuch which are expressly attributed to him. 2. The groups of laws in the central books, of whose authorship no express statement is made, must have been written down by the direction of Moses, and under his supervision, *before* the addresses in Deuteronomy were delivered, and immediately *after* they emanated from the mouth of Moses. 3. The last revision of the Pentateuch, and its reduction into the form in which it has come down to us, took place in the latter portion of the life of Joshua, or very shortly after his death. In the *historical* portions of the Pentateuch, we must admit the existence of two distinct sources, which may be described as the "groundwork" (*Grundschrift*) and the "supplementary work" (*Ergänzungs-schrift*). Whether the ground-

work consisted originally of historical matter only, or contained from the very outset the groups of laws in the central books,—whether it was written by the author who compiled the central groups of laws or not,—these, and other questions of a similar character, we are utterly unable to determine. The task of the last editor would depend to some extent upon the form in which the groundwork came down to him; for on this would depend the question, whether it was he who first inserted the groups of laws in the central books, or whether he found them already combined with the historical matter in the groundwork itself. In general, undoubtedly, his intention was to bring together all the sacred traditions belonging to the early history of his nation, whether they had come down in writing or by word of mouth, and also the account of the mighty works of Jehovah in connection with the establishment and completion of His covenant with Israel, through the mediatorial office of Moses; so far as they could be collected from authentic documents, the accounts of contemporaries, and personal reminiscences, and to form them into a perfect *Sepher Hattorah*, *i.e.*, a complete work, embracing all the sources of knowledge, faith, life, and hope peculiar to the theocracy. The groundwork, which was already in existence, and was chiefly written from a *priestly* point of view, he expanded and generalised, with this design, from his own higher and more comprehensive point of view, in other words, from a *prophetic* stand-point (6).

At all events, we venture to express it as our confident persuasion, that the question as to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch is far from having been settled, either by *Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, and *Keil*, on the one hand, or by *Tuch*, *Stähelin*, and *Delitzsch*, on the other, and still less by *Ewald* or *Hupfeld*. But whether the further attempts of scientific criticism to solve the problem shall continue to follow the direction already taken by these meritorious scholars, or whether they shall strike out an entirely new and independent course; and whether the results obtained shall be favourable or unfavourable to the unity and

authenticity of the Pentateuch: the following points are, to our mind, so firmly established, that no criticism can ever overthrow them. 1. That the Pentateuch in its present form is *canonical* and *theopneustic*, composed, arranged, and incorporated in the codex of the Sacred Scriptures of the Ancient Covenant with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit. 2. That it is *authentic*: so far as its *Divine* origin is concerned, authentic, because it is canonical; and so far as its *human* origin is concerned, authentic and *Mosaic*, because even though everything contained in it may not have been written by the pen of Moses himself, yet the composition of all the rest and the arrangement of the whole was completed within the circle of his assistants, pupils, and contemporaries, and to a great extent was certainly performed under his supervision and by his direction. 3. Even if the separate portions of the Pentateuch are not all the production of one and the same pen, they form one complete work, and the whole is *uniform*, well-planned, well-arranged, and harmonious. 4. The Pentateuch in its present form constituted the *foundation* of the Israelitish history, whether civil, religious, moral, ceremonial, or even literary (*vid.* vol. i. § 20, 2).

(1.) Even if there were no Pentateuch in existence, *the fact of the giving of the law at Sinai through the mediation of Moses*, would be more firmly established than any other fact of ancient history. An event which has struck such deep roots in the consciousness of a nation as the giving of the law at Sinai, rests upon as sure a foundation as the existence of the nation itself. To establish this conclusion, we do not even need the line of testimony which we actually possess, and which reaches back to the very earliest antiquity of the nation of Israel. We will adduce it, however, and in *Delitzsch's* words: "Of the fact, that Mount Sinai was the place where Israel received the law in the most majestic announcements from Jehovah, and was constituted the Church of Jehovah in the form of a holy nation, a more ancient and more conclusive testimony is hardly conceivable, than that of the Song of Deborah ('The mountains melted from before Jehovah, even that Sinai from before Jehovah the God of

Israel'),—a testimony which does not stand in need of the confirmation it receives from Ps. lxviii. 9, or from the fact that it was to Horeb that Elijah repaired in his deep despair at the apostasy of his nation (1 Kings xix. 8). After the Mosaic age, Sinai was but rarely mentioned; it was thrown into the background by Mount Sion, on which was the sanctuary of Jehovah with the tables and book of the law, and which was therefore the living and native continuation of Sinai. סִינַי בַּקֹּדֶשׁ (Sinai in the holy place), says Ps. lxviii. 18; the sanctuary of Sion had Sinai within itself. It had been brought from the desert, as it were, within the sight of all. And as Sion presupposed Sinai, so did the entire history of Israel after the time of Moses presuppose the giving of the law at Sinai."

(2.) If a law was issued for Israel at Sinai and in the surrounding desert, we may assume it as a probability bordering upon indisputable certainty, that it was also committed to writing there. There are only two cases in which we could conceive it possible that such laws, instead of being written down, should merely be impressed upon the memory of the people or their leaders, *viz.:* either where a body of laws is gradually and quite spontaneously developed from the popular life itself, and fixes itself just as spontaneously and imperceptibly in the customs of the people, and where it cannot possibly be traced, therefore, to a particular lawgiver, or to any local or historical circumstances;—or, secondly, where there have indeed been historical facts, on which a formal and complete code of laws has been based, but the means of committing them to writing (an acquaintance with the art of writing, for example) have been entirely wanting. But assuredly neither of these applies to the Mosaic law. Who is there in the present day who would venture to dispute the fact, that the art of writing cannot have been unknown to the Israelites, in the face of the innumerable proofs, which the Egyptian monuments present, of peculiar skill in caligraphy, and with the fact before us, that the Israelites spent whole centuries in the midst of the Egyptians, and learned from them the arts of civilization? Is it conceivable that a people, who but a short time before had been in Egypt, where they had been accustomed to see a book kept of everything, however trifling it might be, and who must have adopted this custom of keeping books, as the existence of a peculiar

order of Shoterim at the time when they departed from Egypt clearly proves, should have allowed so solemn an event to occur as the giving of the law at Sinai—a law which henceforward was destined to be the basis and rule of the whole national life, in all its relations, religious, moral, and judicial,—without ensuring its permanency by committing it to writing? To us it seems utterly inconceivable. We adhere to our opinion, therefore, that if Moses gave a law at Sinai, he either committed it to writing himself, or caused it to be committed to writing at the time.

(3). The proofs of the existence of the law, as contained in the Pentateuch, and of the history, as narrated there, in the period immediately following the Mosaic age, are to be found partly in historical facts, and partly in literary productions. The *latter* embrace all allusions, direct references, etc., which are found in such works, as can be proved to be the oldest of the post-Mosaic literary remains, to expressions, words, forms, turns of thought, and narratives peculiar to the Pentateuch; so far as they furnish a proof, that the Pentateuch must have been known to their authors. These we find scattered, more or less numerously, and with less or greater distinctness, throughout all the Old Testament Scriptures. From the writings of Hosea and Amos, the age and authenticity of which even the negative critics cannot deny, *Hengstenberg* has most conclusively demonstrated that the Pentateuch was known to these prophets, and was regarded by them as the foundation of the religious and historical consciousness of Israel. The same result may also be obtained from the rest of the earliest prophetic books, as well as from the writings of the age of David and Solomon (*viz.*, the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, and the Book of Job; see *Delitzsch*, p. 11 sqq., and *Keil*, Lehrbuch der Einleitung 139 sqq.).

The *historical* proofs of the existence of the Pentateuch in the period immediately succeeding the Mosaic age, embrace all the *data* to be met with in the historical books of the Old Testament, in which the validity of the law as given in the Pentateuch is either declared or presupposed, or which are based upon the historical accounts contained in the Pentateuch. These are also to be found in considerable numbers (*vid. Keil*, p. 132 sqq.). It is true there were also times in the history of Israel,

when the people were deeply immersed in apostasy and idolatry, when the sense of God was almost extinct, and the law of the Pentateuch was to a great extent disregarded. But there are proofs enough that even at such times as these, the law of the Pentateuch constituted the foundation of the religious, civil, and political life of the nation, and served to uphold what still remained. For example, at such times as these there was always a certain reaction against the ungodly tendencies of the age; and this reaction was inspired and sustained by the sense of God, as kept alive by the law. Even the Book of Judges, which describes a period of great confusion, marked by rebellion and corruption, furnishes sufficient proof that the circumstances of this particular period presuppose the existence of the law of the Pentateuch, and cannot be understood without it.—But apart altogether from evidence of this particular kind, the existence of the nation of Israel, whether looked at on its brighter or its darker side—in its very existence and prosperity, in its fall and restoration, in its peculiar and unparalleled forms of development, in its religious views, its political institutions, its ceremonial arrangements, its literary productions, etc. (all of them things in which it stood quite alone in the ancient world) —the Israelitish nation, we say, in all these respects, is utterly incomprehensible, except as the Thorah constituted the groundwork of its entire history. In a word, the history of Israel would become as visionary without the Thorah as a tree without roots, and a river without a source (*vid. Delitzsch*, p. 7 sqq.).

Whenever the *Thorah* is expressly mentioned in the *Old Testament*, it is always called by the name of the great mediator and lawgiver. From the very earliest times, Moses has been regarded by the *Synagogue* as its author. And *Christ* and His *apostles* adopted the same mode of speech (*vid. Keil*, pp. 142, 143). For the Christian, the authority of his Lord and Master, and that of the apostles, are undoubtedly conclusive; but it is also not without truth, that "Christ and the apostles did not come into the world to give the Jews lessons in criticism." Christ could describe the Book of the Law as the Thorah of Moses without any (reprehensible) accommodation to prevailing errors, even if it were not written by the hand of Moses himself,—provided only that the law and the doctrine, which make it a *Thorah*, were actually given by Moses. Whether he wrote it himself, or

whether another committed to writing what he taught and commanded, makes no alteration in the actual question. In the one case, quite as much as in the other, the Thorah is Mosaic, and in both cases it might be represented as Mosaic by the lips of Truth. And supposing that the Thorah was not *written*, or was only partially written by Moses himself, it was no part of the work of Christ to set the Jews right on this point, even if they erroneously believed that he wrote it all with his own hand; for such an error as this had nothing whatever to do with their faith or their salvation. But the words of Christ are conclusive on this point (and doubt *here* would be unbelief), that the law and doctrine of the Pentateuch are the *word and command of God* given through the mediator of the ancient covenant. This remark is also applicable to any passages in the Book of Joshua, and other books of the Old Testament, in which the book of the law is spoken of as the "Thorah of Moses," or the "Thorah which Moses gave us."

(5.) If we look carefully, for the purpose of ascertaining what the Pentateuch itself says with reference to its author, and also as to the time, the place, and the manner of its origin (and we should feel bound to place unlimited faith in whatever it might say),—we find that there are several smaller or larger portions, which bear upon the face of them clear and unmistakeable testimony to the fact of their Mosaic origin. This is the case, for example, with the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.–xxiii, *vid.* Ex. xxiv. 4, 7), with the legal section in Ex. xxxiv. (*vid.* ver. 27), and lastly, with the whole of Deuteronomy to chap. xxxi. 24. In the historical portions of the central books, this is also true of an account of the extermination of the Amalekites in Ex. xvii. 14, and of the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. (*vid.* ver. 2). These sections, then, and neither more nor less, are fully authenticated as both composed and committed to writing by Moses himself,—and the conclusion, that because certain portions of the Pentateuch are expressly declared to have been committed to writing by Moses himself, therefore he must have written the whole, is just as arbitrary and unwarrantable as the opposite conclusion, that he cannot possibly have written any more than is expressly assigned to him by name.

*Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, and *Keil*, however, maintain that "not only is the authorship of particular laws and narratives

attributed to Moses in the Pentateuch, but in Deuteronomy the whole Thorah is so emphatically attributed to him, that any attempts to set this testimony aside must inevitably fail." In support of this assertion, they appeal to Deut. xvii. 18, 19, xxviii. 58, 61, xxix. 19, 20, 26, xxx. 10, and xxxi. 9, 24. In all these passages, undoubtedly, "book of the Thorah" (הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת) is said to have been written by Moses himself. Now, since the expression ספר התורה is always employed to denote the entire Pentateuch (*cf.* Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiv. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii. 8, 11; 2 Chr. xvii. 9, xxxiv. 14, 15; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 18), it is argued that there can be no doubt, that in these passages also the whole of the Pentateuch is intended. There is only one small point overlooked in this argument (but it happens to be a small point upon which the whole question depends), *viz.*, the little word "*this*" which is always found in the passages in Deuteronomy, and which compels us to limit the statement contained in these passages to the Thorah immediately referred to, namely, the Thorah of Deuteronomy. It will no doubt be argued in reply, that if the Pentateuch, throughout its entire extent, was written *una serie* by Moses himself, the word "*this*" could, and in fact must, apply to the whole of the Pentateuch in its existing form. But such a reply as this not only would be a *petitio principii*, and as such without the slightest force, but is proved to be inadmissible by the most conclusive data. The Thorah of Deuteronomy is introduced in Deut. iv. 44 by the words, "This is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel; these are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which Moses spake unto the children of Israel, . . . in the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites," etc. And when, in the further course of the same addresses, we find THIS Thorah, or THIS book of the Thorah mentioned, according to all the laws of interpretation we can only understand the Thorah just spoken of, *i.e.*, the Thorah of Deuteronomy. Moreover, the sense in which the word *this* is employed, is placed beyond all doubt by chap. xxvii. 1, where "this law," which occurs in ver. 3, is expressly shown to be equivalent to "all *these* commandments which I command you THIS DAY." The context and subject-matter of these passages also render it sometimes certain, and at other times highly probable, that the law of Deuteronomy alone can be intended. (1.) In Deut. xvii. 18, 19, it is com-

manded that the future king of Israel is to write out a copy of "THIS Thorah," and to live and reign according to it.—(2.) In chap. xxxi. 26, it is stated that when Moses "had made an end of writing the words of THIS law in a book, until they were finished," he gave this book to the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and told them to place it by the side of the ark of the covenant, that it might be there for a witness against Israel.—(3.) According to chap. xxvii., when the children of Israel entered the promised land, Joshua was to write *all* the words of THIS law upon stones covered with plaster in Mount Ebal.—(4.) In chap. xxxi. 10 sqq., instructions are given that THIS law is to be read to the assembled congregation at the Feast of Tabernacles of the year of release (*i.e.*, every seven years). Now, if we confine ourselves to the third quotation, the necessity for restricting the expression "THIS law" (ver. 3) to the Thorah of Deuteronomy is so obvious, that even *Hengstenberg* and *Keill* are obliged to acknowledge it. Not only is it inconceivable that the whole of the Pentateuch should be written upon stones, but the authentic explanation in ver. 2 of what we are to understand by "*this* Thorah" is thoroughly conclusive. *Hengstenberg* and *Keill*, however, will not admit that we have any right to conclude from this passage, that "this law" means precisely the same thing in all the other passages referred to; inasmuch as the limitation is here established by the context vers. 3 and 8 pointing back to ver. 1, and the meaning being thereby clearly defined. But this is merely a loophole. At any rate, in this passage it is admitted that the expression retains the force attributed to it. And if so, it cannot be denied, that the introductory words to the whole law in chap. iv. 44, 45, must have the same meaning in relation to the entire Deuteronomical Thorah as the introductory words are here supposed to have to the section in chap. xxvii. Now, if we look at the fulfilment of this command, as we find it described in Josh. viii. 32, "Joshua wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, *which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel*," we have here, assuming that Joshua wrote simply the law of Deuteronomy, an express testimony to the fact, that this alone was originally committed to writing by Moses himself, and not the Thorah of the central books.

What is thus *conclusively* demonstrated by the connection

and drift of this passage, and is therefore conclusive as to the meaning to be given to the other passages, is also shown to be at least *very probable* by the connection and drift of the latter. The difference between the Thorah of the central books and the Thorah of Deuteronomy, so far as the substance is concerned, is chiefly the following. In the first place, the latter expressly refers to the circumstances in which the Israelites would be placed in the promised land (see, for example, chap. vi. 1, etc.); whereas the former is much more general in its character, and no special reference is made to circumstances which would not arise till they reached the borders of the land. And *secondly*, the Thorah of the central books is chiefly of a priestly character, —is, in fact, properly the law for the priestly and Levitical order. By far the greater number of its laws are laws for the priests,— laws which it was not necessary that any should be thoroughly acquainted with, except the priests (and Levites). And even the remaining laws, which are distinguished from those of Deuteronomy by greater precision and a more direct allusion to special occurrences, are thereby more especially connected with the tribe of Levi, inasmuch as this tribe was set apart to be the custodian and interpreter of the law, and to decide in cases of dispute. The Thorah of Deuteronomy is much less restricted in its purpose. Its precepts all relate to the nation as *a whole;* and therefore it passes over all such precepts and ordinances, as it was unnecessary for any but the priests and Levites to be particularly acquainted with. For this reason it was only the Thorah of Deuteronomy which was written upon stones on Mount Ebal; and from the same point of view, it is more than probable that "this law," of which the king had to make a copy, "the book of this law," which was to be placed by the side of the ark of the covenant, and "this law," which was to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles, were all simply the Thorah of Deuteronomy. What could all the *minutiæ* of Leviticus have to do with the proper discharge of the duties of the royal office? Even the Thorah, which was to be placed by the side of the ark of the covenant, had no special reference to the priests and Levites, but related solely to the nation in general; for it is distinctly stated that it was to be placed there "for a witness against thee (the nation), for I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck" (Deut. xxxi. 26, 27).

That the command to read the law of the *Feast of Tabernacles* had reference solely to the Thorah in Deuteronomy, is confirmed by the exegetical tradition of the Synagogue in the Mishnah and Rashi (*vid. Delitzsch*, pp. 25, 26). *Keil* meets this argument with the simple observation, that "this tradition cannot be quoted as decisive, for the simple reason that it is quite at variance with the conduct of Ezra. On the Feast of Tabernacles, which was celebrated under Nehemiah, the only one of which we have any account in the Old Testament (Neh. viii.), not only was Deuteronomy publicly read, but—if not the whole Thorah from Gen. i. to Deut. xxxiv.—at all events the greater portion of it. For, although the words, '*and he read therein*,' namely, in '*the book of the Thorah of Moses*' (vers. 1, 3), leave it doubtful how much was read, it is evident from the statement that on the second day the elders of the people found it written in the law, '*that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month*,' whereupon they made booths '*as it is written*,' that it must have been the book of Leviticus which was read, since it is there (Lev. xxiii. 34 sqq.) and not in Deuteronomy that we find directions for the construction of booths." But this reply is founded entirely upon a misapprehension. In Neh. viii. nothing at all is said about a fulfilment of the commandment contained in Deut. xxxi. 9, to read "this Thorah" at the Feast of Tabernacles in the sabbatical year. No doubt the Thorah was read,—and not Deuteronomy only, but Leviticus also, as the passage in question proves,—but this was done spontaneously, not in fulfilment of the command in Deuteronomy; in an ordinary year, not in a sabbatical year; on the second day of the seventh month, not on the second day of the Feast of Tabernacles (vers. 1, 13). It was fourteen days, therefore, before the Feast of Tabernacles, when the directions in Leviticus concerning the erection of booths were read, and there was still plenty of time to make preparation for carrying out the instructions to the very letter before the feast commenced. For, according to vers. 16, 17, this was actually done. —The correctness of the view adopted in the Synagogue, therefore, is not in the least affected by Neh. viii.

In addition to the fact, that it is not stated that the whole of the Pentateuch was written by Moses himself, but only a (considerable) portion of it; throughout those portions which are not

so attested we constantly meet with *data* which are apparently altogether irreconcileable with such a view. Notwithstanding all that *Hävernick*, *Hengstenberg*, *Welte*, and *Keil* have said to the contrary (and what they have said is to a great extent very important and convincing), it appears to us to be indisputable, that even apart from Deut. xxxiv., there are portions of the Pentateuch which are post-Mosaic, or at all events Non-Mosaic, though by far the largest part of what critics adduce does not come under this head at all. I will simply content myself with mentioning the "*Dan*" in Gen. xiv. 14 and Deut. xxxiv. 1, and the so-called self-praise of Moses in Num. xii. 3.

(6.) Of all the views which have hitherto been published with reference to the composition, the arrangement, and the final revision of the Pentateuch, not one so fully meets our approbation as that of *Delitzsch*, to which we have already referred (vol. i. § 20, 2). With *Delitzsch*, we regard it as indisputable that the Book of the Covenant, the book of Deuteronomy (to chap. xxxi. 24), and also the smaller sections referred to above (note 5), in which the authorship is expressly named, were composed and committed to writing by Moses himself. Whether any other sections of the Pentateuch, in which there is no such distinct statement as to the authorship, were written by him, or even whether he wrote the entire Pentateuch, in the form in which it has come down to us, are questions to which the direct testimony of the Pentateuch will not enable us to give a negative reply; and just as little, or rather still less, will it put us in a position to maintain the affirmative with certainty. For an answer to these questions we must look to the contents. Of all the sections whose authorship is not attested, the groups of laws in the central books have evidently the strongest claim to be regarded as of Mosaic origin. For if these laws emanated from Moses, a fact which we cannot dispute, he must have had the greatest interest in having them committed to writing. But he might have left it to some one or other of his assistants to make a formal arrangement, and actually write them out. And it seems to us the more probable that this was the case, from the fact that there is so unmistakeable a difference, in the expressions and the style, between the laws in question and the Thorah of Deuteronomy, though we are by no means disposed to attach undue importance to this argument. We have already observed, that in all proba-

bility Josh. viii. 32 contains a proof that the Thorah of the central books was not committed to writing by Moses. For if, as is fully admitted, the words, "and Joshua wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, *which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel*," do not relate to the Thorah of the central books, but to the Thorah of Deuteronomy ALONE (a conclusion required by Deut. xxvii. 1, 3, and also by the existing circumstances), the predicate applied to the latter, namely, that Moses wrote them in the presence of the children of Israel, must have been inapplicable to the former. And as the Thorah of the central books was chiefly designed for the priestly and Levitical order, as the custodians and interpreters of the law, there is great plausibility in the conjecture expressed by *Delitzsch* (p. 37), that it was written by some one of priestly rank belonging to the school of Moses, or to his immediate circle —it might be by Aaron himself, or, what is more likely, if we look at other analogous cases, by one of his sons.

But we cannot follow Delitzsch in the supposition that this central group of laws was not arranged into a code till after the promised land was in the complete possession of the Israelites, and therefore that the priority of age belongs to the book of Deuteronomy. As we have already observed, we cannot imagine that this code of laws, which was to serve as the groundwork and rule of the constitution and government of the entire theocracy, instead of being fixed in writing, should have been simply impressed upon the memory, and that it should have been left to posterity to determine whether it should ever be committed to writing or not. This seems to us the more inconceivable, from the fact that the formula is repeated on innumerable occasions in connection with these laws, that they are given לְדֹרֹת עוֹלָם.— The grounds on which *Delitzsch* was led to express this opinion are explained by him as follows: "The kernel of the Pentateuch, or its earliest basis, was the roll of the covenant, which was written out by Moses himself, and was afterwards worked into the history of the events connected with the giving of the law (Ex. xix.–xxiv.). The other laws, which were issued in the desert down to the period when the Israelites were encamped in the plains of Moab, were announced by Moses by word of mouth, but they were committed to writing by the priests, whose vocation it was (Deut. xvii. 11 *cf.* xxiv. 8, xxxiii. 10; Lev. x. 11, *cf.*

xv. 31). As there is nothing in Deuteronomy which presupposes that the whole of the earlier law existed in writing, but, on the contrary, the recapitulation is made with the greatest freedom, it need not be supposed that the actual arrangement into a code was made during the journey through the desert. But this was done very shortly after the conquest of the land. As soon as the Israelites stood upon the Holy Land, they began to write out the history of Israel, which had now reached a decisive point. But they could not write a history of the Mosaic age without writing out a description of the Mosaic legislation in its fullest extent."

We admit that the inducement and demand for a written account of the ancient traditions must have been much stronger after the Israelites had settled in the Holy Land, than during their wanderings in the desert. Wherever they might set their foot in the land of Canaan, they were still treading upon holy ground. They were in a land consecrated and sanctified by the pilgrimage of their fathers, and covered with spots which excited lively reminiscences of the history of their fathers. If these had never been committed to writing before, the occasion, the impulse, and the need would undoubtedly be so strong, that one or other of the pupils of Moses would be impelled to undertake the task.—But I cannot persuade myself that this cannot have taken place during the wanderings in the desert, and that no occasion or impulse could possibly have existed then. Is it a fact, that in the present arrangement of the Pentateuch the sole purpose of the history was to serve as the foundation and framework of the law? Was there not quite enough in the mighty works of God, in connection with the Exodus from Egypt, and the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, to prompt the wish to impress *them*, and the historical events which lead to them, upon the memory of future generations? (*Vid.* e. g., Ex. xii. 26, 27, and xiii. 8). And did not the stay at Sinai, which lasted an entire year, furnish ample opportunity and leisure for commencing such a work?—But whether this was the case or not, at all events we must firmly maintain, that the earlier laws were committed to writing in the desert, and that immediately after they were issued. If the historical work, which forms the framework of the laws, was not commenced till the Israelites entered the Holy Land, the author

found the documents relating to the law already in existence, and only needed to insert them in the history. But if it was commenced in the desert, most probably during the stay at Sinai, the author of the previous history and primeval history was probably the same as the writer of the groups of laws; and we should then, in all probability, be correct in assuming, that when the Israelites departed from Sinai his work had been brought down to that time, and that afterwards the events were added as they occurred. The latter I regard as the more probable explanation.

Again, so far as regards the other reason for supposing that Deuteronomy was committed to writing before the other law, which was really the more ancient of the two—*viz.*, the fact that "there is nothing in Deuteronomy which presupposes that the whole of the earlier law existed in writing, but, on the contrary, the recapitulation is made with the greatest freedom,"—*Delitzsch* can hardly intend to assert that it cannot have existed in writing, because no reference is made to it. If the *earlier* law was committed to the care of the priests and Levites, and the *later* was intended expressly for the people, such direct allusions would have been out of place (apart from the fact that they would not be in accordance with the general character of the early Hebrew composition). And so far as the freedom, with which the earlier laws are recapitulated, is concerned, it appears to me that it could not possibly make any difference to the free spirit of a man like Moses, a man so conscious of his office and standing whether they had been written down or not. On the other hand, I should be more disposed to believe that if the book of Deuteronomy was already in existence, with its modifications of so many of the earlier laws, the writer of *the later* would feel some difficulty in reproducing them in their earlier form.

I cannot divest myself of the impression, however, that there run through the Pentateuch, and most obviously through the historical portions, two distinct currents (so to speak), which differ in the expressions employed and the style in which they are written, not less than in their general tendency, and which *Delitzsch* has aptly described as a priestly and a prophetic current.[1] They are just the same as those which have hitherto

[1] It is hardly an admissible solution to acknowledge this double current, and yet to trace them both to one author, who, like Moses, combined in

been designated by critics the groundwork and the supplementary work. The similarity in the language, views, and tendencies, observable in the former, to those of the central groups of laws, give rise to the conjecture that they were both the productions of the same pen. When we find, now, the component parts of the priestly section, so far as they can be distinctly ascertained, forming pretty nearly a well-defined and tolerably perfect whole, with comparatively few gaps, whereas the component parts of the prophetic section, when combined together, appear throughout imperfect, unconnected, and full of gaps; we are warranted in assuming, that the prophetic author had the work of the priestly author lying before him, and from his own standpoint enlarged it by the addition of many things, which were of great importance, so far as his views and objects were concerned, but had been passed over by the latter, because they appeared of less importance when regarded from his point of view. In the case of the second prophetic writer, the circumstance which *Delitzsch* supposes to have influenced the first, or priestly author, may possibly have furnished to some extent both inducement and material; *viz.*, the possession of the land, in which the fathers of his people had performed their pilgrimage. It is not at all an improbable thing, that the simple fact that the Israelites were now looking with their own eyes, and even treading upon the very spots, in which the memorable events of the lives of their forefathers had taken place, may have called into fresh prominence, and endowed with new life, many of the events which had been almost forgotten, and for that reason, perhaps, had been passed over by the earlier historian.

The critical process pursued by *Tuch* and *Stähelin*, for the purpose of so separating and arranging the various sections belonging to the groundwork, as to form a well-grounded and perfect whole, in which no gaps at all shall appear, is decidedly a failure. This is most apparent from the fact, that the component parts of the groundwork do not include a history of the fall, whereas this was not only to be expected, but is positively

himself the calling, gifts, and interests of both prophet and priest. In this case, it would be impossible to prove that there *was* a double current. The twofold interests and twofold tendencies of the priestly and prophetic minds would constantly manifest themselves contemporaneously and uniformly, in living union and mutual interpenetration.

demanded. And there are many such cases, as I have shown in my "Einheit der Genesis" (Berlin 1846). In the fact that the author, by whom the work was completed, did not hesitate to remove certain parts of the groundwork, and substitute something entirely new, we see a proof that he brought to his task of enlarging and revising the original work a freedom of spirit, such as nothing but the distinct consciousness of his prophetic gift and calling could either have warranted or inspired.—We must also pronounce it a delusion on the part of *Tuch* and *Stähelin*, that they imagine it possible to distinguish with such nicety the component elements of the two different currents. It is only in a very general way, that it is possible to demonstrate the existence of two separate currents; and only in cases where the distinctive peculiarities are especially prominent, that single sections can be marked off with any degree of certainty. The temptation to which critics are exposed, to foster the delusion of infallibility and omnipotence in connection with their operations, is so great, and modern critics have yielded to it to such an extent, that it is very necessary to preach moderation. It is true that critics have not all carried their self-deception and self-exaltation to the same extent as *Ewald*, who finds a dozen writers in the Pentateuch, and is able to assign to every one his own portion with indisputable certainty, even to a single word. But *vestigia terrent!*

As it is so very obvious that there was an original groundwork, and that this groundwork was completed by a prophetic author; there can hardly be any question, that it was by the latter that the Pentateuch was reduced to its present form. The time when this was done, may be determined with tolerable certainty. On the one hand, the fact that the existence of the Pentateuch and its laws is presupposed by the history and literature of Israel, of which in fact they formed the basis, compels us to fix upon a period as near to the time of Moses as other circumstances will allow. On the other hand, there are certain features in the Pentateuch itself which bring us below the lifetime of Moses, to the period of the complete occupation of the promised land. The negative critics have set no bounds to their misuse of the supposed or actual marks of a later date, which are to be found in the Pentateuch; partly by including in the list a number of *data* which do not belong to it, and

partly by making the date as late as they possibly can. *Hengstenberg* (Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 146 sqq.), who is followed by *Welte* and *Keil*, has demonstrated in the most unanswerable manner the utter absurdity of the great majority of the marks they adduce. At the same time, an unbiassed inquirer will be obliged to admit that he has not been equally successful in every case. Of all of the marks which remain, however, there is not one which indicates a later age than the period immediately succeeding the conquest of Canaan. The latter portion of Joshua's life and the first years of the period of the Judges are the limits within which, in all probability, the completion of the Pentateuch falls.—It may be sufficient to refer here to the occurrence of the name *Dan* in Gen. xiv. 14 and Deut. xxxiv. 1, where it is used to denote the ancient *Leshem* or *Laish*. The use of this name presupposes that the events narrated in Josh. xix. 47 and Judg. xxviii. 29 had already taken place. In vol. i. § 54, 2, I adopted *Hengstenberg's* explanation, *viz.*, that the Dan of the Pentateuch was the same as the Dan-Jaan in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, and denoted a very different place from the ancient Laish. But a closer examination has convinced me that the very same Dan is alluded to in the Pentateuch and 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, as in Josh. xix. 47 and Judg. xxviii. 29.

It is not my intention to enter into an exhaustive examination of the Pentateuch question in all its bearings. Such an examination as this would require much more space than I can allot to it in the present volume. I shall content myself, therefore, with referring the reader to the many apt and admirable remarks which he will find in the work of *Delitzsch*, already mentioned, though even this is by no means exhaustive and thoroughly satisfactory. It is to be hoped that the excellent author will soon resume his inquiries, and carry them out with all the learning and acumen for which he is justly celebrated.

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